

PSYCHOLOGY OF

PERSONAL

ADJUSTMENT

FRED McKINNEY



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PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

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PSYCHOLOGY OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

Students' Introduction
to Mental Hygiene

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in the Student Health Service, University
of Missouri

SECOND EDITION

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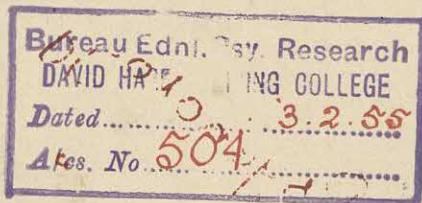
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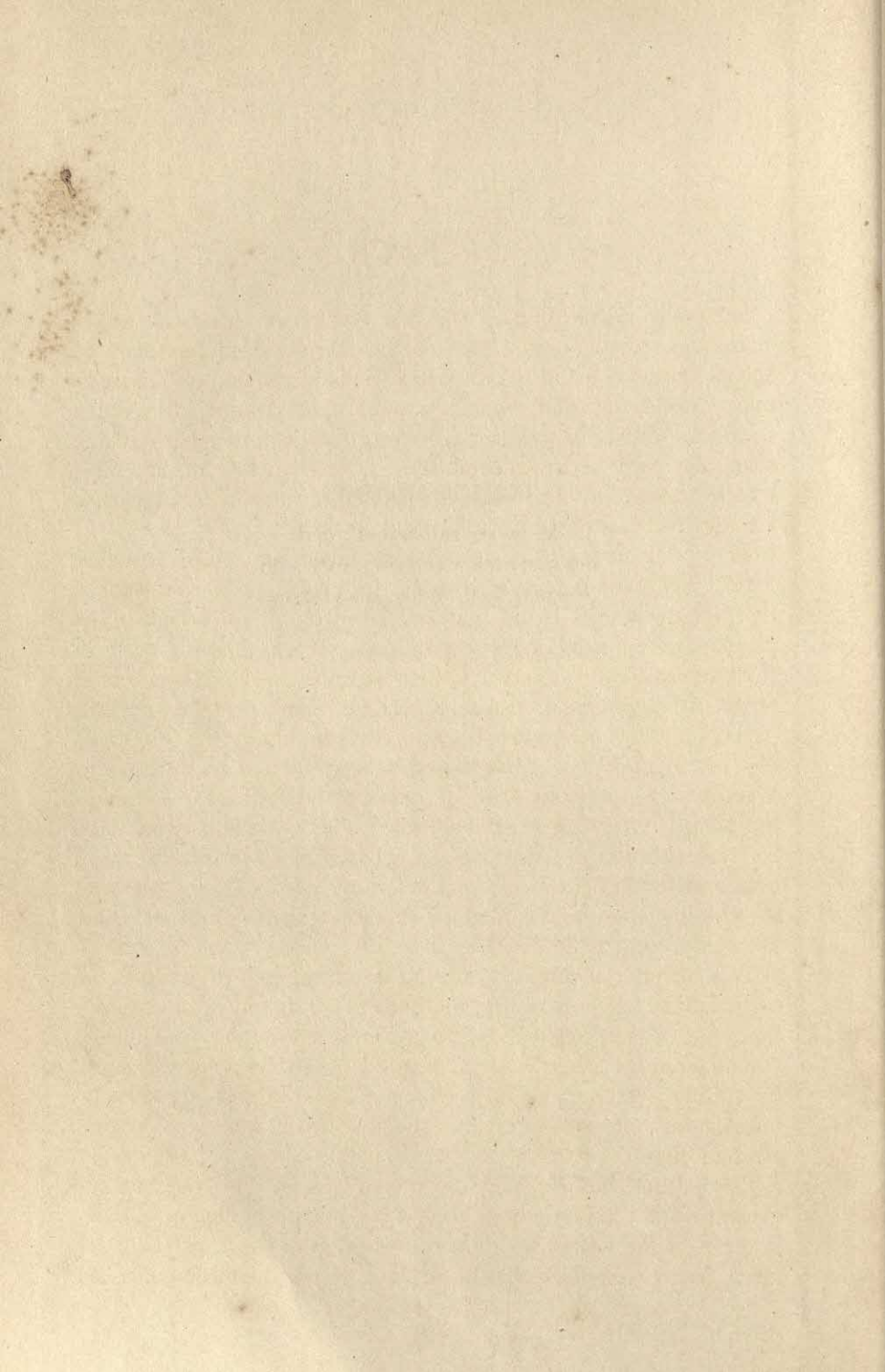
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To
COLLEGE STUDENTS

Mine, my colleagues', and
the generation contemporary with
Megan, Kent, Molly, and Doyne



PREFACE

Since the publication of the first edition of this book, eight years ago, psychologists have shown an increased tendency to accept the responsibility of assisting college students to adjust to their problems. The organization of many recent elementary textbooks attests to this trend. There have appeared in college curricula many separate courses, distinct from the introductory, which attempt to deal with the subject matter of human personality related most closely to student needs.

This book was written to meet the need for a basic psychological text which frankly attacks the problems of the student that are most vital to his personal adjustment and which offers him factual material on these problems. It may be used early in the student's college career, when he most needs orientation in terms of his personal requirements but before he takes general psychology. It may also be used to supplement an objective course in general or applied psychology, or it may be used in a course in mental hygiene or personal adjustment. Although the book is written from the student's viewpoint and deals with his personal interests, the material is based on scientifically sound data and fundamental concepts are introduced. It was planned to add in a systematic manner to the student's fund of valid knowledge and to be used in a credit course.

This volume combines material often taught in courses in mental hygiene, personality, methods of study, vocational selection, personal efficiency, marriage, and orientation to college, and it includes other material needed by students as indicated by studies which have been made. The chapters are largely independent of one another. The instructor may omit or rearrange chapters to meet the needs of his course.

This edition has retained the purpose, style, and general organization of the first edition, but it has been brought up to date in terms of the newer trends and expansion in the journal literature. Greater emphasis has been placed upon the basic concepts

of adjustment. Certain sections and chapters have been shifted to a different location as suggested by the experience of those who used the first edition. A new chapter, "Development of Personality," and many new cases have been added.

I am indebted to many students and colleagues for their direct or indirect contributions. The largest debt is to the following colleagues who read different parts of the manuscript, of either the first or the second edition, in the fields of their specialties and offered helpful critical suggestions: Dr. Marion E. Bunch, the late Dr. E. S. Conklin, Dr. J. P. Guilford, Dr. Robert Leeper, Dr. H. C. Link, Dr. C. N. Louttit, Dr. A. W. Melton, Miss Thelma Mills, Dr. O. Hobart Mowrer, Dr. Ross Stagner, Dr. Emily Stogdill, Dr. E. G. Williamson, and Dr. George J. Wischner. Dr. H. S. Langfeld read and criticized the entire manuscript. The greatest assistance in the production of the book came from my wife, Margery Mulkern McKinney.

Fred McKinney

Columbia, Missouri
April, 1949

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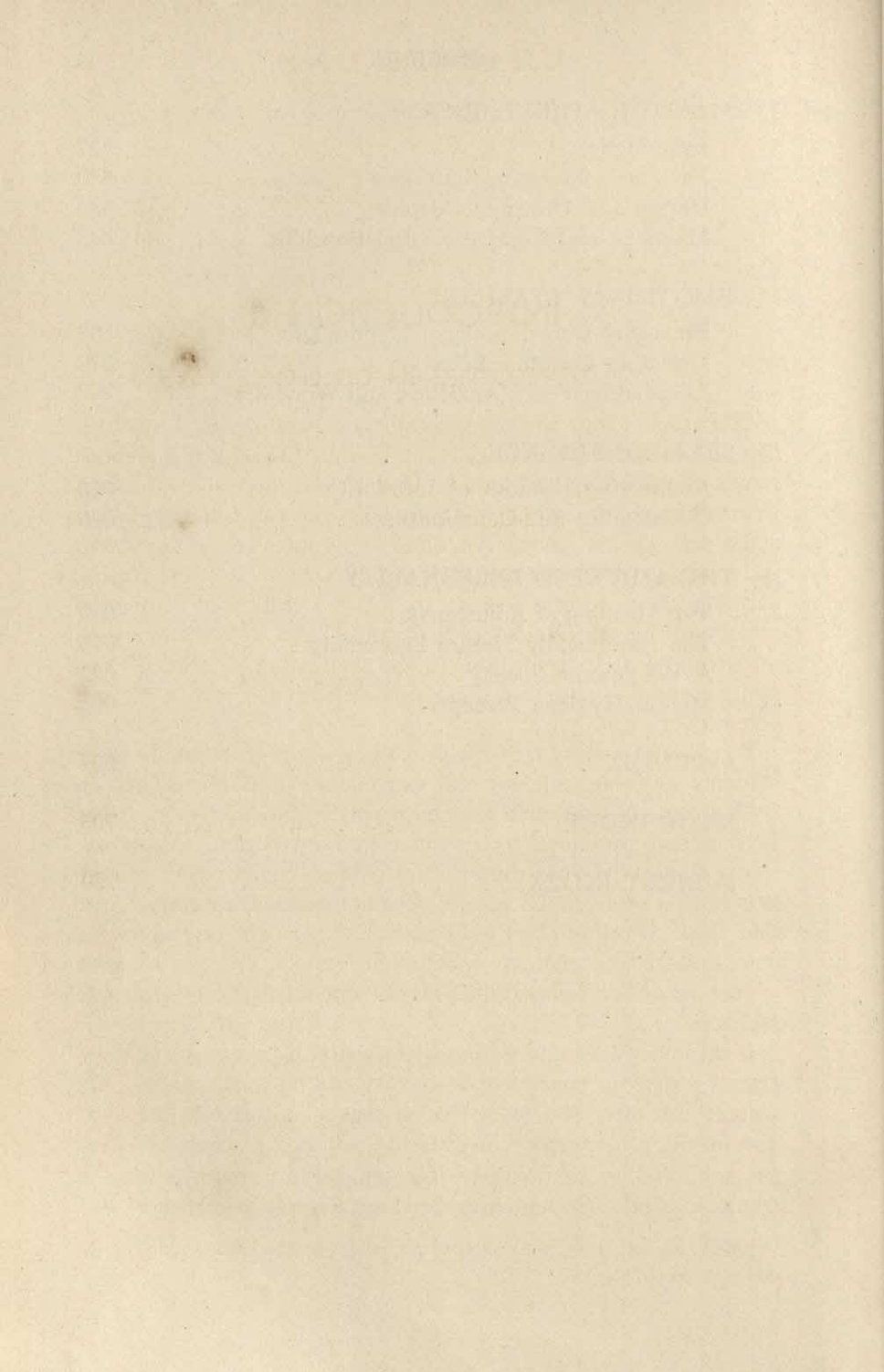
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

DEVELOPING IN COLLEGE

You are a college student with all the adventures that involves. You are in touch at a critical time in your life with the greatest minds of yesterday and today. Under their inspiration in classrooms, library, or dormitory discussions, you can come to understand yourself and your fellows and find your place in the world. A foundation for your career, if wisely chosen, is yours for the earning. You are in a position to obtain a culture of distinction which will be a constant source of satisfaction to you and which will equip you to contribute to the well-being of others. You can gain on the campus a basis of leadership and service in your community.

You should know that each year there are proportionally more students entering colleges and universities, and the degree in itself is not so distinctive as it once was. More and more it has become a requirement for entrance into a vocation. Moreover, under some economic conditions a college degree, even though it is from a professional school, does not guarantee entrance into that field. Furthermore, only about 50 per cent of those who enter college will graduate within five years (1, 2),* and we may expect academic competition and student scholastic mortality to increase.

If all you wish to gain from these years in college is the prestige of a degree, your attendance may not be worth while. But college can offer you more than a sheepskin. It can help you find meaning, a purpose in your life. It is a place to discover yourself, and in so doing to lose yourself in ventures for the common good. College may become a quest to *discover your*

* Numbers in parentheses indicate references in the bibliography at the end of the chapter.

inner drives and conflicts so that you may release them to create unified, versatile, and socialized personality traits which satisfy and enrich you and your fellows. This means knowing what you really want in life and knowing how you can obtain it in the form you can fully enjoy without painful regrets—a big order but for that reason one worth pursuing.

Responsibility of the college graduate. A college education, then, can be an asset, but it is also a challenging responsibility. As a college graduate you will theoretically assume greater obligations than the average adult. Life is a process of continual adjustment to physical and social forces. The man in the street meets these forces in a random fashion without perspective. You who have had the privilege of reviewing the history of mankind, who have had discussions about our problems, who have read the views of the greatest thinkers of all time, can reflect before you act. You are capable of solving more effectively some of life's problems. You will find, however, that your wider orientation can make you aware of issues of which many are oblivious. Your responsibilities will be extended. Courses will show you the bases for prejudice, exploitation of and aggression toward fellow humans, and other such social ills. This knowledge may elicit your desire to mitigate them. You will face more conflicts and frustrations. Your adjustment to this larger world requires genuine preparation.

This preparation should not be a blind pursual of a college curriculum, but a conscious guidance of your mental and social growth. There are no final answers to personal and social problems. A fund of knowledge and an orientation to life's complexities will aid in finding solutions. College offers such knowledge and orientation in the form of a body of factual material and tentative generalizations. It also offers an environment in which you can begin thinking for yourself and practice good citizenship.

Aims of a college education. You will want to know what educators consider the aims of higher education. Let us stress again that these accomplishments are not the inevitable result of a college education. Not everyone who holds a degree has attained them. In fact, these aims are secured only if the student consciously seeks them or if he thoroughly utilizes the facilities

on the campus. Below are the elements of general education simply stated (3). They represent most of the aims of educators. Theorists differ, however, in the extent to which they include all these objectives (4-13).

1. To understand other persons' ideas correctly through reading and listening, and in turn, to express his own ideas effectively to others.

2. To understand the dynamics of human behavior as a means of attaining a sound emotional and social adjustment.

3. To improve and maintain his own health and to aid in making the community a more healthful place in which to live.

4. To enjoy a wide range of social relationships and to work cooperatively with others in common enterprises.

5. To acquire the knowledge and attitudes that are the foundation for a satisfying family life.

6. To take an active, intelligent, and responsible part in public affairs of the community, state, nation, and wider international scene.

7. To enjoy the natural environment and to understand the application of scientific facts and principles to human affairs; to understand and appreciate scientific method and attitude, and to use them in the solution of personal and social problems.

8. To understand and to enjoy literature, art, and music as an expression of human experience in the past and in the student's own time; also, if possible, to participate in some form of creative literary, artistic or musical activity.

9. To recognize the values implicit in his own conduct and in concrete social issues, to examine these values critically, and to develop a coherent set of principles for the evaluation and direction of personal and social behavior.

10. To think critically and constructively in dealing with a wide range of intellectual and practical problems.

11. To choose a vocation that will enable him to utilize his particular interests and abilities and to make his work socially useful.

Go over this list and see which of these goals are most important for you. See which are being supplied you by college, which are lacking in your development, and which need particular attention.

Students' reasons for going to college. Over 3500 students were asked to check, in a list of reasons for staying in college, the three they considered most important. Below is a list of the results and the percentage of students checking each reason (14). It is interesting to compare this list with one given above.

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
In order to prepare for a certain vocation	71.8
For general self-improvement in culture and ideals	64.5
Because a person with a college degree can obtain a better position and earn more money	47.6
Because of my interest in specific studies and my desire to pursue them further	31.9
Because a person with a college education has more prestige and a higher social standing	31.8
Because my parents wished it	20.8
Reason unknown	9.9
Because of the social attractions or athletic opportuni- ties of college life	8.2
Because so many of my friends and relatives had gone to college it seemed the thing to do	5.4
In order to show people I have as good a mind as anyone	2.3

Do your reasons for attending college correspond more closely to this list or to the eleven aims which precede it?

Opportunities in college for directing one's life. The college environment, whether it is your initial or second contact with it, may present the one opportunity to exercise rather complete direction over your own life. In fact, many individuals have more executive opportunities at this time than they will enjoy for many subsequent years. The student may choose his own college course within certain limits. He may select his own home, his associates, the religious practices he will observe, the manner of spending his spare time, the athletics in which he will participate, the new interests in art, literature, or music he may develop, and the moral and ethical code he will follow. He must make many choices independently at this time.

The college period has other advantages. The student is somewhat mature, yet young. He is still quite plastic so far as personality development is concerned. He does not possess as elaborate a system of well-established habits as he will later in life. He can build new habits and attitudes without first breaking rigid past tendencies. His new environment will be a definite aid. Old experiences will not color his responses as they would in his usual environment. The new surroundings can and often should be stimuli for new behavior. Choices that are open to him at 18 or 22 are closed at 40 because of the molding experiences of the intervening years.

The college environment also offers certain temptations. The student can cut individual classes without incurring disciplinary action. There is no plan for institutionally supervised study halls. More extracurricular activities are open to him. He may have more money to spend (which is supposed to be used for his needs). He has little supervision regarding religious and moral practices. He has more free time. Yet his work calls for more systematic preparation out of class; academic competition is keener, and standards of school accomplishment are higher.

The choices mentioned above may be made on the basis of *past habit* or pleasure and displeasure in the given situation, or they may be made on the basis of thoughtful plans and future goals. The individuals contrasted below illustrate the role of forethought in a college career.

Harper G.'s first week at State College was to him a paradise with lovely co-eds and well-dressed men in a stylish suburban atmosphere. He was free of parental nagging, had a financial start and leisure time to do what he wished, in addition to attending classes. His good physique, pleasant "regular fellow" manner won him much attention. He gave little thought to school supplies, assignments, quizzes, academic schedule, or board bills, to say nothing of visiting lectures, concerts, or library exhibits. Within two months he had spent all his money on clothes, dates, and car rental, had seriously strained his credit and his associates' credulity, and was becoming known widely as a "rat." Because of failure, debts, and a questionable reputation, the campus lost much of its glamour.

John J. entered college after three years of military service, young in spirit and mature in perspective. When he chose college in preference to a "swell job" he saw clearly what his choice entailed. He decided that since he was not a brilliant student he must room with someone who was a real student as well as a congenial fellow. As he discussed these matters with a former teacher, he realized that he did his best work under a schedule, as required in the Army. He thereupon planned a schedule which allowed time for campus events, browsing, dating, sports, bull sessions, and an occasional evening out with friends. He had discovered that he could profit greatly by a wise choice of associates, and he made a conscious effort to know men who were stimulating.

Purpose of this text in personal development. Some of the aims of a general education, as stated above, are "a sound emotional and social adjustment," "a wide range of social relation-

ships," "a satisfying family life," "an active . . . part in public affairs," and "dealing with . . . intellectual and practical problems." More specifically, these aims include the development of progressive citizenship and leadership, rich friendships, fully satisfying affections, social initiative and poise, and personal efficiency—all of which are goals dear to the college student.

Experiences in the classroom, laboratory, and library contribute to the attainment of these goals, but the student must himself assume responsibility for developing the traits and attitudes suggested by these aims. He must use the greater campus environment—counselors, fellow students, discussions, campus organizations, and programs to promote established traits. He must have some comprehension of himself and of his broader objectives, and systematic plans for reaching them. It is the purpose of this book to help the student *to know himself, his basic motives and traits, to understand those around him, and to envisage the college environment as a source of effective self-development for the future.*

This text is an accumulation of suggestions from psychological, biological, sociological, and educational literature which the college student may use in developing his personality with the facilities available on the campus. It is a text in mental hygiene with special emphasis on the college period. It has been planned in order to place in the hands of the student hints which may never occur to him, and information that is usually acquired only after hours of an endless personal search which detracts from the serious business of building the traits mentioned above.

Personal adjustment in college is the theme of the text. Adjustment to work (study and efficiency); adjustment to the world of ideas and goals (philosophy of life and vocation); to friends, acquaintances, leaders, and followers (social adjustment); to the opposite sex (affection and marriage); and to one's own inner life (self-confidence and emotional stability) are all considered in different chapters. However, the entire personality is considered not only in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 but also when each aspect is discussed. The last chapter of the book is devoted to the adjusted personality and a wholesome society, to the integration of the various specific aspects of personal adjustment toward a social perspective.

Not all our development is a matter of conscious planning. Before we were old enough to want things consciously, we had strong desires, and even at present there are drives beneath the surface of our awareness that influence our behavior despite conscious wishes to the contrary. There may be conflict, then, between those goals for which we consciously strive and deeper, less conscious urges. For example, you may consciously wish to be congenial with your roommate, but inner forces produce in you irritations over some trivial acts of his. These urges you must seek calmly to discover and accept as part of yourself. Therefore, in addition to promoting consciously directed plans for various youth activities, the succeeding chapters are designed to raise many questions and give you *insights into your deeper mental life* as it influences behavior and a *source of creative self-expression*. As you gain basic understanding of yourself, see more clearly your goals, convictions, and problems, many concrete suggestions will occur to you. When suggestions are given in the text, they may be considered merely as a point of departure, a stimulation to your own thinking. *You should seek your own solutions to your specific problems.*

If the suggestions stated in connection with a given problem seem like rules to be applied mechanically, or if they are mere verbalizations which do not lead to action, you may not have discovered your most vital problem. Workable solutions to recognized problems often have an inspirational quality and merge into activity.

Many personal problems are greatly lessened when they are discussed with a skilled counselor, as will be shown in Chapters 5 and 7. Such counseling interviews produce self-understanding and release tensions. These insights should lead to action if they are to be of maximum value. This action involves programs of activities and in some cases the development of attitudes and skills.

Some personal problems are solved largely by building skills, and so are certain social problems. However, these skills in many instances may grow out of a creative project, some interesting plan or hobby. The desire to acquire these skills may be implemented by inspirational books, talks, conferences, friends, organizations, offices, and responsibilities, but the acquisition of the specific habits and attitudes frequently requires

prolonged effort. Good intentions alone, without daily implementation of a stimulating purpose and periodic kindly self-examination, usually fail to produce results. Knowing your problem and the solution probably will not be enough to change your behavior. You must supplement this with *a planned dynamic attack in an environment which will guide you and encourage you to examine your progress periodically*. This text—with daily readings, the suggestions offered and others which you originate, the notes you keep, the discussions with teachers and fellow students, the affiliation with groups best able to stimulate you—should make personality development a reality.

Kinds of knowledge in the text. This text, like all similar books, will raise questions, present *facts* gathered in scientific studies, present *hypotheses* or guesses about what to expect if studies are designed and completed. The student, if he has not already learned to do so, should look for the difference between textbook opinion and generalizations substantiated by empirical data. The numbers found in the text refer to articles or other books listed in the bibliography at the end of the chapter. Usually when reference is made to a title in the bibliography we are calling attention to a study substantiating the statement made in the text. The reader will doubtless be interested in further reading on some of these topics and in checking the validity of the facts presented.

THE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT

We shall be concerned with adjustment to college life in the chapters that follow. In this section we ask: What does adjustment mean? When are college students adjusted or not adjusted? We shall again return to this general subject at the end of the text. In the meantime we shall have studied in detail the college student's adjustment to a number of specific aspects of his complex life.

First we shall present excerpts from case histories of college students who were considered of good, average, or poor adjustment by trained workers who read their cases. Read through these histories and decide how you would classify them. You will notice at the end of each how the student was classified.

Ken F. is one of the fifteen or twenty outstanding seniors in a Midwestern university of approximately five thousand students. He has been elected to several leadership honorary societies and has presided several times during the year at large school functions. His pictures may be found in numerous places in the school year-book.

Ken, at 22, is 6 feet tall, weighs 160 pounds, and belongs to the fraternity which is highest on the student preference list. He comes from a town of about 1000 population. His physical appearance is above average. He is a brunet with a shy, pleasant smile and is neat and gentlemanly. He is liked and trusted as a dependable, capable, and not too aggressive student leader.

He was in the upper 10 per cent of freshmen in college aptitude and had obtained excellent grades in high school in addition to participating in debating, writing, and school government. His grades in college have been superior. He started school with an academic, vocational, and student activity objective, and his reputation in college as a well-rounded student, mature in work habits, might have been predicted from his pre-college hobbies, contacts, and summer jobs in business. He has splendid study habits, is conscientious and highly motivated. His free time is spent like that of the typical college student in dating, bull sessions, and attending parties and school events.

He is the only child of comparatively young parents. His mother and father are apparently of different temperaments. His mother has been his coach, has given him a great deal of affection and guidance, and has helped him to build social habits and to seek responsibility in spite of his underlying tendency to be like his father in his preference for the background. She has emphasized social and economic success as important to prestige. In high school he had to win this prestige through accomplishments since it could not come through family wealth or position.

In recent years he has been worried because on several occasions he lost consciousness for a brief period. He seems slightly more nervous than the average individual, but this is masked by the way in which he has harnessed his energy.

He has participated in athletics but has won no major honors. He belonged to most of the usual boys' organizations and has had more than his share of the offices. He began dating at the typical age. He dates frequently now but has never "fallen in love." He is quite capable as a hard-working executive type of leader. He shows a strong tendency to adhere to what is conventional, right, and ideal at all times. He is kidded about his "good behavior" and accepts it well. His associates seem to realize that he has labored for all his honors and has merited them.

Few individuals would have predicted after merely meeting this young man as a freshman that he would become such an outstanding leader as a senior. A perusal of his past history and an exam-

ination of his ambitions and plans might have given the experienced counselor a clue to his college development. His four years in college have certainly not been free of anxieties, feelings of inferiority, inadequacy, and strong attempts to overcome them through his previously established habits of work in class and on the campus.

Ken judges his adjustment superior, and his associates would probably make the same judgment. However, some of this is a surface phenomenon, and the experienced counselor would judge his adjustment average, even though his accomplishments are superior. Certainly without personal problems, inadequate family income, and a skillful and ambitious mother, he would not have been the individual he has become as a college senior.

Katherine E. is a 20-year-old junior with sophomore status; she is 5 feet, 9 inches tall and weighs 150 pounds. She has an unusually good appearance, faultless complexion, regular features, bronze hair, and, except for her size, when well groomed is one of the most attractive girls on the campus. Despite this she has relatively few dates and is not understood by her associates. At present she is in a small sorority, but spent two years on the campus as an independent. She is from a lower-middle-class Irish home in New York City.

She has superior ability. Her grades and study habits have varied from the lowest to superior. She has a number of acquaintances, and there are times when she is rather close to them. She appears somewhat aloof when meeting new people and reports that she knows people do not like her when they first meet her, that she is scared, tense, shaky, and unable to say the right things.

She admits freely to a counselor that she has a number of problems besides that of self-consciousness. One is that she does not know her own mind. She has changed her vocational aims several times since she came to college. She left school in the middle of the year at one time, to the complete bewilderment of her parents. She will work hard for a time and then find it almost impossible to force herself to study.

During the course of a conference she realized that one of her difficulties is that she does not want to grow up. She thinks she was spoiled in childhood. She did not have many playmates. She had an older sister whom she imitated in every detail, yet she felt that she was basically unlike this sister. Her sister was popular, aggressive, and well integrated, whereas she feels that she herself has always been a "willful individual." She describes childish temper tantrums and insubordination in school and at home. Around puberty she attended a convent school, developed many ideals and standards, and two very warm friendships. With time many of her associates disillusioned her by violating her ideals, and in college she has deviated somewhat from the rigorous pattern she wove for herself when younger. She has broken away from her church.

Her parents both work so that she may attend school. They are bright individuals who have taken advantage of their opportunities and have improved their own social status greatly. They seem to be competitive, to be highly conscious of social standards, to wish to conform, and to put great emphasis on the front of the upper middle class. They indubitably had a plan all worked out for Katherine, but she has refused to be contained in the mold.

There is an inner struggle between her own attitudes and those of her parents. She reports that some of her nightmares consist of dreams in which her mother and sister are horribly mutilated and she awakens shocked by the experience. Her parents at times have been very impatient with her, say they do not understand her, and have apparently scolded her severely for her shiftlessness, her moody, dreamy nature, and her inability to make good grades despite her aptitudes. She states that she cannot understand herself, that she realizes she is egocentric, easily hurt, and quick-tempered. She daydreams much of the time and lives in an idealistic world "where life proceeds according to some order." She admits that she is much happier when she is away from home. The greatest conflict with her family at present exists because they are working hard to support her at school and she is not achieving satisfactory grades or striving for any definite goal. Although she freely admits all these problems she does not realize that she is poorly adjusted socially and emotionally.

Henry T. is an 18-year-old sophomore, sandy-haired, 5 feet, 8 inches tall, weighing 135 pounds. He is from the suburbs of a city of 500,000 people, is in the upper 5 per cent of students in college ability, made an inferior record in high school, and is at present taking pre-journalism courses. He is neat, energetic, proud, and of average appearance. His grades in college have improved over those he made in high school. He does not participate in extra-curricular activities or in competitive sports. He dates and attends dances regularly. He spends a good deal of time in bull sessions and in "hanging around."

He is an only child. His parents have been divorced, and he lives with his school-teacher mother. As a child he spent a good deal of time practicing music, and his mother made an attempt to rear him as a regular boy by sending him to camp and encouraging interest in Scouts. Otherwise he had few playmates.

It was in high school that insecurity began to assail him. He was physically inferior to many of the boys, unathletic, and emotionally immature. On the other hand, he possessed lots of pride, was individualistic, and realized his abilities. At this time he had a mild case of acne and was undoubtedly more unhappy than he had been at any time in his life. He found fault with his teacher and the school. He said he "did not care what other people thought" of him. He plunged avidly into reading fiction, secured several

jobs, developed some warm friendships with "definitely superior people," and started dating. He apparently idealized more masculine boys, although his behavior was not effeminate. He had a little trouble with masturbation and experimented with physical intimacies, probably mainly to prove his manhood.

His college education is being financed by his mother. He is making a strong attempt to obtain superior grades. His manner is somewhat defensive on first contact, as though he were masking a feeling of insecurity and as though his associates did not accept him as he would like to be accepted. Later, as his acquaintances come to know him better they lose their initial impression of conceit.

He fears financial insecurity and a drab existence, yet also dreads conspicuousness. He enjoys people at first, but after a while they grate on him. At that time he prefers to be alone. He has many of the attitudes of the young reporter—liberal, colorful, with strong interest in literature and cultural pursuits, and with an interesting fusion of aggression and introversion.

He judges himself to be of average adjustment, showing good insight into his true status.

George N. is a 20-year-old sophomore, 5 feet, 10 inches tall, and quite slender. He is of average physical appearance and neat grooming. He is from a farm near a small German community. He is pursuing a pre-medical course, has above-average ability and work habits, but is below average in grades. He accounts for this on the basis of the necessity to work for remuneration while attending school.

He describes his family as financially substantial farmers, very frugal, hard-working, and provincial. They attended church, had acquired all the prejudices of fundamentalism, but gave their children no truly religious background. As a child he attended a one-room school and later a consolidated high school. He was the youngest of several children and was teased and belittled by his older brothers. Through their continued ridicule he came to believe that he was horribly ugly. He played little with other children.

He learned early that he could escape his father's punishments by feigning illness, and he recalls that he would stick his finger down his throat to produce vomiting and thereby avoid a spanking. Illness came to be an escape from unhappiness even in high school. His feelings of inferiority were aggravated when he started high school and was unable to date, to get needed haircuts, or to have the clothes that he felt were necessary to mix with people. He was unable to play football because the school had no team. His parents were not the kind to whom he could bring his troubles, so he brooded and worried alone. He states that he daydreamed about all the things he would have liked to have done—the girls he would have liked to date, the games he would have liked to

play—and in these dreams he was the Romeo and school hero. Sex was his only pleasurable outlet. He stumbled upon masturbation, was frightened concerning it by older boys who said it led to insanity, and substituted relations with farm animals. At this time, also, he contracted several illnesses and lost weight. He worked hard in summer to convince his parents that he was strong enough to come to college.

College opened new worlds for him. He happened to room with an older boy who became the only real brother he ever had, complimented him upon his assets, taught him good grooming and dancing, and arranged dates for him. Since his father refused to give him money to attend college, he worked at numerous jobs, gaining some knowledge and confidence from each of them. He began to realize that he could get along with people and learned to like them more. He spent considerable time observing people and comparing their lives with the sort of existence that was forced upon him. He became more aggressive and had physical intimacies with girls.

He states that he is still moody. He desires to have the prestige and success of the upper social classes but feels, because of the inferiority attitudes developed in childhood, that he can never achieve them. He fears that he will not become a doctor because of his low grades at present and his inability to finance his education. He is still extremely self-conscious at the boarding table or when he has to perform in any way before a small group of spectators. He wonders whether he will ever forget that he is basically a "country bumpkin" despite the fact that his roommate tells him that this is not the impression he gives to other people. As long as he can be absorbed in his job, dates, and the few contacts he has developed, he is not unhappy, but when he thinks of himself or the goals he wants to reach he is plunged into despair.

Two advanced students who read his anonymous autobiography judged him poorly adjusted. He received a score on a personality adjustment inventory which would place him in the same category.

Larry G. is a 19-year-old sophomore, 5 feet, 5 inches tall, who weighs 130 pounds and is a round-faced, smiling brunet. He is a member of a fraternity and is energetic, sociable, and humorous. He is very bright, obtains superior grades, is well-liked by his fellow students, who regard him as a unique individual. He comes from a town of 35,000 in which there is clear-cut demarcation between economic groups. He is the only child of a family with superior cultural advantages. He is pursuing a pre-law course. He gives the following autobiographical account:

In early life he had numerous playmates, a sensible, affectionate mother and a companionable father. They played with him, guided his development, and encouraged him in all his attempts to express his own talents and preferences. He joined social

groups early, went to camp, gravitated to positions of leadership both in grade school and in high school, and, although he was always small and somewhat immature for his age, he was also always one of the outstanding individuals in his class in the eyes of the teachers and students. His standards were high, but he says he was philosophical about any failures to meet them after he had put forth all the effort he could muster. One gets the impression that he experiences life deeply and is interested in all its phenomena. Although born in a town full of snobbery, he is quite democratic.

At college he has drifted into many bull sessions, has treated boys and girls alike, and at the time of this study was beginning to develop a strong affection for one girl. His energy has been channeled into various extracurricular pursuits and interests, particularly debating, student offices, classical music, some athletics, as tennis, swimming, and golf. He feels no strong interest in many of the superficialities like clothes, cars, and playboy activities. He has been quick to see the implications of his courses and relate them to problems of everyday life. He is interested in religion, and church groups are among his many activities. He states that he has normal sex appetites but has always been able to keep them well under control and has not allowed them to overcome his best judgment. He realizes that he has outstanding ability as a student and as a speaker, but this realization merely challenges him to use these talents effectively.

He was judged adjusted by two advanced students who read his anonymous autobiography. This is a student who has achieved leadership status and is liked by most people who know him. In reading his life story, one is likely to judge him well adjusted emotionally. However, he received a score on a personal adjustment inventory which indicated emotional maladjustment. An experienced counselor would notice that he shows nervous mannerisms in a counseling interview and has had more emotional conflicts than the average individual, which he has tended at times to avoid facing frankly. He had, nevertheless, been quite successful in adjusting in college despite conflicts experienced during development.

(Several years after graduation, Larry did have some rather serious emotional difficulties.)

The nature of adjustment. Of what does the adjustment process consist? The elements of adjustment are involved in the cases cited above. They are as follows:

1. *Motivation.* Motives are persistent conditions which dominate and direct the behavior of the individual until he responds in such a way as to remove them. The motive is the driving

force which keeps the individual at his task. Any basic physical need, any strong desire, any highly anticipated goal, is a motive. In considering physical needs, the persistent stimulus is easily described. In hunger, for example, the stomach is constantly contracting until food is eaten. In considering an anticipated goal, part of the persistent condition which stimulates the individual is a *tension* set up in the muscles which is *relaxed when the goal is reached*. As so defined, the motive is not merely the conscious desire but the *unconscious physical process*—the tension—which drives the individual until it is removed or sufficiently reduced.

The students in the above cases were motivated toward success in school to prepare for a vocation or to achieve prestige, independence, a colorful life, love, or social success. It might be well for you to catalogue your outstanding motives.

2. *Frustration and conflict*. An environmental or mental condition thwarts or conflicts with the motive and prevents the individual from satisfying it. The physical need, hunger for example, may be frustrated because of the absence of food or the money to buy it. A collegian's desire for popularity, for example, may be frustrated by shyness and previously acquired habits of reclusiveness. The anticipated goal of an excellent grade in a course may be frustrated by slow reading and poor comprehension of difficult material.

What are some of the frustrating conditions in the cases given above? Ken was thwarted in his motivation toward high self-esteem and outstanding social recognition by his family's insignificant social position and his occasional spells of unconsciousness. Henry was frustrated in high school by "inferior physique," immaturity, and acne. Katherine was thwarted by life's irregularity as contrasted with the ideal life she dreamed about. George's attempt to gain social and athletic success and self-esteem was blocked by his family's stinginess, the kind of school he attended, his concept of himself as inferior, and his relatively restricted and shut-in life.

3. *Variable behavior*. The behavior which occurs when motives are blocked has been called trial and error. The individual whose motive is frustrated usually performs a number of acts most of which are unsuccessful. The hungry individual or animal searches for food, going first in one direction and then in

another, using methods which have been successful in the past. The student who wishes to be popular may behave in a friendly manner, remembering names of new acquaintances, attempting humor in social groups, performing favors, and being otherwise socially aggressive. These means may be effective or, if awkward or overdone, may be offensive or puerile. One of the random acts usually is *successful and satisfying* in reducing the motivation.

What are some of the variable acts performed by the students discussed above when they were frustrated? Katherine was unhappy at home and felt inferior to her sister. She tried to gain recognition through excellence in school grades but did not persist long enough for results to show. Similarly, in social life her conviction that she was inferior made her self-conscious and caused her to flee from the social spotlight. However, under the tuition of the convent nuns and with her own vivid imagination, she built an ideal world in daydreams. In this world she could be any kind of ideal person. All her dreams were variable attempts to meet the standards of her parents and the accomplishments of her sister.

George sought to gain recognition and develop self-esteem in his childhood but was rebuffed by a busy, stern father and cruel brothers. He felt ashamed of his clothes at school and was afraid to approach girls. He stumbled upon sex outlets and daydreams in which he was not blocked, with the result that he elaborated these behavior patterns.

4. *Satisfaction.* Satisfaction involves the removal or reduction of the motivating condition, the *relaxation of tension* aroused by the desire. The hungry individual finds or buys and eats food, and the stomach contractions cease. The student who seeks popularity discovers after a time that his socially active methods bring him desirable recognition, and he may no longer persistently feel the unpleasant tension of being left out of the group. The individual in these cases has *made the adjustment*. It is through this process that *learning* takes place, and if learning occurs the individual has adjusted easily, without complications.

In Katherine's case, satisfaction of motivation toward self-esteem was reached through daydreams. Ken gained satisfaction through extracurricular activities and honors, and George's

early outlets toward satisfaction were daydreams and sex activities.

5. *Non-adjustive behavior.* We have seen that some of the random activities in these case histories were non-adjustive. They did not remove the motivating conditions. They did not result in reduced tension or they produced later conflict. Usually the individual learns to eliminate these activities in the course of his progress. He learns not to use them. But, sometimes, usually for some emotional reason, they may persist. The hungry bum may become abusive to the people he approaches for food and thereby delay his satisfaction of hunger longer than if he were meek. He may rant in the street or heave a rock in the show window of a bakery. The student who looks for popularity may develop arrogance or take the "to heck with you" attitude when others do not respond to his overtures. He may become sullen and quietly bitter. In cases of persistent non-adjustive behavior the individual acts in a manner which does not satisfy the motive, and this behavior persists usually because it satisfies some other motives and reduces other tensions. It is non-adjustive in respect to the motive under consideration, but it may be adjustive so far as other motives are concerned. This is an important point. Much behavior that seems abnormal, incongruous, or socially inappropriate is adjustive from one standpoint. It is merely *non-adjustive in terms of our arbitrary but influential social standards* or frame of reference.

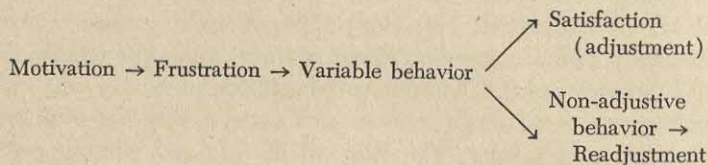
What non-adjustive behavior is found in the cases above? Katherine's and George's daydreams were non-adjustive from a long-time viewpoint. The defensive attitude of Henry was non-adjustive, as was Larry's tendency to avoid facing his problems completely and to write the story of his life and contemporary activities in a manner which glossed over difficulties and indicated adjustment.

6. *Readjustment.* In order to socialize himself or to satisfy the relevant motive rather than some hidden motive, the individual who uses a persistent non-adjustive reaction must modify his behavior. Simply stated, he must *eliminate the non-adjustive reaction* and substitute one which satisfies the motive under consideration. The hungry bum in our social structure must ask courteously and offer to work for his food. The student who wants to be popular must acquire socially graceful means of

getting attention from others and satisfying their needs if he really wants popularity. If, on the other hand, he finds it is not popularity but some other response he wants from the group, the readjustment consists of a conscious examination of his motives and the probable means of satisfying them. Readjustment in the human being may mean a reorganization of his motivation with emphasis on certain motives rather than on others—sometimes a complex inner adjustment rather than an acquisition of habits.

In George's case, there is evidence of readjustment through his college roommate. This older boy helped him to gain a fresh perspective in a new environment. This roommate appreciated George's assets and by his friendly manner showed respect for him. He gave George suggestions, helped him to develop social skills, listened to his story, and by telling it George saw himself and all the influences of his parents, his brothers, and his environment in perspective. He came to *understand and accept himself*. On his own he ventured where he would never have tried to go before, met girls, went to dances, made friends, and developed in dignity and potentiality.

Summary of principles. *The adjustive process.* Obviously the above six-point analysis is an oversimplification of the complex matter of adjustment to our environment. It presents only the essence of the process which, as described above, consists of



Many problems can be better understood in terms of this kind of simple analysis. It is presented here because it will underlie the discussions in the text for the purpose of understanding our behavior in our attempt to satisfy *motives* for efficiency, vocational success, social activities, sex behavior, and orderly inner experiences as well as the frustration of these motives. Much of the material in the text is presented to prevent persistently *non-adjustive reactions*. In cases in which this inappropriate behavior already exists there are suggestions for *readjustment*.

The nature of our non-adjustive reactions is discussed more fully in Chapter 5, and the process of readjustment in Chapter 7. However, before those discussions, there are presented Chapters 2, 3, and 4 which deal with the more immediate problem of study methods and personal efficiency.

General principles of personality adjustment. Here, in summary, are some basic principles of human behavior that grow from an analysis of the above cases. They too should provide guidance in the consideration of concrete problems in the text.

1. All human behavior is *motivated* by needs, and we behave to *adjust* to these needs to remove or satisfy them.

2. Rarely are these needs easily satisfied or thoroughly acceptable to us. Rather they are *frustrated* by conditions in the environment or in our minds which block our satisfaction of them. In other words, *conflict* is inevitable.

3. Our behavior, when motivated, is highly complex. We respond to the total environment which is stimulating us, and we behave in terms of all relevant acts that we have learned in the past. Our behavior is *organized* in a manner which reflects our *total* self and a long development in the past.

4. Although conflicts occur it is the general nature of living organisms to select that behavior which involves the *least possible conflict*, which is most integrating or unified, however inappropriate it may seem from some social standpoint (15).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

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* The books and articles under "References" are detailed source references for each chapter. They are recommended for the student who desires further information on the studies or ideas mentioned in the text.

The style used in these references is as follows: For books, the publisher, date of publication, and page or chapter references are given; for journal articles, the name of the journal in abbreviated form, the year, the volume or number, and page reference are given. The student may obtain assistance from the librarian in finding these articles or addresses of publishers if he has difficulty. (Most publishers have offices in New York City.) When several references have been made to the same book, the pages and chapters are listed in the order in which they are cited in this text.

CHAPTER TWO

ADJUSTMENT to COLLEGE WORK

INTRODUCTION

Your most immediate adjustment is to your work in college. Your ability to perform efficiently in courses reflects *maturity* in addition to skills of reading, memorizing, and thinking effectively and creatively. Adjustment to school work is important aside from the value of grades and college efficiency. It involves adjustment to responsibilities and duties—one of the important demands in our culture. If you are mature in this respect, you are capable of taking yourself in hand. You can determine what is required of you in a given course, to reach distinction and to make a contribution. This involves planning your time and energies. As many studies to be presented in this chapter will show, it is a serious error to divorce the attitude and skills which lead to academic success from those which lead to success as an executive. Industrialists who are responsible for production, quality of goods and distribution, and professional men as well, have perforce a wealth of knowledge at hand and are constantly acquiring new facts and thinking in terms of them. Their overall task does not differ too much from your task as a college student.

Adjustment to school work, then, is an integral part of adjustment in other areas in the adult vocational world, particularly since learning, thinking, and efficiency, as well as a body of knowledge, are so important to this adjustment.

Harold T. graduated from ——— High School where he was in the upper third of his class. He had always received good grades but did not remember studying. His father is a physician and is able to pay all Harold's expenses while he is in college. Harold was a member of ——— fraternity but was not initiated the first semester because of his grades. He wanted to study medicine, but his motivation was not very strong. His father suggested medicine be-

cause Harold would be able to take over an established practice. Three weeks before the end of the first semester he realized that he would not make his grades and began to try to cram. His intentions were good, but his habits bad. He stayed in his room the first night after making resolutions to study, but it was an hour before he really got down to work. After another hour during which there were three or four interruptions, he had accomplished practically nothing, with literally hundreds of pages in each of four books still unread, and with his notes in poor shape and not reviewed. "How can I ever do it?" was the thought which continually coursed through his mind. The easiest way to banish this unpleasant thought was to do something distracting. The more pleasant this something, the more effective it was as an opiate. So Harold became more active than ever. He went to shows; he spent time in the gym; he lounged in the fraternity house and in pool halls; he tried not to think of his grades; and he cut class more often. At the end of the semester he failed twelve hours. He had another chance the next semester to make satisfactory grades. He changed his room to one on the third floor of the house and roomed with a senior. He definitely promised his roommate to do better. He scheduled his time carefully to include more study. His roommate helped him to establish a habit of study by suggesting that Harold arrange to study in the same room with him from seven to ten each evening and by refusing to talk with him during this time. Without any special methods, except the urge to make his grades so that he might be initiated into his fraternity, a daily study time, and an interested roommate, Harold's grades rose above passing the next semester. This allowed him to be initiated, and when last consulted he was receiving some superior grades.

Martha S.* entered college with an above-average record from high school. Her scores on the entrance ability tests placed her in the upper quartile of entering college students. At mid-semester, however, she realized that she was in danger of failing in her college work. In fact, she was so discouraged that she considered dropping out of school. She came to the reading and how-to-study service for help. Through diagnosis of her problem it was discovered that she was spending sufficient time on her work to bring results. However, she had never learned efficient methods of study. As she had always been particularly interested in mathematics and science and had read widely in these fields, she had developed the habit of reading all material as she did a math or science problem. She was unable to distinguish between main ideas and details or to vary her rate and method according to the type of material and the purpose for reading. Martha worked in the clinic twice a week for

* This case was contributed by Irma Ross of the Reading Clinic, University of Missouri.

a semester. She was guided in developing methods of attack and was encouraged to report her success in applying these methods to her course work. She was given exercises for increasing her rate of reading and in using efficiently the clues to meaning.

About the middle of the semester Martha reported that she had lost her feeling of imminent failure, and, although she was spending no more time on her work than she had formerly spent, it was now "making sense" to her. By the end of the semester she was making a slightly above-average record and was finding time for social and extracurricular activities.

Sam T. is a slight, erect, well-groomed, mild-mannered, capable 19-year-old sophomore. In grammar school his grades were poor, but they improved greatly in high school and were well above average in college. He was planning to go into medicine and came to a counselor because of his difficulty in pre-medical courses. Although he was extremely emotional over "failing" a quiz, the counselor learned that his grades were not inferior and that at least one of his teachers realized that some of Sam's quizzes did not reflect what he knew about the subject.

After several conferences, Sam realized that his difficulty was not low ability, poor study habits, or lack of aptitude for medicine, but an emotional problem.

He was the youngest of four boys, all of whom were different in body type from Sam and extremely successful as athletes. He was closer to his mother and more protected than the others. His early vocational choice reflected an ambition his mother had long harbored—art. Although Sam took additional instruction, he soon realized that art as a career was not very promising for him. This decision was crucial for him. His career was filled with compensation for his believed physical inferiority. His ventures in art, in extracurricular activity, and in pre-medical courses all became a life-and-death matter. There was a feeling that he *must* succeed, that his very existence depended upon success. When he saw, after several conferences, how his early history was influencing his present behavior, his attitude toward his pre-medical courses improved, together with his grades. He prepared for the quizzes by studying with a fellow student. The student quizzed him, and he quizzed the student. They even made written quizzes for each other similar to the ones given by the instructor. The new perspective, together with these preliminary quizzes, lessened the tension, and his improved attitude and accomplishment, which he attributed to the conferences with an understanding counselor, did much to improve his morale.

Tom O. was concerned about his poor study efficiency despite the fact that he had very high motivation in his field of engineering. He stated that there was an emotional factor which has interfered

with his efficiency all his life. Both parents are college graduates and have been quite successful, yet he learned so little of the elementary skills in the second grade that he was not promoted. He volunteered that he had always been overprotected by his mother, who had separated from his father when Tom was quite young. This coddling produced the first repercussions when he entered school. He thinks the "lickings" the kids gave him had much to do with his poor grades then. His two years in the Army had been of no help. The change from home was so great and so sudden that he never became fully adapted to it. He seemed so different from most of the people he met that he remained rather aloof except for a very few friends, and mechanically went through the routine of Army life.

Batteries of ability tests showed wide variation in aptitudes. (On the verbal scale of the Wechsler-Bellevue test, he had an IQ of 124, which is high average, but on the performance scale an IQ of 103, which is low average.) There was great test variability—superior performance on some tests and very poor performance on others. He said that he had a history of variable performance, and it seemed to be related to his emotional state at the time of the test.

The testing program indicated that he would probably do better work by changing to the College of Arts and Science, and since he had an interest in botany through his hobbies he selected this field as his major. He was assured that he could do good college work. This assurance was one of the major factors in helping him. Since some of his basic skills in grade school were extremely deficient, he attended the reading and study clinic and, with his strong motivation, progressed very rapidly in mastering these elements.

The counselor surmised that Tom's greatest problem was emotional in nature. Tom said that, if he could only find a vocation in which he could lose himself and which promised success, he knew he could do very well, because those ventures to which he could respond fully resulted in superior performance. He filled out a pre-interview blank (see the sample in the Appendix of this book) and then supplemented it with voluntary comments about his early life. After several interviews with free discussion on his part, he was able to talk about problems that had bothered him for years, problems that had caused him to feel inadequate and different. After a couple of sessions of real catharsis he said that at one time he believed he would never be able to talk about such matters with anyone.

In short, his personality problem began with the break in his family which occurred very early in his life. His mother had told Tom about the scandal leading to the parents' separation in a manner which caused Tom to believe that because of this his family had been permanently disgraced and there was a blemish on him

for life. Similar temperamental and behavioral traits in him and in his father disturbed his mother, and she passed this concern innocently on to Tom. The counselor saw Tom as a fine-looking, well-groomed, hard-working student, capable of doing satisfactory to superior college work, but possessing a strong emotional block. He realized that Tom had never accepted himself as a worthy individual and was in mortal fear of his contemporaries and their opinions. Tom's response to the reassurance and the acceptance on the part of the counselor was remarkable. He obviously wanted to discuss his father and his own believed doom with someone, but his mother had sworn him to secrecy. He said after a few interviews, "This sort of thing is what I have been wanting all my life—a chance to look at everything, to see what I am really like and to know whether I can ever amount to anything."

After the first interview his attitude began to change, and after six or seven interviews his efficiency improved and his behavior toward his contemporaries became more effective. He less often repressed unpleasant memories and brooded; he more frankly faced the difficulties which confronted him. His grades improved in one semester. Instead of failing a course as he had in the first semester and obtaining mediocre grades in the others, in the second semester he obtained superior grades in all but one course and had no failures. He still had periods of depression and brooding, but they were less frequent. He felt assured about his future and about his vocation. He had an outlet for his energies and a new attitude toward and methods of dealing with his emotional problems.

There follows a check-list of techniques which have been found to be of value as study habits. Not all good students have all these habits, and not all poor students lack all of them, but these suggestions are valuable in improving the work of a typical student. They also enable the student of superior ability to make the time invested in study more effective. All these techniques do not have equal value; some are many times more effective than others.

An interesting way to use this check-list is to read over each of these suggestions and note on a separate sheet of paper the ones which apply to you. You might perform a brief experiment. Compare your results with those of students of known efficiency or inefficiency in school work.

Check-List of Effective Study Habits

Motives and Incentives for Study

- * I have several definite, strong *reasons for attending college*.
- * I have selected a *vocation* and have planned a tentative course.
- * I have found several good *reasons for knowing the material* in each course I am pursuing, and I see its value.
- * I have a keen *urge for success in college*.

Class Period Study and Note Taking

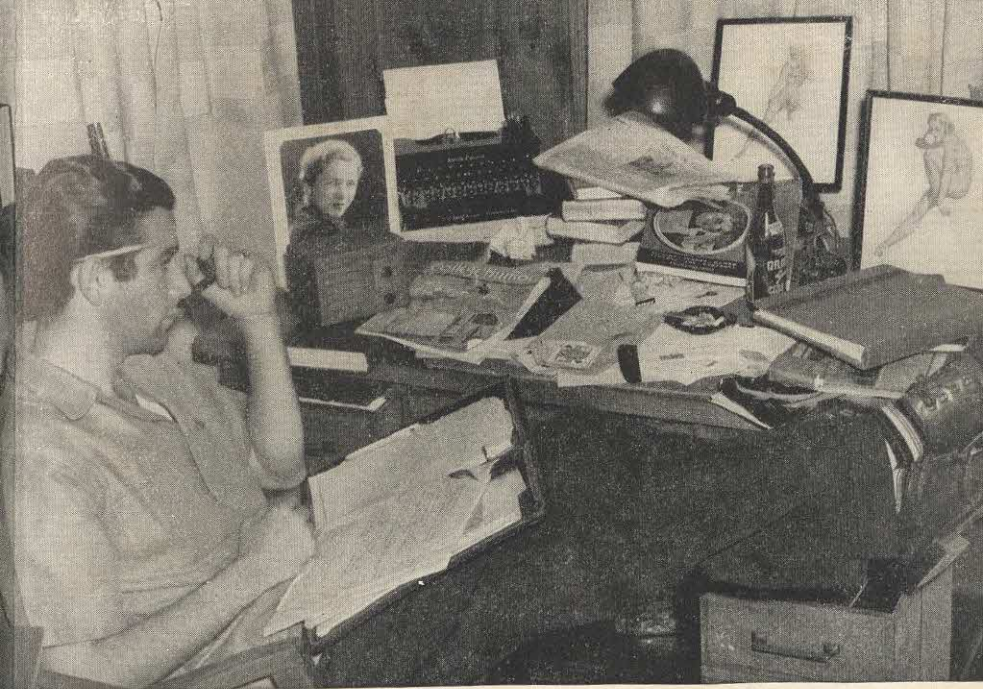
- * I am *active* all during class—I force myself to be so. I ask myself questions and try to see why every step occurs when it does.
- * I review the classroom work shortly *after the period is over* and before notes are cold.
- * I *prepare for class* by anticipating the topic for the day, go into class with certain questions in my mind, and I maintain the critical attitude. I get the *essence* of the lecture in a full, organized outline.
- * I realize that it pays to *attend class* for I know it will often take hours to compensate for a lost lecture in preparing for an examination. My *notes* are neither too brief nor too long and are as personal as possible.

Preparing for and Taking Examinations

- My *preparation for examinations* is just a rigorous review in the form of a self-quiz. I try to learn the essentials or the total outline first and get the details later.
- * I enter the examination room knowing that I have done my best, and that if I remain *cool* and work hard I'll do well.
 - I never *expect the impossible* of myself. If I did, I would always be unhappy and disappointed.
 - I write first the answers of which I am certain—for *encouragement*.
 - I am sure I *understand* just what a question calls for before answering it.
 - I have learned not to become *flustered at examinations* by preparing examinations and taking them myself at home, by being prepared, by realizing everyone else is subjected to the same conditions, and by realizing that this examination is just one of many.
 - I roughly schedule my *time* so that the entire quiz will be covered and *check* all my answers before handing in my paper.

Schedule and Plan of Work

- * I have a schedule and have a *specific time* each day for a certain subject.
- * I have a book all ready to open when the hour for study arrives, and I *start with a bang!*



*In which study environment do you think you could work better?
Do these study situations throw light on the personalities of the two
students?*





Classroom behavior is highly variable, but only alert, concentrated behavior is associated with comprehension of the lecture and utilization of the material for later study. A photographer who snaps the picture of the rear corner of a class late in the hour, with students unaware of his presence, might well find the students in the postures shown in this picture. Some will be alert, others talking, some sleeping or applying make-up, and still others daydreaming.

- * My *study periods* are not too long or too short, but they are regular.
- * I take time out for *rest*, but I see to it that I return to study.
- * I have a *definite place* to study and do nothing else but study in that place. As soon as I sit down there, it suggests study.
- * My place of study is not surrounded by too much noise or too many distracting people. My desk and wall are *devoid of distracting objects*.
- * I have a *time for play* and amusement, so I don't feel that I am missing anything while studying.
- * I do not try to *do the impossible in one night*. If I did I would fail and continually flog myself mentally for failing.

Habits of Concentration and Daily Preparation

- * I always get a *general idea* of the nature of the assignment and what I am to know when I finish studying. Then I go over the material carefully.
- * I stop at the end of each section and *review in my own words* what I have just studied. I sometimes outline or mark the book but always get the substance in a form that can be reviewed.
- * I utilize statistical tables, graphs, italicized and bold type, topic and summary sentences. With these and other aids I try to discriminate between the important and the irrelevant.
- * At the end of the assignment, I *quiz myself* in a fashion similar to the quizzes in class.
- * I am careful to get the knowledge *accurately* the first time.
- * I always think of the *meaning* of the facts, how they are related to other facts I know and to material of everyday life.
- * In memory work, I realize that every word or name has been selected for some *reason*. Knowing that reason helps me to remember it.
- * In memory work, I always *overlearn* rather than learn just to the point of perfect recitation.
- * I use odd times to *review* that which I have learned—*between classes* and in the afternoon.
- * I *do not allow myself to daydream*, for I am continually checking on my progress.
- * I *study with others* only after I know the material and want to be tested, or when there is a particular point I don't understand.

Proficiency in Foundation Subjects

I *read rapidly*, always seeking the main ideas, and without speaking the words to myself or pausing over words.

I am mastering one *new word* each day.

My grades are not being lowered by repetition of a few *errors* in spelling, arithmetic, or grammar.

Other Factors Affecting Study

- * I am in good *health*; my eyesight is good or corrected with glasses; I have periodic medical examinations.
- * I have good daily *hygienic habits*—habits of regular hours for sleep, of eating nourishing food, of proper elimination, and of sufficient outdoor exercise.
- * I try to overcome all *aversions* to *subjects or teachers* incompatible with my personality by talking over the matter with a confidante.
I have taken a college aptitude or *intelligence test* and know how much I can expect of myself and how hard I must work to attain my goal.
I possess the necessary tools for work, such as my own books and laboratory supplies. I realize the failure to buy books is a false economy in view of my total investment.

Evidence of effectiveness of good study habits. The starred methods in the above check-list either were found experimentally to be effective as learning devices or were found to distinguish good from poor students (1-6). In one investigation the study habits of students of similar intelligence and of similar class status (time spent in college) were compared. The students with higher averages practiced certain of the above study techniques more often than did the students with lower averages (7, 8).

Factors affecting academic success. Efficient study methods, however, are not the only factors or the most important ones when the group as a whole is considered in predicting college success (9, 10). *Aptitude for college work* as revealed by standardized tests and *previous school success* as shown in high school grades are found to be most closely associated with academic success in college (11-14). For any individual student the factors causing success or failure in college differ. Although for the group as a whole those with higher aptitude and a previous history of school success have the most favorable outlook, there are exceptions (15-18).

The author took from his roll book the records of three pairs of students who were among the 90 students enrolled in a class in General Psychology. Members of the pairs were alike in intelligence but, as will be noticed in the listing below, widely different in semester grades based largely on objective tests. In two of the cases the difference is almost as great as the range of grades in the course. Obviously it is the *efficient use of ability*

because of *motivation*, good *study habits*, *attitudes*, and *personality traits* which explains these differences in grades.

<i>Initials</i>	<i>Intelligence Test Score</i>	<i>Semester Grade</i>
J. S.	135	F (failure)
A. S.	135	S (superior)
R. T. S.	154	I- (very inferior)
L. P.	159	S+ (very superior)
M. M.	184	I (inferior)
R. P.	187	E+ (highly excellent)

Can study habits be improved in college? At numerous schools and colleges in which courses and projects in study methods are given and records computed, it has been reported that the courses resulted in an improvement of the group taking them as compared with a similar group of students with no instruction of this type (19-27).

At Ohio State University a student is required to attain a point-hour ratio of 1.8 for graduation. Two groups of probation students of the same intellectual status had received a point-hour ratio of 0.77. One of these groups was given instruction in study habits; during the period the ratio for this group rose to 1.79, and for the matched, untrained group to 1.04 (19).

Is the training a permanent acquisition? The answer to this question comes from the same university. Approximately three and a half years after the training 58 per cent of the study class maintained a passing average, and only 18 per cent of the control group had reached this standard (28).

A course in study habits will not automatically cause the student to improve in school efficiency because, as stated above, techniques of study represent only one factor in college success. Students who entered college with a poor school history and a below-average college aptitude were grouped together and not allowed to take certain difficult courses, but were given instead instruction in study methods and remedial reading. This course did not change greatly the quality of the school work of these students (29).

Success in college, then, is related to several factors, and it is well for the student to know how he rates in each of these. If he is low in college aptitude and previous school grades, he must rely on improved study methods and strong, sane motivation,

and sometimes on a modified program (30) to perform satisfactorily in college (31, 32).

MOTIVATION FOR STUDY

Individual differences in motivation. Look at the students around you and you will notice how they seem to vary in kind and seriousness of purpose. There are those students who are eager for knowledge, who want to understand the nature of the world and of man. Others regard courses and knowledge merely as a means to professional or business success. There are, in addition, those who see purpose in their school work but, because of insecurity in their background or because of personal problems, are unable to marshal their efforts to the attainment of good grades. Finally, there are the playboys, the drifters, and the students who are much more interested in the extra-curricular aspects of college; they obtain grades only high enough to enable them to enjoy life on the campus. Many variations of these patterns can be found. An understanding of their motivation requires a complete study of their personal histories, which is undertaken more thoroughly in Chapter 6.

Sustained motivation and temporary incentives. As mentioned earlier, motivation refers primarily to those persistent conditions within the organism which dominate and direct behavior. Motivation strong enough to influence behavior over a period of several months or several years indicates some *stable direct influences within the organism* that usually are the result of development. Such motivation is more than the mental image that the student gets of himself sitting at a desk in his future professional role, or receiving scholastic honors, or enjoying success as a community leader. These daydreams may be supplementary, but the drives which keep the student at work are more deep-seated. Sustained motivation goes beyond a temporary incentive which produces results, as the desire to make grades in order to be initiated into a social organization (33, 34), an occasional thought of one's duty to one's parents, an appreciation of the sacrifice they are making, or the desire to maintain one's reputation (35). It is more than an interest in or enjoyment of a given course (36), or the desire to work for a certain teacher (33). It exceeds even the boost that comes from success

and the realization that learning can be fun. It is more urgent than the necessity to obtain good grades in pre-professional courses that are not too interesting in order to get into and succeed in a professional school or to get recommendations for jobs (35, 37). It is the force that is behind all these signs of inner force. Such external *incentives* and experiences can supplement motivation (35). When they are present they improve temporarily and often quite decisively the student's performance.

Unconscious motivation. Whereas some students are disorganized because of early insecurity and family problems or feelings of inadequacy, many are spurred by problems and difficulties. Some students compensate unconsciously for poor health, family background, low economic status, personal inadequacy, or insecurity. The unrest that grows from the social or personal status they experienced in high school finds an outlet in exceptional planning, long hours of work, and participation in college events. Sometimes these strong drives are verbalized into life purposes. We shall discuss this more thoroughly in the first part of Chapter 15.

Purpose as motivation. A study at Yale University revealed that those students who had a life and vocational purpose and were specifically and constantly planning in terms of them did superior academic work even though economic status and intelligence were ruled out as factors by statistical means (38). Students who planned to enter professions, for example, received better grades than those who anticipated business careers. This variation might be explained in part by the students' realization that many professional schools require good pre-professional grades for entrance. The following factors were not found to be motivating: the knowledge that a definite position was awaiting the student after graduation; family occupation or family tradition; and "attainment of unhampered choice of a vocation" (38). It appears, then, that merely knowing what you want to do is not the important factor. Rather, the inner conditions growing from personal and background factors cause you to recognize that a certain vocation will satisfy your desire for social acclaim and success.

Another study considered the total adjustment of the individual to college and attempted to discover what factors are instrumental in producing a good adjustment. *Purpose* was

again found important. Added to it was *decision*; its absence is indicated by dependence upon parents, adults, and fellow students for one's choices. A third factor was *social* in nature; it is absent in students who are timid, self-conscious, and who withdraw from social situations. The last factor was named *sensitivity*; it referred to the student's maturity and objectivity, his perspective in dealing with problems that arise, his ability to think about the situations he encounters instead of accepting them blindly. The absence of this factor is obvious in the playboy, the drifter, the provincial, and the individual with the "one-track" mind (39).

Maturity of purpose was very evident as motivation after World War II when the veterans returned to college (40). The factor of purpose or *persistence* has been noticed by a number of counselors in accounting for success (41-43), even though test results for the given individual may not have predicted success (44, 45). Persistence scores are found to be related to grades but not related to intelligence (46). The past history of the individual, particularly some of the aspects which show motivation, play a role in influencing college success (47).

Maturity and direction of motivation. Some individuals reflect very immature motivation. Those who are totally dependent on income and directions from home and show little purpose or planning of their own are examples. Such persons assume very few responsibilities and have only superficial understanding of current political and social problems. Their perspective regarding their role in the economic and political world is limited. Then there are the students who show degrees of maturity and responsibility. We see the students whose major preference is for organizational and administrative activity in campus groups. They may prove on the campus their competence to preside at meetings, to campaign for funds, and to supply the drive to keep an organization moving. Others may be quite successful in some business side line. These students vary in the degree to which they realize the value of college as background and training for later positions as executives. Some follow the temptation to belittle school work and emphasize the importance of their extraschool successes. Others realize that their initial interest in academic matters is weak compared to their preference for extraschool ventures, but as the result of

discussion and thought conclude that a college background constitutes necessary preparation for superior responsibility later. They recognize that this weak interest must be augmented by more thorough realization of the value of academic achievement for later success and by association with students of higher academic motivation. Studies show that the clarification of vocational aims increases interest in courses related to these aims (48, 49).

Motivation and study efficiency. Although the studies on groups of students fail to show that tendencies toward emotional instability always interfere with grades, there are cases in which emotional and motivational problems do affect scholarship (50-56). One study of gifted children indicated that those who were not too successful academically or in life were influenced in part by emotional and motivational factors in their history (57). We shall see in Chapter 14 how these states of depression and listlessness affect behavior.

Some school inefficiency is explained by a conflict in motivation. There are students whose aptitudes and interests push them strongly toward one area of endeavor, whereas their parents, advisers, traditions, or some other force move them toward some incompatible field. There are others who are competing in a field or at a level beyond their present capacity. These individuals might succeed in a different area or in a less taxing situation. We shall discuss them in Chapter 9.

Finally, there are those students who have a negative attitude toward work, or who lack enthusiasm to carry them through the work-a-day world. They have not clearly envisaged their life goals and purposes, nor have they seen the relationship between these goals and their present academic activities.

The student who lacks the drive to carry him through his daily responsibilities should try to ascertain the cause of it: Is he immature? Does he need to talk about some of his goals and present habits and discover what is required of him and whether he at present has the habits and attitudes which will enable him to meet these requirements? Or, on the other hand, is he an individual who is in a field that is foreign to his basic interests and attitudes? Has he plunged into a curriculum for some superficial reason only to revolt against all that the curriculum means? Is he competing in a curriculum or college where the

majority have a background far beyond his in maturity, preparation, and aptitude, and should he change to a different kind of curriculum or institution where greater success would be assured? Does he have some deeper emotional problem requiring solution through counsel which interferes with his efficiency?

Success in school and later performance. *Business success.*

1. Grades and later income. Salaries of several thousand college graduates in the employ of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company were studied thirty years after graduation. This is one measure of success, and this study shows its relationship to the caliber of the school work these men had done. Divisions of grades were made on the basis of four groups: those in the upper tenth of the class, those in the first third, those in the middle third, and those in the lowest third. The median of the salaries in each of these divisions showed the progressively higher income to be associated with higher grades, particularly after an initial period of service. It will be noted that these results are based on medians or mid-salaries in a group. The study does not show that *all* men graduating in the upper tenth did better than the rest of the men in the upper third. But it does show a definite *tendency* for men receiving good grades in school to be more successful in an institution like the Bell System than those making lower grades (58).

An incidental finding in the Telephone Company study which should be emphasized in a text on adjustment is that there is an initial five-year period of adjustment during which there is slight difference between the salaries of the various scholarship groups. The ambitious should be aware of this period, which probably exists in many vocations. Somewhat similar results come from a study of school achievement and vocational status in small communities (59).

2. Personality and later income. Success in extracurricular participation is also predictive of later success. The three highest and three lowest ranking students in school grades and extracurricular achievement at Wesleyan University from 1897 to 1916 were studied. There were distinct differences in worldly success, as rated by classmates, between students who showed marked achievement and no achievement on the campus (60). Other studies corroborate these results (61-65). For some vocations, like "business," extracurricular achievement in college is more

closely related to success than is scholarship. In others such as law, teaching, and the ministry, scholarship is more indicative of success (63). Age at graduation is also related to later success (62).

Personality traits which correlate relatively high with later salary are: accuracy, social interest, enthusiasm, aggressiveness, and popularity. Although the rating technique is subject to error, these results seem to agree with common observation (65).

3. Conclusions regarding college records and success. The conclusion of these studies is that *the predictive value of various records and achievements in college varies with the type of work the individual will enter later*. In selling and personal contact work, common sense would lead one to believe that other factors besides scholarship would probably be more indicative of future success. If a student is successful in his contacts around the campus as an active member in several organizations, he is apt to be successful in such types of work in the business world. On the other hand, if a student is successful in technical classroom and laboratory work, he will probably be successful when he applies this skill and knowledge later; he will also reap the benefits of the habits of hard work and perseverance which good grades usually require (66).

Achievement and success in life. In addition to success in terms of monetary returns, there are many more *real* forms of success, some of which cannot be measured at all. Success in friendship, success in marriage, success as a parent, success in relationships with other persons, success in attaining happiness and mental serenity are all true forms of achievement. It is difficult to measure and ascertain quantitative degrees of success obtained in terms of these achievements. Persons rarely realize or take credit for the fact that they are successful in their superior adjustment in these realms of human activity, although these areas have the greatest intrinsic value.

Furthermore, there is the success acknowledged by our fellow men because of our own attainments as a leader in our professional world or community life. It has been found that the members of Phi Beta Kappa and honor scholars are much more likely to succeed, if success is measured by the appearance of their names in *Who's Who in America* (a directory of prominent people in this country). This study is based on records from

twenty-two different colleges (63, 67). Harvard graduates of the class of 1894 were studied to learn the type of school work which had been done by the individuals most successful after graduation. Three judges used their own interpretation of success, with the qualification that the success should not be due to family wealth or position. Twenty-three men were chosen by one or more of the judges. These twenty-three formed one group which was compared with another group of Harvard men of the same class selected at random. The men of the successful group had earned as undergraduate students 196 of the highest academic grades, whereas the individuals of the other group selected at random had earned only 56 of the highest academic grades (68).

A more recent study showed that success in terms of salary is related to father's occupational level, to self-support in college, and to participation in extracurricular activities. Serious reading and membership in college organizations were found more often among those with higher salaries and occupational ranks (69). Whether the student graduated or not does not seem to be significant when success is measured by such criteria as job satisfaction, cultural status, morale, and enjoyment of leisure time rather than by economic status (70).

IMPROVING BASIC STUDY HABITS

Special aspects of study such as reading, note taking, and examinations are discussed below. The student should also consult the basic suggestions for efficient learning entitled "Aids to Learning and Memory," page 71.

Note taking. *Prepare for the lecture before attending.* If the lecturer's topic has been announced, try to anticipate his presentation by making a skeleton outline of the subject before entering the class. This may mean the difference between a clear-cut comprehension of the lecture material and a hazy idea. If the lecturer has suggested some *preparatory reading*, utilize it. Preparation for the lecture orients you and produces an alertness for the material which will convert the lecture period into a study period. The material presented will not be entirely new and baffling. You will find yourself thinking, "Oh, yes, these lectures are organized like that book, giving the same

five forms of evidence for this theory," or "He is spending this hour reviewing and refuting that section in the text I read last night."

If preparatory readings have not been suggested, it might be well to review previous lectures and look ahead to subsequent sections in the textbook. Preparation for lectures results in your seeing the material as a whole and reacting to it as such, rather than merely writing down statements. Preparation should also include ascertaining the type of lecture to be given. Knowledge of this will allow you to *set* yourself for the lecture.

Outline your lecture notes. Discover the *one or more main topics* of each day's lecture or reading material. Subtopics can be arranged systematically under them. Below is a portion of material in outline and in paragraph form, both containing the essentials of several pages of a text digested by the same student (71).

Notes Taken in Outline Form

- I. Arthropoda.
 - A. Crayfish is a member of the class Crustacea in Phylum Arthropoda.
 - B. Structure resembles Annulata but more specialized.
 - 1. Bilaterally symmetrical body is metameric.
 - 2. Paired appendages.
 - C. For most part, aquatic animals.
 - 1. From primeval habitat, the sea, migrated into fresh water.
 - 2. Land-dwelling crustaceans offshoots of aquatic group.
 - D. Other great classes of Arthropoda adapted to land.
 - 1. Insecta, or insects.
 - 2. Arachnida, which includes spiders and scorpions.
- II. The Crayfish.
 - A. Occurrence and distribution.
 - 1. Widely used in zoological study to illustrate:
 - a. general principles.
 - b. structure of crustaceans.
 - 2. Abound in fresh water of more temperate regions of North America.
 - a. distribution also determined by past migrations.
 - b. absent from parts of New England.
 - c. in favorable environment, found in Mississippi valley, Pacific Northwest, and southeastern states.
 - 3. Distribution in other parts of the world.
 - a. genus *Potamobius* found in Europe, Asia and North America west of Rockies.
 - b. genus *Cambarus* typical for rest of North America.
 - c. other genera found in southern hemisphere.

B. General external features.

1. Three principal regions of the body.
 - a. head.
 - b. thorax.
 - c. abdomen.

Notes Taken in Paragraph Form

The crayfish is a member of the class Crustacea in the Phylum Arthropoda. It is a type of structure resembling that of the Annulata, since the bilaterally symmetrical body is metameric and there are paired appendages; however, the general organization is more organized. Crustacea are for the most part aquatic animals, although a few species are terrestrial in their mode of life. From their primeval habitat, the sea, the ancestors of crustaceans seem to have migrated into fresh water. The few species of land-dwelling crustaceans are clearly offshoots of a group that is primarily aquatic. Two other great classes of Arthropoda, the Insecta or insects, and the Arachnida, which includes the spiders and scorpions, are thoroughly adapted to terrestrial life.

Crayfish have been widely used in zoological study to illustrate certain general principles as well as the structure of a crustacean. They abound in the bodies of fresh water in the more temperate regions of North America although their distribution is also determined by past migrations. They are entirely absent from parts of New England, but they are present throughout most of the Mississippi valley, in the Pacific Northwest, and in the southeastern states. Members of the genus *Potamobius* (*Astacus*) are found in Europe, Asia, and North America west of the Rocky Mountains; the genus *Cambarus* is typical for the rest of North America.

There are three principal regions of the body: the head, thorax, and the abdomen.

Notice how easily the outline can be perceived, comprehended, and visualized. Contrast this with the difficulty of grasping the same material in paragraph form. In taking notes you must learn to condense the ideas of the lecturer by omitting unimportant words, by abbreviating, by writing only essentials, and by putting in key reminder words and phrases for illustrative material. An outline allows the emphasis of important main topics and the relation of the subtopics to them. The instructor will give many cues in lecturing, in addition to his main topic, which will help in outlining, such as, "These are three reasons for —," "The development of this condition can be divided into two parts," "Contrasted to this viewpoint —," and "More evidence along the same line is —." Such statements as these give definite cues for headings, subheadings, and the numbering of coordinate points. Sometimes you must depend upon

tone of voice, on emphasis, or on a pause to discern important divisions in the lecture. If you miss a point, do not stop—you may lose many more in trying to find it. Get it later from a student or your instructor.

An investigation showed the superiority of a group of students who used outlines in study over a group of students who did not (72). It has been found further that students, even of junior and senior status, are incapable of discovering and outlining an author's plan or of using his mechanical devices for making the organization of his ideas clear. It is important, then, that you emphasize the outline and suggestions with respect to major and minor topics in lectures and readings (73).

Assume an active sense-seeking attitude. You should check your attitude with questions like these: "Am I active mentally during a lecture or reading? Do I understand the material presented? Are the facts as I had expected them to be? Do I see one topic as following the preceding one? Does something seem to be omitted? Does it all make a unit? Do I agree with it? Do I understand and get the meaning of the material, and do I then record meaningful, unified, concise notes which will bring the entire lecture back to me later? Do I realize that I am not a stenographer, that I am not interested in words but meanings, that I cannot and do not desire to record everything, but, instead, that I want to hear and react to the lecture? Do I make it clear to myself that I do not want my note taking to interfere with my understanding of or reaction to the course?"

A questionnaire study of students in an eastern university showed only a very small percentage of students taking notes on everything said and a similar percentage failing to take any notes at all. About one-third took occasional notes, and approximately the same number took notes on half of the statements. Students oriented in terms of a chosen career more often took notes (74).

Honor students mentioned keeping complete notes among the factors they found effective in study (3). A committee of seniors in the Carnegie Institute of Technology, after investigating the note taking of students, stated that 75 per cent of the students changed their system of taking notes during their college career, and most of them at the end of four years had arrived at a similar "best way of keeping notes" which they thought should be

presented to freshmen (75). Other evidence indicates that the taking of notes aids in examinations, full, clear, definite notes aiding more than brief, vague ones. The immediate value of notes is not so great as the delayed value, although one author suggests taking notes even though they are not to be used later (76-78).

Some students derive pleasure and profit from recording their personal reactions on their outlines by the use of such symbols as (?), (!), (X), (*), etc. Other suggestions that produce an active attitude are: anticipate material to come; relate present topic to foregoing subjects. When the lecture is over, glance at your notes; see them as a unit. The essence of the material presented should be recorded in a fashion to suggest the whole lecture. Ask questions of the lecturer or your fellow students.

Try some of the above suggestions and see which ones aid you most.

Plan to take accurate, full notes and to review them often. A student's notes are certainly no better at a later date than they are when written. The consensus of writers on note taking is as follows: notes should contain meaningful statements. A good plan is to leave plenty of space between statements, so that later notes may be added if desired, indent for subtopics, allow room for later underlining and supplementation after having talked with the lecturer or fellow students, or after having checked the lecture material in texts. The cautious student plans to review notes as soon after the lecture as possible. He reviews them often as whole units. It is well to connect a week's lecture material and see it in its entirety. Forgetting is a rapid process, and it occurs in greatest amounts immediately after learning. This can be counteracted by an early mastery and frequent, subsequent reviews.

Some writers on study habits suggest that students should not plan to rewrite or type notes because this encourages initial carelessness and is a waste of time. The original notes taken in the room suggest items of the lecture not written down. They suggest spending in review the time that would be consumed in revision. *Notes are a means to an end*, not an end in themselves. Shorthand is usually not recommended. When the student selects material he puts an emphasis on importance and meaning. Notes should be read critically, important topics underlined,

points clarified, and sentences completed to make them clear at a later reading. There are some good students, however, who enjoy perfecting their notes and insist it is a good study habit for them. All of the study period should not be spent in perfecting notes. The greater portion should be spent in learning the material they represent.

A large loose-leaf notebook affords permanence. It can hold the notes for every course, and then all one's notes will always be available. Each page can be entitled, numbered, and taken out or added to other class notes and can later be filed for future reference. Neatness and conciseness of organization and clarity of notes contribute to a better understanding of them. Some students take as much pride in and care of their four years of college notes as a businessman does of his filing system.

Efficient reading. *Importance of reading skill.* Such a large portion of study consists in reading that it is imperative to be able to read efficiently. A review of the studies on the reading ability of college students reveals some almost incredible facts. Approximately 25 per cent of college students examined in two schools read less rapidly than the median eighth-grade student, and about 7 per cent fell below this standard in comprehension of the material read (79). Consequently, their efficiency in courses demanding reading was impaired, and grades were affected. There is statistical evidence that highly skilled readers earn more credits during the college semester than less expert readers (80-82).

Writers have reported individual increases in speed of reading ranging from small percentages to 250 per cent when the student has made a conscious effort to improve. These variations depend partially on methods of computation in the experiment. The average of improvement in reading for groups of college students who have had special training is from about 25 to 50 per cent for speed, and higher percentages for comprehension (83-92). Consider the importance of any of these increases, with resultant improved grades, to the student who is assigned considerable reading (93).

Reading ability has been found to be related to intelligence, and thus this factor would affect the amount of improvement possible in the reading (83). Not only will improved reading result in better grades, but it will also permanently heighten

personal efficiency. Everyday life is filled with reading and potential reading pleasures. The man who has learned to read for enjoyment holds insurance against boredom.

Reasons for ineffective reading. The *speed of reading* and the *degree of comprehension* of the material are two general factors in reading efficiency. In reading, the eyes do not move slowly and uninterruptedly across the page but, instead, move with a series of jerks and pauses. Approximately 94 per cent of the reading time is consumed during these pauses (94). If you can, observe the eye movement of your roommate by placing a mirror on the page opposite the one he is reading, while the book is flat upon the desk, and noting the movement of his eyes as he reads. The number and length of pauses vary inversely with the skill of reading. Frequently, in addition, the eyes move back to reread portions already passed.

It is not difficult to understand the reduced efficiency of a reader who pauses often for lengthy intervals and occasionally has to reread lines. Some individuals exhibit as few as 4 pauses per line; others as many as 14 under the same conditions. Some individuals have read on the average less than one single word per pause (94). Furthermore, it is clear that this type of reader does not join meanings rapidly so that they fuse and give rise to larger meanings, but, instead, he joins partial meanings, some of which are forgotten because of the interval between the first and last pause in a sentence.

Another cause of reduced speed is *articulation, or lip and throat movements*. The eyes can perceive more rapidly than the speech mechanism can articulate. Silent reading is almost twice as rapid as oral reading. Oral reading further distracts from the meaning in that attention is given to speaking and perceiving the stimulus or word itself. The words are not important in reading—the meaning is.

Good reading, then, is *rapid reading* accelerated by an *extensive intake* at each pause, *few backward motions*, and *absence of vocalization*. Whole meanings are grasped and fused rapidly before forgetting can occur (94-96).

Improve your reading speed and comprehension. Ascertain your speed of reading. Read a book of average difficulty for five or ten minutes. Estimate the number of words read by counting representative lines, and ascertain the words you read

per minute. If your rate is not well above 250, practice will be profitable. The range for college freshmen is from 100 to 400 words per minute (97). Select a book to read daily, with the aim of increasing reading ability. Ascertain how many pages you can read in a definite length of time. It is well to make calculations in terms of lines. Then it is possible to notice more accurately an increase over a period of a week. It will be interesting to plot a learning curve of your improvement, as shown on page 73.

Daily practice in increasing your perceptual intake, or attempting to grasp groups of words at a single glance, will be helpful. Practice in reading against time and in reading without vocalization to increase speed will reap results. Articulation can be detected and prevented by placing the fingers on the throat while speaking, then placing them there as you read. This will aid in discovering whether the lips move or the throat vibrates while you read. Practice will eliminate these useless distracting vocalizing movements. Daily increase of vocabulary also allows more rapid comprehension and increased reading speed (98-100). Your college may be one of the many which have instituted remedial reading clinics (101, 102).

Vary your attack with the material at hand. Bacon said, "Some books ought to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested . . ." Sometimes one wants only the meaning, and in such case it is well to skip as many words and read as rapidly as possible as long as the meaning is gained. In other cases, laws, definitions, and principles are to be mastered. There are also books to be read for appreciation, in which case one will want to allow associations to arise as the material is read. For books deserving critical treatment, reflections will intervene between sections read (103).

Miscellaneous aids to reading. A rapid review of the title and main topics produces a mental set which allows the material to be accepted more readily. A good vocabulary or a gradually increasing vocabulary allows greater comprehension. The correction of eye defects by glasses increases efficiency and comfort in reading. Taking notes and outlining the material aid in its fixation. Scholars report pleasure and profit from underlining and making marginal notes while reading. Most writers use topics, subtopics, italics, and other devices to place emphasis

upon the essence of a paragraph. The wise use of these and the initial sentences in the paragraphs will prove helpful (104). Tables, graphs, pictures, and diagrams are included in books because they are more vivid methods of presentation and are the most effective techniques for conveying important facts and principles.

Compensating for poor preparation. College requires definite skills or tool knowledge, among which are ordinary skills in English composition, mathematics, spelling, and reading. The student should be able to write a discourse without errors in grammar, be able to compute simple arithmetic and algebraic operations, and should have average speed and comprehension in reading.

Unfortunately, many students reach college without these prerequisite tools and are handicapped (105-107). A review of some of the findings concerning poor preparation for college shows 24 per cent of one group of underclassmen to be below the eighth-grade norm in arithmetic. This percentage rose to 40 on a test in division. In English, the percentage below the average eighth-grade student was 6 (79). In one college, tests showed that 42 per cent of the students did not know which of four pronouns was in the first person; 50 per cent could not locate the antecedent of a pronoun in a sentence; 26 per cent were unable to compute arithmetical percentage; and 38 per cent were baffled in division of common fractions. Additional results are available which indicate marked improvement in these deficiencies resulting from remedial treatment: 89 per cent of the students deficient in English and 85 per cent of those deficient in arithmetic made scores exceeding the eighth-grade average after training (108).

Poor preparation is a definite source of failure, but it is one that can be removed if the student discovers his weakness and sets out with vehemence to overcome it. Deficiencies will persist in many cases unless the student discovers and corrects them (109). One college instructor noted that, of 18 courses failed by 30 probation students, 17 of the courses were being repeated. On the other hand, only one of 19 new courses pursued was failed (110). This indicates empirically that, if a deficiency exists, taking the course a second time does not always remove it. The wiser procedure would consist of drill in those deficient

elements which are prerequisite to successful pursual of the course.

Deficiencies can often be located by the instructor in charge of the course. A student will usually find that, if he is honestly seeking to locate the causes of his low grades with the intention of removing them, the instructor will aid him. Ask your instructor for his opinion of the cause of your failure and some possible exercises for the removal of the deficiency. Another method of detecting the factors which are lowering your achievement is to consult good students and compare their method of preparing for examinations with your method. After the weakness in your attack is determined, you can set out with strong motivation to overcome it by daily remedial work.

The following pamphlets and books will be found to be valuable for discovering and remedying defects (111).

- S. L. Pressey and L. C. Pressey, *Essential Preparations for College*, Farrar & Rinehart (35¢). An enumeration of the minimum knowledge necessary for successful college work.
- L. C. Pressey, *A Manual of Reading Exercises for College Freshmen*, Ohio State University Press (95¢). Forty exercises to improve poor reading.
- S. A. Courtis, *Practice Exercises*, World Book Co., Yonkers, N. Y. Arithmetical exercises dealing with whole numbers.
- E. Wildeman, *Practice Exercises*, Plymouth Press, Chicago. Arithmetical exercises dealing with fractions.
- S. L. Pressey and F. R. Conkling, *Student Handbook of Correctness in Written Work*, Public School Pub. Co., Bloomington, Ill. A manual containing the essentials of correct writing.
- S. L. Pressey, *Chart of Illegibilities*, Public School Pub. Co., Bloomington, Ill. (10¢). A manual containing the essentials of correct writing.
- W. S. Guiler and R. L. Henry, *Remedial English*, Ginn & Co. (80¢).

These manuals contain the absolute essentials for reading, computation, and writing. Often two or three mistakes occur repeatedly. The student sees these few mistakes as many and surrenders in discouragement. This is certainly true of errors in penmanship. It has been found that no person makes more than half a dozen errors in the formation of letters, but these are repeated again and again. Inability to do a simple algebraic operation may prove fatal on chemistry examinations involving problems (110).

Improvement of vocabulary. Today we put a great value on language and vocabulary. It has been said that importance is

attached not so much to what you say as to the manner in which you say it. You may have a mediocre or an excellent vocabulary. It depends largely upon you. Five minutes a day spent in the acquisition of a more extensive vocabulary will usually make the difference.

A feasible method of building a vocabulary and improving diction is to devote a small notebook to it. Carry your notebook everywhere, record all new words you hear in lectures, on the radio, at the theater or see in magazines and books. Look them up later, use them in sentences, then in conversation; in this way you will master them, and they will become a part of you. Some word *roots*, such as Latin, Greek, and Old English, are more prolific than others. Some of the Latin stems lead to the meaning of innumerable English words. It is enjoyable to conjecture the meaning of unknown words from their context and then to verify your guess. Buy a pocket notebook and determine to make an addition of two words a day to your vocabulary in a useful, meaningful manner. Most of us can well afford to make our speech more definite, vigorous, colorful, and varied. Some words are overused. *Synonyms* should supplant these. *Antonyms* help make ideas more interesting and powerful by contrast. There are available books on making vocabularies more dynamic (112). This is a definite, perceptible method of improving yourself.

An augmented general vocabulary aids study through the acquisition of the terminology of the various subject matters. It saves time and energy and increases comprehension. Above all, a good vocabulary enriches the individual's intellectual life and supplies him with tools for thought. Each science has its own vocabulary, which is repeated often throughout the textbooks. Rapid reading and comprehension is impossible without a clear, well-established meaning of these terms.

Taking examinations. *Thoroughly learn the subject matter.* When you have as your goal the thorough understanding and use of a body of subject matter and enjoy its acquisition, there is no cause for worry over examinations. Remember that tuition fees are no greater if you carry the maximum of knowledge from the course than if you retain the minimum. You may never again have the opportunity to sit before men who are specialists in the subject. The examination is a measure of your mastery of

the material and an opportunity to organize what has been learned. *The time to begin preparing for the final examination is at the beginning, not at the end of the course.*

Use every opportunity to prepare for examinations. At every lecture period, every study period, and every conference with instructors or fellow students, it is well to take this attitude: "What questions would compose an examination that will really test my knowledge of this course?" Formulate these questions and *answer them*. Realize that failure to answer them now means failure later, unless the answer is found. Frequent self-quizzes and quizzing by fellow students long before a class quiz and several thorough, strenuous reviews will prepare one for the most difficult of examinations. It is sometimes advantageous for the student who is making the final preparations for an examination to write a summary of the essence of the course and, in reviewing this, to determine the questions he would ask if he were the teacher of the course. It is also helpful to learn the type of test to be given, that is, whether it will contain short, long, essay, or objective questions; sample quizzes should be obtained if possible.

Obey the laws of health before examinations. If preparations for examinations have begun long before the date (as they should for the most effective retention), there will be no need for loss of sleep and appetite in an effort to cram. There will be no reason for variations of daily routine in any fashion. Any such deviations are apt to exert ill effects at the time of pressure. A good extensive review and self-recitation the evening before the examination will consummate and fixate the effects of previous efforts. The feeling of confidence issuing from this procedure will be conducive to sleep that night. An hour of sports will make a good night's sleep more certain. An early awakening and another review ought to prevent last-minute frantic efforts which disconcert rather than prepare. When such a program has been followed, the student has done all he can until the questions are given.

At the examination period, relax, work rapidly, and check. There is evidence that students are emotionally upset by exams, but this need not be too disturbing to performance in most cases after the student gets down to work and sees that rigorous study is producing success. Individuals differ in the extent to which

they are upset by exams. Counseling which reveals the basis should help (113-116).

Realize that you have done all that can be done. This will be stabilizing, whereas fear, uncertainty, and other negative attitudes have the contrary effect. The period of preparation has passed, and the task of the moment is to utilize previous preparation in the best possible fashion.

The questions and instructions must be read coolly and carefully. Instructional words such as "describe," "criticize," "list," "contrast" should be noted attentively. Answers should be planned mentally before they are written so that they will be well organized, definite, and concise. Technical words, diagrams, and illustrations should be used if relevant. Quantity does not compensate for qualitative deficiencies. When you feel confident that your answers are valid, you will find that writing them with dispatch and vigor is energizing for continued attack. Try to recall by using images from the book, the teacher, the lecture room, and notes which you may have associated with your teacher (117).

It is wise to apportion your time allotment, not nervously, but deliberately, and to write first those answers of which you feel confident and the ones that need deliberation later. Some students report that organizing their answers on separate sheets helps. It is worth remembering that neatness, clearness, and cleverness of organization are factors which influence the grader, whether he recognizes the fact or not. Extra time can be very profitably spent in reviewing answers and noting that all are answered. Partial answers or guesses based on knowledge are better than a blank page, but often a blank sheet is better than a sheer bluff (118).

In objective, short-answer examinations it is imperative that instructions be clearly understood, statements be carefully read, and, unless there is heavy penalty for guessing, each question attempted. Watch qualifying words such as "always," "not only," and "usually."

In connection with the new objective type of examination, the question of changing initial answers to individual questions arises. Often the student will arrive at one answer, later read the question again, and feel that another answer is correct. Experiments on recognizing pictures indicate that correct recog-

nitions are quick and produce confidence, whereas false recognitions have the opposite characteristics (119). This suggests a cue for the student who is trying to decide whether his recognition of a true-false statement is correct or not.

Profit through errors. When a quiz is returned, note all corrections and instances in which you failed to get the maximum credit. Determine your weaknesses and plan to correct them before the next examination. Learning progresses through errors. From one point of view, it is far more creditable to progress from a low performance to a high than to maintain a high performance. Use your errors as indications of what not to do next time. We are helpless to direct past events, but errors can act to guide us in the future. Past failure should be used as a means for future success, not as a source of regret and remorse.

Use of the library. *The value of the library.* The large university and city library systems furnish the means to secure a detailed answer to every question that can be asked, if information concerning the problem is available. Not only are there within the library buildings vast sources of information on every conceivable issue, but catalogues, indexes, and bibliographies give the student ready access to the particular volume in a short time. One of the great acquisitions you can make in college is facility in extensive use of the library. Research conducted to learn if grades are influenced by the amount of time the student used the library and by his knowledge concerning the library failed to show the apparent importance of the library. Possibly a measurement of *how well* the student uses the library would be more highly correlated with grades (120, 121). It is also true that too few courses require an extensive acquaintance with sources other than the text.

The library has another aspect—adventure. It has books on travel, hobbies, and your special enthusiasms. It has colorful magazines, the newspapers of many cities, the journals of your chosen vocation, and novels, plays, and short stories through which you can forget yourself and enter the lives of other people.

Acquaint yourself with the functions of the library. Discover how each of the departments can serve you: the reading room contains the current magazines, papers, and journals; the reference room makes available encyclopedias, indexes, and guides; the circulation department houses the stacks from which you

may draw books for use at home; in the reserve room are books that are in constant use and kept for consultation on the premises; and the department of special and rare collections offers a treat for the scholarly student. Learn the service that the librarian will render, should at any time your own efforts to secure a certain book prove fruitless. Understand how to use the catalogue, comprehend the system of classifying books, and know the call number ranges of the various fields.

Reference aids. There are certain volumes which are invaluable to the student who uses the library to enlarge his knowledge in a given field. By means of these guides all the available sources of information on a topic can be accumulated. The student may have a topic that interests him because of its relation to his personal life or because of the value he sees in it. He may be interested in knowing something about "insanity," "fear," "tariffs," "music," "primitive customs," or a specific aspect of one of these subjects. Below are some of the sources to which he can turn to get the names of specific books or articles. He will find himself swamped with material on any topic which interests him, and from the wealth of titles he can choose the articles which best satisfy his needs. Furthermore, the books or articles he uses will have bibliographies which will refer him to additional sources of information.

1. The card catalog. *The card catalog* contains *title* and *author* cards for every book in the library, and *subject* cards for innumerable fields. Subject cards are available for branches of a larger field, such as "child psychology" and "vocational guidance." There are, in addition, *cross-reference* cards which classify the books under related subject headings.

2. Indexes. *The United States Catalogue Index and Abstracts* and the monthly supplement called *Cumulative Book Index* give the names, authors, and publishers of the books that have been published in the period they cover. These are indexed by subjects and authors. *The Book Review Digest* lists important books of general interest. *The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature* serve as indexes for magazine and journal articles from selected periodicals. *The New York Times Index* enables one to determine the date of recent events and is thus a guide to the use of newspapers and news magazines. There are numerous other indexes

for specific fields, such as the *Dramatic Index*, the *Engineering Index Annual*, and the *Psychological Index*. In some fields there are journals containing abstracts of most of the books and articles published in that field, such as *Biological Abstracts* and *Psychological Abstracts*. *Who's Who* and *American Men of Science* are biographical indexes furnishing information about important personages.

3. General references. Dictionaries, encyclopedias, almanacs, and thesauri supply definitions, detailed articles, statistics, and synonyms and antonyms, respectively. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, of numerous volumes, contains authentic detailed articles on specific subjects in science, art, literature, etc. The *New International* and the *Encyclopedia Americana* are American encyclopedias and are similar in nature. *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* is an example of a more specialized reference.

4. Special references. Special fields have dictionaries, such as Warren's *Dictionary of Psychology*, Groves' *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and Champlin's *Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings*.

These are merely samples of some of the better known reference volumes. Besides these are found numerous other general and special volumes of value. An hour spent browsing among them will be repaid many times by the information gained. Before you set out to gain information in certain fields, you should learn whether there are available some sources similar to the above.

Preparation of papers. *The topic should interest you.* You will work harder on a topic that stimulates you. If you are assigned a topic, make it interest you by learning more about it, and see how it impinges on your life. Recognize the importance of the material, how culture, industry, or social knowledge depends upon the information. If you are writing a description or a short story, write about something that is a part of your experience, as "a college bull session," "a lawyer's son." Articles on your home town, on your summer's experience, on an interesting person you have known, and on a place you have visited are possibilities. Project yourself freely into the writing, and it may help you to see yourself better. This process is discussed on page 245.

Learn the type of paper desired. Usually, the object of a term paper or written assignment is to ascertain how well the student can collect, assimilate, and organize facts, think in terms of them, and from these create his *own* presentation of the topic. When an instructor desires something other than this he usually outlines specifically the type of paper he expects or makes a model available.

Plan and outline your paper before writing. Some sort of plan should precede the collection of materials, in spite of the fact that any plan for a discourse on a topic will be greatly altered after sources have been consulted. The initial plan should consist of a general outline of how you will treat the topic. As materials are collected from articles in journals and books, the outline will be changed and elaborated. For example, suppose the task at hand is to write a paper entitled "A Comparison of the Urban Russian and the Urban American." Topics such as home life, religion, language, education, and government may come to mind before sources are consulted. Sources will reveal other overlapping topics that must be combined. Other topics will assume positions as subtopics under a more general rubric.

Collect and organize materials. The methods of collecting knowledge on specific topics are discussed under "Use of the library," page 49. The more you read on the topic you select, the greater ease there will be in writing. After you have read a fact three times you feel as though that fact were yours. You feel confident enough to put it in your own language.

After all the pertinent sources have been consulted, articles and books scanned, portions read, and the material included in the outline, the paper is ready to be written. Go over the outline and ask these questions: "Does the material suggest a more suitable outline? Will the material so outlined make an interesting, valuable paper?"

Write creatively. You have finished the mechanical preparation. You have seen others approach the topic; the task now is *yours*. Do not be too hampered by your notes. Freely design your discourse on the topic, your contribution, your interpretation. Do this without too much inhibition. You can correct and criticize for grammar, spelling, punctuation, sentence structure later, but now create with a free hand.

Miscellaneous educational problems. A number of relatively unimportant decisions, doubts, and problems will arise in the educational career of the student. It might be well at this point to consider these problems and note how well they have been attacked by the available studies.

Can a student be too young or too old for college courses? There are cases of students who are immature emotionally as well as chronologically. Some feel bewildered, at least for a time, in an environment which requires so much of them in the way of social life and independence. However, young students on the whole do better academic and extracurricular work and have greater success in later life (122-124). It has been found that up until age 21 there is a tendency for the students who enter college at a younger age to receive better grades, probably because they have been accelerated all their lives. Students who enter college after 21 also are good students for apparently different reasons (125). They are frequently students who have had to stay out of school for some reason or other, have had the unusual persistence to come back, and therefore bring with them increased maturity and perspective (126). Carefully selected students who had not finished high school but who showed evidences of maturity did at least as well as and in some respects better than the student body as a whole in college work (127, 128). Studies show that certain students can accelerate their progress through college and finish in three years without apparent detriment to themselves (129, 130).

Do certain home backgrounds jeopardize success in college? Financial handicaps cause students to leave school (131), and lower economic background produces emotional problems (132, 133). However, if the student has the ability that college work requires and if he obtains the money to attend, through work or scholarships, his home background will not seriously hinder him. This is true whether he be of foreign parentage, of parentage from the lower economic strata, or of parents who lack college training. This generalization is made from investigations which show these students to be either as successful as or superior to those of "better" background. It must be remembered in this connection that the students who come to college from underprivileged backgrounds are often superior mentally to the group as a whole. There is no indication that the offspring of

college graduates are superior to other students (122, 134, 135, 138). Granting equality of intelligence, favorable home background will facilitate success in college, but psychological theory points to compensation on the part of the student who has an inferior background. He tries for success with all the energy he can muster.

Is a small class a better learning situation than a large class? One investigator found that the median of class size in 165 privately endowed colleges and universities in 40 states was 19.4; in other types of institutions, from 16.6 to 30.2. Small classes in general, then, would be those below some point between 20 and 30 students, and large classes would be those above that number. From survey reports students and faculty both tend to prefer the smaller classes, but, when records are examined, there is a tendency for students in the larger classes to excel in terms of the measures used (136, 137).

Do students fail required subjects more often than optional ones? An investigation of the grades received in both high school and college subjects shows little difference between averages in required and optional subjects (138), despite the fact that students prefer elective courses and say they work harder in them (139).

Does the location of the seat a student occupies affect his grades? It is doubtful whether this factor affects the naturally alert, intelligent student, but, in general, the lowest proportion of high school class failures is in the center seats, and the highest in the side seats (140). A compilation of grade averages for a number of college classes shows the center of the room to be a more favorable location as opposed to the rear, sides, aisles, and seats behind posts (141).

Does cutting class affect grades? Absence from a well-organized university class lecture is a decided loss to the student. If he had to prepare a similar discourse from the original sources, it would take him many hours. Even to find a classmate with good notes on the lecture and to copy them is not a good substitute for class attendance. Complete notes at best only aid in recalling the organized lecture. It is true that not all lectures have the same value in aiding a student to comprehend the subject matter of a course. Even the poorest lecture, however, seems to review important material of the course (142).

A comparison of 1000 students of excellent scholarship at the University of Illinois and the same number selected at random gave rise to this generalization: there exists a direct relationship between grades and class attendance (143). When students of the same relative intelligence are compared, this relationship between class attendance and grades is likewise evident (144). Also the student who is tardy to class is poorer than the prompt or early student (145).

Does place of residence affect grades? There is no evidence to indicate that living in a fraternity house improves grades except when the student is striving to be initiated. Dormitory residence in some institutions is associated with higher grades, and in some institutions with lower. In most professional schools place of residence is not significantly related to grade average (34, 122, 146-150).

How does attitude toward subject matter and teacher affect the student? Many students state that their attitudes toward the teacher influence their learning in a course as much as any factor. It has been demonstrated that one's attitude toward subject matter influences grades and is related to one's attitude toward the teacher (151). If we like and agree with the ideas we read, we tend to remember them better (152). Certain subjects are dreaded, and these attitudes tend to persist into college (153).

There are several matters that the student must keep in mind about the effect of the teacher upon him. To a certain extent the attitude toward the teacher, like the attitude toward an officer in the Army, is projection of one's own frustration. The teacher becomes the scapegoat. He is viewed as the cause of all the student's own difficulties. There is no doubt that all teachers, like all humans, have inadequacies, and some have many. But usually the teacher cannot and will not be changed during the semester in which the student is taking the course. Therefore, from the student's viewpoint, he must adjust to the teacher.

In many progressive schools students are given an opportunity to evaluate the teaching on anonymous rating scales (154). Students prefer sympathetic teachers who show evidence of having a sense of humor and knowledge of subject matter and who are interested in them (155). The attitude of the teacher influences classroom morale (156).

A dislike for a teacher may become an unrecognized asset to the student. It may cause him to be unusually critical of the material and to do much more thinking about it than he would otherwise.

In regard to the teacher's views, the whole gamut of viewpoints will and should be represented by a faculty in a large school. Presumably, in a free educational system, the most valid ideas will survive. It is incumbent upon the teacher to separate facts from conjecture and label them. The mature student will examine evidence for the viewpoints the teacher presents and think for himself. He will achieve an accurate, objective view about his teacher rather than a simple, childish attitude of like or dislike.

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CHAPTER THREE

CONCENTRATION, LEARNING, and THINKING

This is a continuation of the discussion of adjustment to work, and the development of traits and behavior patterns which enable us to meet our responsibilities on a mature, efficient, and creative level.

INCREASING CONCENTRATION

Nature of concentration.

"My trouble is that I have no power of concentration. If I could concentrate like some of the girls living in our dormitory, I'd get good grades. Why, some of them spend an hour to my five hours of study!"

This undergraduate believed that concentration involves a power or faculty which one uses as a wrench or hammer in time of need. To her, one either possesses a goodly quantity of this faculty, or one lacks it. Such a view is not substantiated by current scientific knowledge. Concentration is not a power with which some are born and which others never gain. It is *a way of behaving which increases the clearness of the situation* toward which we are reacting and enables us to respond in a dynamic fashion. We always concentrate *on something*—we do not merely concentrate. Concentration is not extraneous to, or superimposed upon, normal mental functioning. It is, rather, a more efficient, more dynamic, more highly conscious form of normal activity brought about by greater interest, purposiveness, and a more active attitude toward the situation at hand. Concentration is the result of strong motivation and proper study habits, which we shall review (1).

Concentration is specific. Many inefficient students can con-

concentrate well on tennis games, are keenly alert in bull sessions, and readily absorb the content of the sports page. Habits of concentration do not transfer automatically from sports to physics. It is necessary to see the value of physics, acquire the groundwork, and achieve interests and attitudes which approach those which are held for sports. Some students, you must remember, prefer mathematics tests to sports pages. Mathematics is fascinating to them. They can do it well; they are prepared and do not evade it.

Importance of concentration. There is considerable evidence to indicate that few students have mastered habits of concentration. A ten-minute observation of 100 students supposedly at study in the library showed that these students were subject to numerous distractions while attempting to study. The distractions can be ranked in order of greatest to least as follows: talking, aimlessly looking around, purposelessly leafing through books, disturbance by a passing student, use of vanity cases, distraction from study by others, daydreaming, reading and writing letters, and attention to personal appearance. A time record showed that 40 per cent of the total time was given to distraction (2). There is some evidence that less time is wasted in a non-coeducational study situation (3). Every student is guilty of giving time to these interludes. They frequently occur during the "warming up" period before the height of concentration. Time spent in such fashion is time spent neither in study nor in play and does not produce complete satisfaction. How much better it is to initiate study activities with enthusiasm and dispatch, work under pressure, and later enjoy play.

College students list most frequently as a study difficulty the inability to concentrate. Eighty-two per cent of a group of freshmen in a course in "How to Study" assigned their study trouble to daydreaming and inadequate concentration (4).

Examples of concentration. Let us examine a situation in which concentration is an unconditional consequence.

Note the behavior of the person who is eager to win a game of contract bridge. Notice how he frowns, studies the cards on the table, examines those in his hand, gazes off at a distance, thumbs the cards, makes an implicit play, and finally plays a card from his hand. He then watches the faces of his fellow players. He studies their plays carefully and proceeds to make his choice again. This

player is concentrating on the game. He has a purpose—to defeat his opponents. He is responding to each part of the game in terms of that purpose. He is reviewing the various bids and what has been played, noting what is being played, and thinking of possible future moves. He evaluates his own cards and those of his fellow players. He compares actual plays with those he had anticipated. He is alert to every overt or light muscular twitch of the other participants. He is not easily distracted by those engaged in other activities in the room. His own chair may be uncomfortable, but he will be unaware of it. Everything extraneous to the game at hand is ignored. He is concentrating.

We see the same type of behavior in ourselves as we reach an interesting part of a novel. We find ourselves reading in terms of past incidents and interpreting the present in the life of the central figure of the story in terms of these incidents. We conjecture as to future events. We wonder if he will lose all, or whether there will be some way out of the situation. We have definite feelings about the manner in which events have shaped themselves. We judge the behavior of various characters. We are sitting on the edge of the chair or in a poor posture, but we are unconscious of the fact. We ignore the noises outside our window. We are living entirely in the time of the novel. We are concentrating.

Types of attention. Above are given examples of spontaneous concentration when certain conditions prevail. There are certain conditions which spontaneously arouse our involuntary attention. These conditions are: movement, size, repetition, certain striking qualities such as colors, organic conditions such as hunger and pain, interests, and desires.

The important problem is to produce concentration when desired. There is a period of *forced* concentration before intrinsic interest or *non-voluntary* attention is elicited. This is comparable to the period in learning before skill is established and before free, smooth, and effortless activity has been reached. It should be the aim of the student to persist through this period of forced attention and application, and during this whole period to establish interest and non-voluntary attention. A somewhat typical curve of work which is given in Fig. 5 on page 127 shows an initial low point of production, then a period of warming up followed by maximum productivity, and finally a decrement or decline.

There is a comparable subjective warming-up period. Often when first approaching a task it is difficult to get started. Interest and enthusiasm grow with increased work, until fatigue

causes them to diminish. What can we learn from these situations that produce *non-voluntary attention* which will allow us to bring about effortless concentration? (5).

Producing concentration. *Have a purpose.* The *first* cue to produce concentration is to see *purpose* in the material at hand. See its importance in reference to your life, professional and cultural, as it will reflect in your vocabulary, diction, and tastes. See how it does or does not comply with your attitude and wishes. See each assignment as a part of a larger goal.

Every college course has concrete value. The student of Latin who sees the pervasiveness of Latin in the English language, who sees that with the acquisition of one Latin root he has acquired a key to ten or twenty English words, will relish his daily work in the "dead" language. A problem once started leads one on to its completion. An encyclopedia is just a big uninteresting book to the high school boy until it serves his purpose in supplying him with abundant material for a term theme. The dullest material will become fascinating when it satisfies an impelling purpose. A collegian expresses amazement at the transformation in his attitude toward his economics textbook after his summer experience as a clerk in a broker's office and his decision to select brokerage as a vocation.

Assume an active attitude. The *second* aid to concentration is the active attitude. The best advice regarding the initiation of the active attitude is to *plunge into your work* the moment you reach your desk. Start going through the motions of study with the genuine aim of enjoying the work as you "warm up" to it. Don't wait for inspiration or for the proper mood to strike you.

A student will find that if he plans, before going to supper, what he intends to do after supper, if he opens his book at the assignment, has his notebook all ready, and begins to work immediately after he reaches his desk, he will soon set up this new habit. The satisfaction growing from his new accomplishment will do much to entrench the habit.

Another specific method of eliciting the active attitude is to read and study with the *intent of reciting the material* to someone else later. One will find that a fact which he wishes to report to his dad is one which is apprehended with heightened concentration.

A search for implication of the material at hand increases attention. When a student speculates regarding the effect of the processes described in his course in "Investments" on the share of stock which his uncle gave him last fall, he becomes alert to the content of the course. Other details of application of the active attitude are presented in the section on learning, page 80.

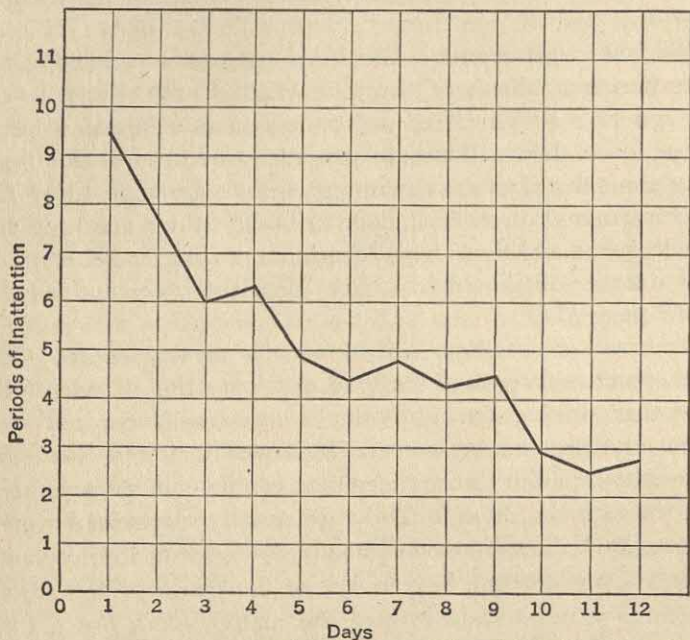
Eliminate distractions. The third precept in achieving concentration is to *eliminate distraction* that is subject to your control and to set yourself to resist the remaining minor types of distractions. Distractions are essentially of three major types: those from the *external* environment, such as noise, those from the *intraorganic* processes, such as bodily states resulting from poor hygiene, and those from ideational or *thought* content. We shall discuss the first two under "Efficient body and environment," page 124.

Ideational distractions consist usually of daydreams. Ideas arise spontaneously and seem to dominate the stream of consciousness, taking the individual's attention from his work. These daydreams have causes. It is well to try to learn these causes, to examine the matters that continue to persevere or "run through the mind." They are usually suppressed worries. These may be anxieties over money, love, social life, school, or athletic achievement. Try to get at the cause of the trouble, determine your attitude toward the matter, work out a future course, as described in Chapter 7, and then proceed with your study.

After you have removed all distractions within your power, there will still be sounds from the neighbor practicing his saxophone lessons, shouts from the street, a distant radio, and fighting cats, all of which you can and must ignore. This is done more easily when you launch yourself into your work, acquire interest, and make yourself superior to petty distractions. Realize that there are times when minor stimuli do not disturb the act in progress but fade into the background as interest heightens.

Assume an attitude which will produce a pleasant-feeling tone. A fourth factor which increases concentration is interest or *pleasant-feeling tone* growing from an act. Interests grow from

experience. You usually find no interest in golf clubs until you have driven a few balls down the fairway with them. You have no interest in Korea until you have walked and talked with a Korean and learned to appreciate his customs. After passing through the state of Texas, you find a map of Texas intensely



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FIG. 1. Learning curve for a group, showing decreases in periods of inattention with time. (After Chant.)

interesting. We do not understand how the meaningless symbols we see on the blackboard of a calculus class can engage the interest of a mathematician until after we have had a well-presented course in the subject and have succeeded in working the problems. Every form of subject matter commands the interest of a great number of people in this world, and any form can hold interest and pleasure for us if we learn to master it and feel successful in handling it. When we reach this stage, concentration is spontaneous. Until we reach it we must create and stimulate interest. It is effective to *expect* interest and to assume at the outset that new subject matter will hold interest.

Realize that you make a subject interesting by responding fully to it. This likewise enhances its pleasantness (6).

Reduction of daydreaming. We saw that daydreams act as a distraction. Students ask, "How can I keep from daydreaming while trying to study?" The first suggestion, which was given above, is to find the cause and settle the conflict which produces the daydream. Often, however, after the cause has been removed, the habit continues of its own momentum. The following experiment illustrates how the habit may be broken.

A group of 48 students was trained in concentration by the following method. The students read five pages of difficult philosophical text every day for a period of two weeks. They were instructed to underline on the page the passages where they found themselves daydreaming and to reread those parts of the text. At the end of each page they were required to review mentally the ideas on that page and make sure that they understood them. Figure 1 shows the learning curve which graphically depicts the improvement due to this exercise. This is a group curve, which shows the average trend. Some students improved more than this curve indicates, and some less. Try this method. Keep a strict account of your daydreaming. Note your improvement after three or four weeks of continued effort. Beware of the tendency to become lax in record taking after you begin to improve (6).

AIDS TO LEARNING AND MEMORY

The process of learning and memory. The importance of good learning techniques cannot be overemphasized in a discussion of efficiency. We are learning practically every minute of the day. We meet new people and learn their names, their addresses, their telephone numbers; we encounter new words in our reading; we see new products advertised; we hear good jokes we wish to retell later; and there are scientific facts we encounter every day for the first time. Most of this is *incidental* learning; we exert little effort in its acquisition. With the aid of a few clever techniques, much more incidental learning will be possible, and its retentive value will be increased. Society places a premium upon a good social memory. The man who can recall names, faces, current events, books, and plays, as well

as the latest scientific findings that have gained the public's attention, may be a sought-after guest if he uses this knowledge without ostentation.

In addition to incidental learning, there is intentional learning of skills of both a vocational and a recreational sort. In the office there are typing, the operation of bookkeeping and comptometer machines, accounting, and stenography; in the gymnasium there are handball, softball, and swimming; outdoors there are tennis, golf, and horseback riding; at home there are musical skills, cookery, and odd jobs of carpentry. Even selling, pleading a case before a jury, acting, public speaking, and gaining poise at formal social functions involve learning principles which we discuss in Chapter 7.

We cannot talk about increasing memory for daily events without discussing also the learning of these events which must necessarily precede their retention. Proper learning methods produce longer and better retention.

A student should view learning as the establishment of *stimulus-response relationships* in his behavior and the trial-and-error selection of the proper solution to a problem. Memory is the retention and recall of these responses when the stimuli are presented. To learn that the word "idiosyncrasy" means "peculiarity" is to establish a relationship or association between this stimulus and its response. Memory refers to the *retention* of this relationship and the *recall* of "peculiarity" when "idiosyncrasy" is presented. With this in mind, it becomes apparent that your poor memory is due largely to an unsatisfactory association between the stimulus and your response; or it may be due to the absence of the stimulus at the time you try to recall. Most of us have noted that when we try to remember we often search in trial-and-error manner for cues or stimuli which bring to consciousness the desired memory-idea—a response. The more cues associated with an idea, the greater is the possibility of recalling it. It is well to regard memory from this point of view and seek stimuli to the memories or responses you wish to evoke.

Plotting a curve. A definite aid in learning a skill is the learning curve. It consists in plotting the amount of *progress* in the task against the learning or *practice* periods. Suppose you must acquire a French vocabulary of thirty words. You can make the learning task much more interesting and effective by

keeping a record of your progress. First, cover the English and try to guess these words from the French. This will fix in your mind some words and warn you of other instances in which guessing will be disastrous. Then read over carefully the French-English pairs, trying to associate members of each pair. Next, cover up the English word and attempt to recall the English equivalent as each French word is perceived. A record

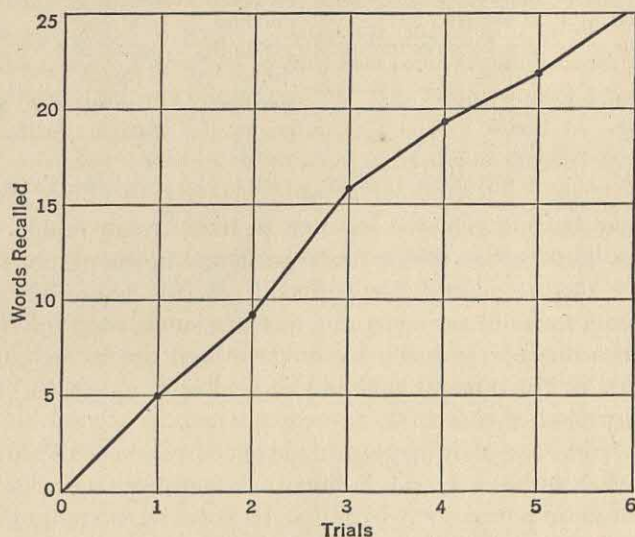


FIG. 2. Learning curve for one student mastering French-English word pairs.

should be kept of the number correctly recalled at the first trial. Read the pairs again, spending about the same amount of time as was spent in the first reading, and again test your memory. Keep a record of the number correctly recalled on this second trial. Do this until you are able to recall all the English equivalents perfectly twice in succession. Note the number of trials (readings and recalls) required to do this.

With these data it is possible to plot a curve of learning showing the amount of progress you have made at various stages of the learning act. The curve can be plotted so that it will look like the one in Fig. 2. Along the base line or abscissa will be represented the trials from one through the number necessary to learn. Along the ordinate or vertical line will be represented

the number of words recalled at each trial. There is given below a list of French-English words which may be used in plotting a curve. The curve shown in Fig. 2 represents the learning of these words by a good college student.

abriter	to shelter	s'éteindre	to die out
accueil, m.	welcome	feutre, m.	felt hat
autant	as much, as many	gré, m.	will, wish
d'autant plus	the more, the more so	larme, f.	tear
bavarder	to chatter	moindre	less, least
constater	to notice, realize	piéton, m.	pedestrian
craindre	to fear	rompre	to break
démener (se)	to struggle	sembler	to seem, look, appear
écurie, f.	stable	sol, m.	ground
entraîner, m.	life, go	tousser	to cough
éteindre	to extinguish, quench	vêtir	to clothe, dress

It may be that you will learn these words more rapidly than the individual whose efforts are represented in the graph. Such a curve can be plotted for any skill: for the basketball goals made in a series of ten shots, the distance swum each day in the pool, the number of balls pocketed in pool, scores in golf for a month, or the minutes required to read assignments in history over a period of time (7).

A learner is greatly motivated when he can see his progress from week to week in this fashion. A learning task which extends over a period of time is apt to result in discouragement and loss of interest unless the individual has some measure of his progress. There occurs in these curves, sometimes, a period of no apparent improvement. Individuals commonly notice in skills, such as target practice, bowling, pool, and even in more complex skills, such as basketball and football, a period in which they seem to be at a standstill or perhaps going backwards. This has been termed a *plateau*, and may be due to (1) a decrease in motivation, (2) interference between and confusion of the material learned, (3) the establishment of errors which tend to reduce the learning score, (4) or the attainment of maximum or near-maximum efficiency with the method used to date and a need for shifting to some new basic mode of attack. The individual should recognize this plateau as a natural phenomenon when it occurs and attempt to learn the cause of the lack of progress with the aim of overcoming it. Some believe that, when their performance is on a plateau, they can improve no

further and in thinking so confuse the plateau with the *physiological limit*—the limit of their capacity to improve.

Motives in learning. Remembering the batting averages of his favorite baseball players is not difficult for the twelve-year-old, nor are the names of movie actors and actresses difficult for his sister. We have no difficulty remembering the people who owe us money and how much they owe us. We seldom forget a dinner engagement when we anticipate a pleasant evening. In

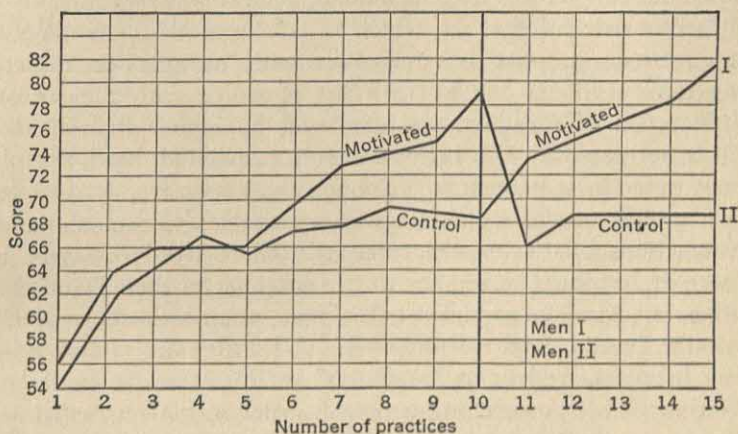


FIG. 3. Comparison of the performances of motivated and unmotivated groups in writing. (After Book and Norvell.)

learning to trace the true pathway of a maze with a steel stylus, college students who are administered a shock as they enter the blind alleys learn much more rapidly than those who experience no such dramatic notice of their errors. The use of the shock decreases the number of trials 50 per cent and the number of errors 30 to 60 per cent (8). Motives in study were discussed in Chapter 2.

A spectacular demonstration of motivation in learning was given in an experiment in which one group of students practiced multiplication problems, canceled letters, wrote "a's," and did other rather simple tasks under motivating conditions. Under these conditions the students were stimulated to take interest in the work, to note their progress by recording their own scores, and to make use of methods to improve their work during the first ten trials. The "control group" with which they were com-

pared was told to ignore scores and rate of improvement. After the tenth trial, the conditions were reversed for the two groups. The curves in Fig. 3 show the same students improving considerably under motivated conditions and mildly or not at all under control conditions (9).

The more motives or reasons one has for learning verbal material or a skill, the more dynamic the process will be and the more enthusiasm and zest one will bring to the task, particularly when the daily efforts become more difficult to initiate (10).

Mental set. *Mental set*, which is akin to motives, stands out in effectiveness. "Set" is synonymous with "attitude" or "directing tendency." If one learns a list of words with the set or expectation of recalling, retention will be higher than if the set is not present. If a list of words, e.g., painted, hard, useful, new, smooth, manufactured, sliding, and expensive, is read to two groups one of which is given a mental set or meaningful associations by the experimenter as, "These words describe a piece of furniture; remember this in listening to them," and the other is given no special set, the first group will show much greater learning and retentiveness. A learning set of this type has been referred to as "readiness" to learn specific material. You might set yourself in learning by such statements as these, if they are appropriate: "This will be fun," "This will be easy," or "I shall try to group this material so that I can remember it better." It is valuable to try to set yourself to remember a name just before you are about to be introduced to a stranger: "Now I'm going to hear this person's name, repeat it with 'How do you do, Mr. —,' and then I can't forget it."

Experiments show that setting oneself to remember rather than just passively learning produces results that tend to last (11).

Meaning and association. Try to memorize: *mes, paz, hok, kyw, mik, dug, gev, jep*. You will find them much more difficult than a list of simple nouns. But give them meaning, any meaning, and their difficulty largely vanishes. *Mes* is "mess" without the final s; *paz* is a new way of spelling "pass"; *hok* is a short word for "hokum"; *kyw* are the call letters of a radio station; *mik* is another way to spell the humorous, derisive name for an Irishman. Try to supply meanings for the other three. This is an excellent way to absorb the vocabulary of a foreign language.

It has been found that college students can identify an idea from a passage 48 hours after reading it as well as they can immediately after learning it, but identification of the exact words of the text is poor. Meaningfulness accounts for the superiority of the retention of the substance of a passage over its details (12).

Refrain from sheer repetition. The notion that memory is akin to a muscle, and the more it is used in a mechanical fashion (like the pulling of weights) the more its capacity will increase, is fallacious. Mechanical repetition does increase memory but it is not so efficient as other methods. The learning of numbers will increase your memory somewhat for numbers in the immediate future, but it will increase only negligibly your ability to memorize medical or legal terminology in a different situation.

Everything we learn should have or be given *meaning*. It should be associated with something we already know. It should be organized with our existing mental life. Learning for learning's sake, to many people, seems a waste of time; learning so that the material may be recalled in time of need, or be of future value, seems more logical. The acquisition of a school subject merely for its own sake is a motive that arouses only a small percentage of students. Knowing this subject for the value it will have in future vocational, avocational, or cultural aspects of life has a more universal appeal.

Incidental learning can also be more firmly established by meaningful associations. Names, house numbers, streets, products, towns, duties, and obligations can all be better remembered by associations.

Said one student in giving an example of how association aided his memory: "I associate the mailing of the letter I must post this afternoon with the buying of the paper on the opposite corner. I get an image of the paper man and myself paying him the three cents; then I get an image of the mail box on the opposite corner. This afternoon when I buy my paper I shall be reminded to mail the letter."

Meaningful material transfers more readily to new situations. The improvement of learning ability for one type of material, like legal cases, by practice with another type of material, like Latin, depends largely upon the *similarity* of meaning between the two materials and methods of attack. The increase due to

such exercise is not nearly so large as is usually believed. Also, the more direct the associations are, the more effective the learning. For example, if the French *foule* immediately recalls the mental image of a crowd rather than the English word "crowd," the learning is more direct and the meaning readily recalled.

The value of certain subjects in "training the mind generally" was shown in a testing program which involved over 8000 high school students. Improvement was measured in terms of a test of general ability, including mathematics and language, given at the beginning and at the end of the school year. The effects of different school subjects on improvement in ability was learned by pairing students who had the same initial score on the tests but differed in the subjects they pursued during the year they were tested. The transfer or general training effect of all the school subjects was small. The gain seemed to be an unfolding of native ability due to miscellaneous stimulation. The subjects were ranked in the following order as to general training effect: mathematics (including bookkeeping) first, general science, physics, and chemistry close seconds. Latin and French were about equal to each other and inferior to the above, but superior to such subjects as economics, sewing, stenography, dramatics, and art. These results are particularly interesting in that Latin is usually considered the best in training influence and a practical subject like bookkeeping as low (13).

In order for school subjects to function in vocational, avocational, or cultural aspects of life, they should be *associated with life events* at the time of learning. The student should see the value of French in increasing his English vocabulary, in allowing him to read French, in traveling abroad, in meeting, communicating with, and understanding the people of France, and in appreciating fully their life and customs. He should see that chemistry deals with the many chemical elements which man must use daily. Through knowledge of chemical processes, the extraction of metals from their ores can be carried on more satisfactorily; the manufacture of explosives, the use of gases, the dyeing of goods, the preparation of food, the manufacture of clothing substitutes, and the compounding and dispensing of drugs is made possible. The student should have some acquaintance with the vocabulary of each discipline taught in college so that he may possess a background for better appreciation

of current literature and the events of contemporary social and economic life. This also illustrates the value of motive in learning.

Similarity is a convenient type of association. The meaning of the following French words can be remembered because of *similarity* in pronunciation in the two languages: lettre (letter); maire (mayor); monstre (monster); parfum (perfume); caractère (character); finir (to finish). These can be associated with English words similar to their equivalents: lune (moon) can be associated with the English "lunar" referring to the moon; livre (book) can be associated with "leaves" (a book is a group of leaves); commencer (to begin) with commence; éclairer (to light) with clear; inférieur (lower) with inferior; inonder (flood) with inundate; indice (sign) with indicate; menacer (to threaten) with menace.

Improvised associations also aid in learning. A student found the following helpful to him: foule (crowd)—"A fool always follows the crowd"; compart (tub)—"A tub is a *compartment*"; issue (exit)—"People *issue* from the exit"; mare (pond)—"A *mare* often stands near a pond"; fond (bottom)—"I am *fond* of diving to the bottom of swimming pools." The more vivid and direct these associations are, the better their memory value.

Other effective forms of association. *Imagery* is a good mnemonic aid—use it. One student reports that he has a good memory for lectures because he gets a visual image of the discussed topics placed on a ladder. If the speaker has five points, his mental ladder has five rungs. Other students report other *individual* methods. Some *repeat aloud* the material to be learned; some find *hearing* the material more helpful than seeing it; still others find *writing* the subject matter which they desire to learn most helpful.

It is efficacious for each person to discover the mnemonic systems that assist him most in learning. Remember Mr. French's name by the fact that he does not look at all like any Frenchman you have ever known. This is an example of association by *contrast*, a good way to associate ideas. The five points emphasized in the lecture may be remembered by repeating them to oneself, using one's five fingers as a means of organization. An individual will soon be known for his good memory if he ties the name of each person he meets to a meaningful association; for example, with another who has the same name.

Persons do not forget the telephone numbers 1949, 1776, 1234, or 9876. All of them have meaning; all of these combinations of numbers exist in previous experience.

One student, to illustrate how meaning increases his memory for certain items, said, "I remember Paducah, Kentucky, because that was the town in which the filling station operator found a hole in the gas tank. Outside Bessemer, Alabama, I ran over a hog, the only animal I have ever killed on the road, and I wondered whether I ought to pay for it. In Chattanooga, Tennessee, I chanced to meet a college chum, was treated to a meal, shown the city, and invited to stay a week. These places stand out in my memory of the trip because of their associations."

One reason why different types of exercises are used in teaching language is to give the student practice in many associations. The more he uses the varied exercises, the more he learns (14).

Associate events to be learned with pleasant *thoughts, acts, images, previously established experience, vivid ideas*, your own *interests or problems*, and they will be remembered (15). See the *logical relationships* between materials learned, the similar and contrasting items. See the material as a meaningful *whole*. Tie subject matter to be learned with incidents which will be present at the time of recall and which will act as cues or *stimuli* for recall. Remember: the more vivid associations, the more cues, the better for recall.

The active attitude in learning. The man who is strongly motivated to learn is active; he has an *active set*; he who uses associative aids in memorizing is active. The following rule also produces an active attitude: Keep in mind that you will be required to recall later what you are learning. College students who did this while copying words from the blackboard recalled 50 per cent more after a period of delay than those who merely copied the words without recall in mind (16). There are other forms of the active attitude. A certain degree of muscular contraction or *tension* is conducive to improved learning; too much tension is disturbing (17). The latter effect is shown in the cases of those who "try too hard." An experimenter had college students squeeze a dynamometer (apparatus for testing strength of hand grip) while learning word lists and found that this aided the subject after he had become adjusted to the novelty of the method (18). Maze learning, a motor skill, was aided by tension

in the hand not used in directing the stylus through the labyrinthine pathways (19). Learning the skill of tossing a ball at a target was deleteriously affected by tension, particularly when it was in the active hand (7).

Survey, question, recite, and review for an active attitude. Experiments show dramatically how effective some form of the active attitude is over mere routine coverage of the material in study. Simply reading and re-reading a selection without pause does not aid in comprehension and retention of it nearly so much as a more active method (12, 20, 21). However, if some highly motivating technique is used such as the following, the results will be quite profitable: (1) Running over the headings in the assignment understandingly and getting a general idea of the material before beginning to read (22). (2) Turning the section heading into a question which establishes a purpose for the reading (23-25). (3) Writing brief summary phrases after you finish reading each section in order to test your comprehension and later relating the ideas from the various sections (26). Outlining may be substituted for this if it is brief and easy to do and if used for later drill (27-29). (4) Look over your brief recitation notes after reading the assignment. Such self-recitation methods will definitely retard the forgetting process (20, 30, 31). Studies in one type of learning show that, when 80 per cent of the time is spent in recitation, twice as much material is learned as when the method of just reading is used (32).

A five-minute review after a college lecture was found to double the amount of material recalled (33). Of all the methods that might be recommended for improving study, this is probably the most important. In assuming an active or positive attitude, you may also try to assume a pleasant, serene attitude. Attitude can be controlled voluntarily to some extent. Try to avoid an attitude of unpleasant compulsion. The same viewpoint should be taken in recalling information. Fear, excitement, failure, and such negative forms of behavior are not conducive to efficient learning or good memory, even though vividness usually favors recall (34). Profane material was found more difficult to learn and recall than non-profane material by a group of girls in a normal school who participated in an experiment. Similarly, when students realize that they are failing while attempting to learn, their performance is usually poorer (7, 35).

Distributed effort. Numerous experiments on learning bear testimony to the fact that distribution of learning activity is, on the whole, superior to continued practice without rest or change of activity (36, 37). This holds for logical material as well as for rote memorizing (38). The interval of rest or other activity is an important factor. Too long an interval between learning efforts, however, is ineffective in producing greater results and is sometimes detrimental. In an experiment in which students studied nonsense syllables, two readings of these syllables for twelve days was almost eight times as effective for one student as were eight readings a day for three days (36). Various materials studied in college differ so greatly that it is difficult to give a general rule as to how long one should study before a change should occur. Each individual must determine for himself how much time he should devote to each subject at each sitting. With material which commands his interest he can carry on for a long period without loss of efficiency. With other, more monotonous and uninteresting material he may need to take short rests periodically and vary it with more interesting subject matter. This factor *argues against cramming*; it does little good to study for the whole course in the last week.

Judicious guidance. Two groups of young children with about equal intelligence and motor ability but without previous experience in writing were used in the following experiment. One group traced letters on tissue paper placed over letter forms clearly visible to the child. The other tried actual writing with a model placed above the writing page. After about a month of daily practice on ten different letters, both groups were tested for several days in "real" writing, using only the model as the guide. Some of those who had been tracing the letters were greatly disturbed by the use of this new method. They were familiar with the shapes of the letters, knew where to start and in what direction to proceed, but for them the writing of a letter on a blank sheet of paper was a very different process from tracing a form on a thin piece of paper. Some could not reproduce a single letter. They had accepted too much guidance in learning and were helpless without these props (39).

Numerous experiments have been carried on in the laboratory with mazes and verbal problems. The result of all of them is the generalization that in the majority of cases *guidance is more*

advantageous than an equivalent amount of unguided practice, although there are instances when guidance has been ineffective and even detrimental. Guidance or coaching seems most profitable in *small amounts in the beginning of the learning process*. Large amounts of coaching and its introduction at an inopportune time have been found least effective (40).

How well these laboratory results apply to swimming, bowling, golfing, and other such skills the reader must determine for himself. Remember that in the above-mentioned maze experiments the subject's hands were guided through the maze—the movement to some extent was made for the subject. In solving verbal puzzles, information was given leading to the principle operating in the problem. It can be seen that too much guidance violates the principle of an active attitude in learning. If one accepts guidance one will do well to maintain the active attitude; possibly first try the act voluntarily to set oneself for the guidance. A good tutor is one who spends a good portion of the time raising questions, having the student react to them, and then supplying the solution to the question.

Similarity of material. You probably learned as a grade school pupil that you forget because you do not practice. Psychologists have worded this principle: disuse causes forgetting. Recent experimental evidence challenges this viewpoint that disuse is the major factor of forgetting. Use of mental functions with similar material or use of the component parts of the memory in new situations has been known to cause a considerable degree of forgetting. Retention during sleep has been found to be superior to retention over equal periods of wakefulness filled by daily events (41).

Numerous experiments show that, if one learns a list of words and then learns another similar list, the first list will be affected and forgotten as the result of learning the second list. This has also been found to hold for school material, such as poetry and prose. By one criterion of memory, several stanzas of poetry were affected to the extent of 36.5 per cent by the learning of other stanzas from the same poem. The more similar the material, the greater is the extent of this phenomenon (42).

As a practical application of these findings, it may be suggested that it is probably unwise to start French and German in the same semester. A student who has too many telephone

numbers to remember finds he has inadvertently called the wrong person. It is not unusual for students to answer a question on a quiz with a fact from a similar context instead of the correct fact. By overlearning or thoroughly mastering the materials, and by making a conscious effort to separate one from the other, it has been discovered that this confusion can be minimized (43).

Learning conditions and recall. One of the most annoying vagaries of memory is illustrated by such an experience as turning to your roommate to introduce him to an acquaintance at a social gathering and failing completely to recall his name, to your unlimited chagrin. Other similar experiences: to raise your hand in class to ask a question and then as the lecturer says briskly, "What is it, Mr. ——" to forget the question; to walk from your study to the living room and find yourself standing in the room ignorant of your mission; or to read over an assignment several times without quizzing yourself and then find that you are unable to answer most of the questions in a subsequent examination. All these are illustrations of attempts to recall items of experience which have been learned under circumstances foreign to those present at the moment of recall.

In studying, try to associate with your method, with your attitude, and even, if possible, with the environment, the *conditions which will prevail at the time of recall of the learned material*. In preparing for a public speech, debate, or dramatic production, connect the material you are learning with cues that will be present at the time of recall. The windows, the doors, the draperies in a room, the twilight, the landscape, your posture, your organism are associated with the mental events in the "spotlights" of consciousness, in this case with the material memorized. On some future occasion these external objects may serve to recall elements of the memorized event. Make use of this phenomenon in study.

The whole and the part methods. In memorizing a poem as a whole, a young man required 83 minutes less than the length of time required previously to memorize an equally long and similarly difficult selection of the same poem studied bit by bit, or by the part method. Under the "whole" method he read the whole poem three times a day until he could recite it. Under the "part" method he memorized thirty lines a day and then reviewed the whole selection (44). Some writers claim that

generally the whole method is the better, but one must determine which is the more advantageous for the type of material he wishes to attack, as each is superior under certain conditions (45).

A combination of the two methods has possibilities: learning parts and then reviewing thoroughly the parts as a whole. Time can be saved by ascertaining through personal experimentation which method is more economical in each of your memory tasks.

Satisfying consequences. We learn those acts which satisfy our motives, release tensions, and thus give us pleasure. We tend to eliminate from our reactions those acts which do not satisfy motives even when they are repeated. A pleasant afternoon at a tea dance causes us to wish to attend another party. A compliment from a teacher reduces the cuts in his class and increases the visits to his office. A progressively decreasing golf score entices us to the course more often. The swimming movements that caused us to sink, swallow water, and strangle are gradually eliminated. The castigation received in the office of the dean of men reduces future week-end episodes.

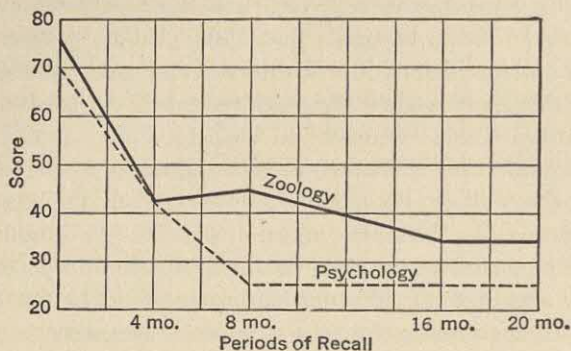
Engineer the events in your life so that they will allow you to learn. Reward yourself for accomplishments. Recognize your slight improvements in performance as motivation for further improvement. The recitation, at the end of a study period, of the material learned produces a pleasant effect of accomplishment. In order to induce repetition of honor-deserving behavior, never allow a reward or honor you have received to go unnoticed by yourself. Take advantage of this *law of effect*, and penalize yourself after each act you wish to eliminate.

Overlearning and review. We forget or are unable to recall 50 per cent of new material like nonsense syllables the first day after learning it; after that time, forgetting proceeds more slowly (46). College lecture material and other meaningful subject matter fortunately undergoes disintegration less rapidly but undergoes a disintegration of the same general nature, *very rapid at first and thereafter at a slower rate*, as shown in Fig. 4 (47).

One method of preventing a rapid drop in the retention of skills and content we have learned is overlearning at the original attack and frequently reviewing the material. Overlearning is repetition even after the material is known so that it can be recited once perfectly. We never forget our own names. We

retain well those childhood skills which we have continually reviewed in play, such as bicycling, skating, and swimming. These have been well fixated by their numerous repetitions. If you *must* remember an event, overlearn it. Learn it not only to perfection, but learn it so that it is "second nature."

One psychologist in a startling experiment illustrated the value of repetition even without meaning. He read Greek drama daily to his fifteen-month-old child until the child reached the age of



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FIG. 4. Rates of forgetting (losses) of learned school material after periods of time. (After Higginson.)

three. Every three months, a different set of material was read. At eight and one-half years of age, the child learned the material previously heard much more rapidly than new material. Apparently, material repeated early exerts a lasting residual effect (48).

Miscellaneous aids and hindrances. Numerous miscellaneous factors that affect learning have been discovered by experiments (49). Reciting before others, for most individuals, increases the number of ideas recalled (50). *Rhythm* is an aid in memorizing, when it can be used (51). You have probably noticed this in learning songs, poems, and lists of numbers. A sudden *interruption* of an act in progress, so that it cannot be completed, tends to make that act or parts of it have higher retention value later (52, 53). Obstacles have been found to facilitate maze learning (54). High *intelligence* greatly aids more complex learning and its retention and is some aid even in the more simple learning situation (55). *Drugs* have been found, in individual cases,

to play havoc with memory. Alcohol, for example, has been found to disturb learning ability seriously (56). Injuries of the head which result from falls and accidents often cause *amnesia* (memory loss) for events during, preceding, and after the accident (57).

Individuals in their teens learn better than children. Adults, even in middle age, are not markedly inferior to youths. Learning ability apparently drops only slightly with *old age* (58). In a series of events, those which occur first and last register more strongly in memory than those which occupy an intermediate position. Note the retention of material at the beginning, middle, and end of text chapters; it will be found that the *middle position* is generally disadvantageous (15).

You will find that you can usually *recognize* that which you may not be able to *recall* or reproduce from memory. Even when you cannot recognize material such as, for example, parts of a course in physics, chemistry, or Latin that you had taken some time ago, you are at an advantage now for having taken it, as you can *relearn* it more easily, having once been exposed to it. If, for example, your memory were tested by requiring you to recall the names of the students you knew two years ago, your score would be low. If you merely had to recognize them in a list, the score would be much higher. Your retention of names would be revealed best by a comparison of the time required to learn these names originally and now. Contrary to popular contention, a student does not remember better if he is a poor learner. Those who learn most retain best (59).

EFFECTIVE THINKING AND JUDGING

A very small percentage of our population, it may be speculated, really knows what effective thinking entails. When we learn the meaning of effective, valid thinking, we realize that the processes occupy too little of our conscious experience. Yet if we are going to solve some of the larger problems of domestic and foreign import, we must *think* rather than merely follow tradition. Even in industry new technological developments demand thoughtful solutions to the problems they create. What, then, is this power that is so valuable and rare and of which

the man of the street stands in awe? What does the process of thinking involve?

If effective thinking is rare, what kinds of mental processes are most prevalently substituted for it? We shall see that ideas, like actions, are used to adjust to our needs, to make us feel secure whether they are valid or not. What are some examples of this "wishful thinking" which usurps the function of valid, effective thinking? Mental activities which satisfy us but are not dependable as real guides to future action are: daydreams, suggestions, hunches and intuitions, prejudices and emotional biases, superstitions, erroneous beliefs, analogous reasoning and unwarranted generalization, all of which are similar and have certain elements in common.

Substitutes for effective thinking. *Daydreams.*

"I spend a great deal of time thinking about get-rich-quick schemes. My latest consists of a venture which would market movies of real-life events rather than of fiction. They would be like the travel movies except that we would move into a factory or a school and just record everything we see without rehearsal and without too much interference with the normal schedule.

"What do you think of this scheme? . . . Well, now that I mention it, I realize it is a daydream and will probably never be a reality because it is just like me to pick big deals rather than to plan something which would promise success soon, like a little campus business of some sort."

The counselor said, "So you think this is largely a daydream and is a substitute for real action?"

"Yes, it is. I have had a number of them, and now as I think about it I have never included in my dreams the first essential steps of a workable plan. That is, my dreams have never led me to say: What should I do about this tomorrow? What is the first requirement in order to make this scheme work? I guess the first is always capital. I suppose then I should ask how much I would need and where I would get it. But I have never done this. I always feel that my project should be a world beater; it should be something to bring me recognition and win quick success. It just occurred to me that probably I omit the practical aspects because, if my scheme were too practical, I would have to do something about it. From what I have told you, you know I have never done anything practical. I sometimes wonder if I am the kind of person who ever will—but then I have never tried the practical. I've used only dreams. I can be so successful there, and they do make me feel good."

Daydreams such as this represent the use of ideas to adjust to a feeling of inadequacy and to meet a need for self-esteem and success, but they cannot be classed as a form of effective thinking, as this student so wisely realized. Daydreams are subjective and are molded by the needs of the individual who experiences them. They are not subject to the controls of logic and correct reasoning. They frequently hamper rather than advance the individual's future development. Daydreams become effective thinking when they lead to plans which can be checked by events in the real world. They become creative when they assume some concrete form as a story, play, invention, painting, job, musical composition, or gadget.

Suggestions.

Alfred J. is confronted with the problem of choosing between two suits: one for daily wear, another too sporty for most public appearances. As he sees his image in the full-view mirror in the sports suit, he unconsciously identifies himself with the young, handsome, popular man-about-town who was pictured in the rotogravure section wearing a similar suit. He turns to the clerk and says, "I think I will take this suit."

Factors like *beauty, prestige, habit, the size of the group which behaves in a certain manner, reputation or prestige of the individual making the appeal, emotional associations, previous positive response tendencies* all tend to make us respond to a situation impulsively rather than critically. This is known as suggestion. These factors are especially effective in cases in which the individual has scanty knowledge about a situation. They are all potent factors in advertising but poor stimuli to rational consideration of a proposition. Most of the other errors of thinking mentioned below involve an element of suggestion.

Hunches and "intuitions."

A girl has to decide whether it is proper for her to receive presents and invitations to parties and theaters from a young man for whom she does not particularly care and with whom she could never allow herself to become too serious. She enjoys the gifts and dates but she is unhappy in his presence, realizing the predicament she is creating. The man thoroughly enjoys her company and wishes to continue the meetings on a purely friendly basis. She does not wish to offend him but wants to terminate the relationship. The problem disturbs her. What should she do? She has a *hunch* that everything will turn out all right if she just lets matters run

their course. She has not considered the ethics of the situation, the effect on her standards and reputation, or on her attitude toward the man, nor has she considered the consequences of the growth of his affections for her and the many active complications that are apt to arise. But the hunch is associated somehow or other with confidence.

Hunches and "intuitions" such as these cannot be classed as effective modes of dealing with problems. Instead, they prevent successful attack. They are illustrations of suggestion. Usually they are *conclusions growing from some superficial or emotional element of the situation* and not from a thoroughly rational, critical treatment. They are sometimes correct but are often wrong. We remember the cases in which our hunches were effective and forget the failures. We usually favor hunches, among other reasons, because of our memory of their previous success or because they are opinions we are eager to hold. One has a hunch to bet money on a certain race horse, lottery number, or slot machine. One is confident not for any logical reason but possibly because the name of the horse resembles that of a former winner (although one is not clearly conscious of it). Or, he may be confident because of an unconscious association; he is in a mood similar to that which prevailed when on one occasion he found some money. The mood has been associated with success and prompts him to bet. Or, there may be some other element in the situation which suggests through previous experience an expansive, self-confident attitude. If reason could work, hunches might be discarded early, but rationality is excluded because of the positive emotional element.

Prejudices and emotional biases. Much of that which passes for thinking is rationalization or defensive thinking to justify an emotional bias. The following incident approximates the type of mental process that is used and accepted by some as rational thinking.

"The question arises, Shall I pay \$10 or \$18 for a room? The first is smaller; the furniture is less attractive. If I rent it, I shall have \$8 more to spend in other ways. I can have more dates, buy more clothes, see more shows, have more pocket change. After all, I'm not in my room much, and the condition of the furniture doesn't affect me." This student is not really thinking. He does not question whether with inferior home furnishings will be found inferior service. He does not ask if he will have hot water with which to

shave. The house is older than the one in which the \$18 room is located, and it is not weather-stripped. Will less money be spent for coal? Will this result in a cold room? Will there be insects? These and other similar questions are not faced. Countless others are ignored. He has marshaled reasons to substantiate his strong emotional bias in favor of more spending money. He rationalizes and finds reasons to support his bias.

Another sample of the operation of prejudice and of the complete absence of rationality is in the process of voting. Notice below the lack of cogent evidence upon which this student's choice is based.

Representative Doe is a member of the solid old Blank party which Jack has linked with his father's good will, the best people in the community, and other favorable associations. The representative is six feet tall, pleasant, has a good smile, never makes one feel uncomfortable by raising troublesome issues, is always willing to run little errands in Washington, and convinces his constituents that he does his best for the home folks. He never misses an opportunity to praise them and to tell them that he is a foe of all evil that may touch them.

Jack knows very little of Doe's voting record in Congress or his philosophy on vital domestic, foreign, and economic policies. When Jack steps up to the voting booth for the first time, he carries with him a warm feeling toward Representative Doe. He does not hesitate to vote against Doe's opponent, who has angered people and who talks continually about social problems and complicated domestic and foreign issues.

All of us have biases that we must recognize as operative in our thinking. Most of us are *ethnocentric*. As human beings we are biased to favor human beings against non-organic features of the universe and the infrahuman animals. Man is the greatest animal, in our minds, because we set our own traits as standards. If we are white men, to us the white race is greatest in achievement; if we are of Germanic descent, we believe the Nordic is superior; if American, America and all its institutions and ideals are the greatest. *Real* history began in 1776, from this point of view. If we are members of the Alpha Alpha Alpha fraternity, then "Alfs" are superior to all other groups. As our affiliations extend, so do our allegiances and prejudices. In addition, we assume the individual prejudices of those we admire within these groups—the individual Germans, Americans, Holy Rollers, and Alfs.

Our many individual fortunate and unfortunate experiences prejudice us against events, places, and people. The periodicals we read prejudice us. The pictures and plays we see, and the conversations we hear, all give us points of view *which we usually accept uncritically if we approve of the medium* from which they spring. We do this often without a rigorous analysis of the bases for the belief.

The whole question of what makes a person hold a given prejudice or a bias in favor of the *status quo* (things as they are), or a bias against tradition and for innovation, will be discussed later in Chapter 8, in the section on Personal Philosophy of Life.

Superstitions and erroneous beliefs. Which of the following statements do you believe true, and which false? Check those you believe true.

The number of man's senses is five.

Man is superior to the animals because his conduct is guided by reason.

Chess and checker playing develops one's power of concentration. Intelligence can be increased by proper training.

The study of mathematics is valuable because it gives one a logical mind.

Conscience is an infallible guide to conduct.

Adults sometimes become feeble-minded from overstudy.

No defect of body or mind can hold us back if we have will power enough.

Long slender hands indicate an artistic nature.

Silent men are generally deep thinkers.

The slow learner retains better what he gets than the quick learner.

If you stare at a person's back, you can make him turn around. This is a form of telepathy.

Many eminent men have been feeble-minded in childhood.

You can estimate an individual's intelligence pretty closely by looking at his face.

Some animals are as intelligent as the average man.

Women possess a power of intuition absent in men.

A man's character can be read by noting the size and location of certain developments on his head.

Any physical or mental disease can be contracted by thinking too much about it.

Women are by nature purer and nobler than men.

Erroneous beliefs, such as *all of the above*, modify the accuracy of the thinking of students. In most studies of students'

superstitious beliefs, girls were slightly more credulous than boys (60, 61). The more intelligent students hold fewer false beliefs. Such beliefs are influenced by parents and socio-economic status and are therefore acquired in development (62, 63). There is also only a slight tendency for the students with higher grades to hold fewer erroneous beliefs. Fortunately, courses in science reduce the extent of these false beliefs about man's mental life. Even courses in which specific training was not given to contradict the false belief caused a drop in the percentage endorsing it (60, 62).

Analogous reasoning and unwarranted generalization. A common fallacy which explains some of the above fuzzy thinking is to *isolate one element of a situation and attribute to it the cause of the entire situation*. Because a friend who has red hair proved disloyal, one need not worry that a newly acquired red-haired acquaintance will also be untrue. Events in nature are complex, and they consist of complex causes and effects. Single elements in the situation may be merely incidental events and not causal antecedents. *Reasoning by analogy*, of which the above fallacious type of thinking is an example, is grossly unreliable if some superficial element is the influential factor. Because two situations are alike in some details, they need not be alike fundamentally, and it is illogical to reason from one to another.

Another pitfall of thinking is that of *generalizing too widely* from the facts at hand. Because three members of a given fraternity have borrowed money and have not repaid it, one man asserts that all the other 47 members are not honest, yet it does not follow from the data. Similar generalizations resulting from college students' use of insufficient data are:

"Whenever I use a pen to write an exam, I do poorly."

"If a girl agrees to accept a blind date, she is neither pretty nor popular."

"It never fails that if you talk to a teacher after class about his subject your grade will surely be at least ten points higher."

"Young teachers are always hard on the student."

"More students flunk in required courses than in elective courses."

Many of these reactions are emotionally conditioned. The individual has associated an event in experience with an emotional consequence. He does not consider the matter rationally

but merely verbalizes his failings in such an "all-out" statement, not delayed for thought or consideration (64). Many other processes operating to adjust the individual to his personal motives, but which do not produce valid thought, are rationalization, introjection, and projection, discussed in Chapter 5.

Attitudes which aid clear thinking. The individual who prides himself on clear thinking should be sure he can answer these questions in a manner to indicate that he has a solid ground for his thinking (65).

Is your thinking conditioned by what you want to believe, or by what is rational?

Are you more concerned with winning your point than with thinking clearly, even at the cost of your first opinion?

Do you consider a heated emotional discussion real thinking, particularly one in which each individual defends a strong preconception?

Are you willing to go anywhere and accept any conclusion to which clear thinking leads you?

Are you critical of your own thinking, and continually asking if it will stand attack?

When you reach a conclusion are you willing to look for errors, and on finding them begin solving the problem all over again?

Do you consider problems objectively rather than take them personally and become emotional over them?

Do you admit your prejudices and biases and make allowance for them in thinking?

Are you just as searching for fallacies in your own thinking as in that of others?

Are you wary of any conclusion that gives you too much comfort?

Do you accept formulated beliefs rather than work them out for yourself?

Do your answers to these questions indicate that you have the *truth-seeking* attitude rather than the attitude of accepting the beliefs of the mob?

Thinking and adjustment. As human beings we adjust to our needs—our individual motives. The way we behave is determined largely by the tensions within us. When the methods through which teachers solve their problems were examined, intellect and reason were not found to be primary factors, even among this group (66). Their adjustments as well as the adjustments of most of us are primarily the results of reactions to frustration and attempts to avoid anxiety, as we shall bring out in Chapter 5.

Thinking is used to satisfy needs. The insecure person thinks in a manner which will make him feel secure, not in a manner which is necessarily valid. If this thinking releases his tensions, satisfies his motives, and enhances his ego, it seems valid to him. Most of the forms of thought exemplified above illustrate the use of ideas to satisfy personal needs, not to reach correct conclusions. It might be said with some assurance that it is rare to find valid critical thinking in an area if the results of this thinking will cause the individual to feel insecure or to lose face. To a large extent thinking is the servant of one's self-esteem, one's motives, and the less rational aspects of one's life. Even some of the "thinking" that takes place in discussions of certain issues in international relations is related to the security or insecurity which the representatives feel for their country.

Maybe it is too much to expect of an individual that he reach a logical position rapidly if this conclusion will gravely undermine his stability. To be sure, our best ultimate guide for our own welfare and the welfare of society is critical reasoning. But the ability to accept it depends upon the total adjustment of the individual or society.

One has but to look at the basic institutions that have withstood the onslaught of time to recognize that loyalties to the institution have been built not by the presentation of logical arguments to the constituents but by winning them through emotion and satisfaction of motives. The theme: make the people feel satisfied. Give them an avenue through which they can release their tensions; associate your ideas with pleasantness, and you will win followers, at least for a time. However, the same method when used without critical examination in a totalitarian vacuum led in the recent fascistic regimes to some of the most invalid thinking that man has known. If a single individual were to use the thinking that groups of Nazis used (or any other group that thinks itself superior to all others) he would be diagnosed as paranoid or mentally abnormal. The thinking of abnormal individuals demonstrates the potency of insecurity in the warping of thinking in order to achieve security. The person who believes that he is great and that other people are persecuting him uses these beliefs to guard his self-esteem and to explain the lack of warmth in his reception by others.

Valid thinking or knowledge is that which has survived the tests of criticism, that which has been substantiated by laboratory experiments or by logic, that which has withstood over a period of time the attack of critical adversaries. It is objective thinking—thinking which is not governed by individual desires and feelings. Our real hope for clear thinking on complex domestic and foreign issues which cannot always be subjected to experimentation or to the tests of time is in the existence of a situation which will allow all ideas to be expressed freely so that they may come in conflict and the best may survive. True democracy is framed to produce valid thinking by setting up a situation in which all viewpoints can be given equal expression. Any power which tends to limit free expression of ideas through the press, radio, schoolroom, pulpit, or platform jeopardizes democracy, valid thinking, and man's adjustment to his future.

The process of thinking. Valid thinking, of either the problem-solving or the creative type, involves the following stages:

Clear statement of the problem.

Search for solutions.

Critical test of these solutions.

Tentative acceptance of tested solutions.

Let us turn to each of these stages for an analysis.

Valid thinking. *Clear statement of problem.* It is rare for a student to take a bull session group in hand and say, "See here, fellows, what *really* is the basic problem in this discussion? Let us first decide upon a clearly stated, specific problem. Then we can consider arguments pro and con." It is even more rare for an individual to take this attitude when solving his problems alone.

In order to attack any problem adequately, it should be *stated in such a form that all the implications will be apparent*. "Is there personal immortality?" should be stated more specifically to define crucial terms. A better form would be, "Does a human organism have a conscious existence after death?" From such a specific statement of the problem one may proceed: "What is consciousness?" "Is an organ required to produce consciousness?" A more general question such as "Is one justified in sacrificing personal or professional ethics for success?" should probably be couched in terms which would allow a consideration of a

number of variable conditions. A better statement would be, "Under what conditions would a man be justified in sacrificing personal and professional ethics for success?"

It might be well for you to stop at this point, reach for a piece of paper, and try to state clearly some of the problems that are troubling you now. State them in such language that arguments can be marshaled for and against the issues. You will find that for most minor problems, clearly stating them is the most encouraging step you can take toward their solution. Observation of your fellow students will reveal that those with perspective who seem "to know what it is all about" differ from those who are "in a fog," not so much in the answers they have to problems, as in their willingness to raise questions and to formulate matters that puzzle them.

Search for solutions. Thinking is a "trial-and-error" use of ideas. It consists in persistently seeking ideas and testing the validity of each of them as a solution to the problem at hand.

An effective procedure in seeking the solution to a problem is to recall in a systematic fashion all the *facts* and *sources of facts* bearing upon it. One reason why an educated man is usually a better thinker than an uneducated person is that he has acquired more knowledge or potential solutions to problems. Furthermore, he *does not cling to a single solution* but has a broader perspective and uses more trial and error.

After one's supply of personal experience and knowledge is exhausted, the various known systematic collections of facts, such as periodicals, texts, encyclopedias, and authorities, should be consulted. No items bearing upon the problem should be overlooked. To write about a problem, to discuss it with others, and to raise a number of questions, all aid in giving one several different approaches, new suggestions, and avenues of new knowledge to be applied to it.

Critical test of solutions. A knowledge of the scientist's experimental method helps us in the technique of thinking. He eliminates by laboratory control all the factors in a complex situation except the one he wishes to study, varies it, and measures the results.

Suppose a scientist wanted to discover whether smoking affected grades. Could he merely compare the grades of all the students

who smoke with those of all the students who do not smoke? This would be open to many errors.

In order to be assured that the difference in grades—if any is found—is due to smoking primarily, he would have to have groups similar in all other respects that might influence grades besides smoking. A few of these factors are intelligence, study habits, sex, age, previous training, motivation, health, class in college, time available for study. If he has planned his groups so that they are similar in terms of all these factors and differ only in the presence and absence of smoking, his conclusion will carry weight.

Some problems are not amenable to laboratory investigation but must be studied in the field.

A periodical may want to inform its readers before an election about sentiment toward candidates. It would not be valid merely to give the editor's opinion or to poll the people in the office. A careful method of investigation should involve getting a representative sample of the voting population. If 100 people are to be polled, there should be the same percentage of persons from various economic groups, various vocations, various age groups as are located in the entire voting population. Then the results of the study are a real index of the *probable* outcome of the election. Many reliable opinion polls are based on this type of procedure.

The logician also suggests a technique for testing thinking—the syllogism. It is a fact that a logical conclusion is true only if the premises upon which it is based are true. Much fallacious thinking is the result of false premises. A person may be very logical in his thinking and yet not reach the truth because he bases his thinking process on premises which have never been tested or which are known to be false. The logician begins with a major premise, a generalization which he can accept, then he considers his minor premises and from inspection of the two draws a conclusion. By such a careful process valid reasoning is more likely to result.

The problem, for example, is to decide: "Who borrowed my book?" I immediately think of John Jones, but, before I ask the janitor to open his room and let me search for my book which I need to use in study, I must be certain of my conclusion. There are several propositions of which I am reasonably certain: the borrower is someone who lives in the dormitory, who is taking the same history course that I am, who has borrowed the book before, and who knows where I usually keep it. My major premises are:

The man who borrowed my book is a fellow student in history.

The man who borrowed my book knows where the book is usually kept.

Let us deal with one major premise at a time. If we accept the first major premise, "The man who borrowed my book is a fellow student in history," we can proceed with the minor premise, our next step:

There are seven students living in the dormitory who are in History I.

Conclusion: One of these seven men borrowed my book.

We are confident of this conclusion as it follows directly from our two premises. We can proceed now to the second major and minor premises:

The man who borrowed my book knows where the book is usually kept.

John Jones and Harold Smith are the only men living in the dormitory who know where the book is usually kept.

Conclusion: Either John Jones or Harold Smith borrowed my book.

But I happen to know that Harold Smith is out of town, and I therefore proceed to search the room of John Jones.

This process may seem elementary, but there are so many violations of proper reasoning among college students that one cannot check each step too carefully. If reasoning were checked more carefully, many dogmatic statements would remain unuttered. Hence, it is sometimes wise to *reason on paper*. It is not rare to hear conclusions based on false premises. The statement, "I bet Louis Brown stole the book; he will never look any of us straight in the eye," implies that one who steals books does not look those who know of his thefts straight in the eye. But eye movements and honesty are not directly related; therefore the generalization is false. The statement, "We shall always have wars because man was born with the tendency to fight" is fallacious reasoning; it assumes that (1) we have an inborn tendency to fight; (2) this inborn tendency will always assert itself, and (3) this inborn tendency to fight must express itself in wars—three propositions which are not definitely established (67).

Other aids to thinking are measurements and substitution of quantitative and graphic symbols for indefinite words such as "many," "much," and "often." Many times quibbling will cease when counts and measurements are made. *Experiential tests* also should be employed to assure us of the validity of our reasoning. They test in a concrete situation schemes which seem flawless in daydreams.

In our discussion of the checking of solutions, let us emphasize what has previously been said about attitudes which aid clear thinking. The good thinker is critical.

Allowance of time for ideas and insight to arise. Creative contributors to art and science have testified that at times, after working for hours on a problem, they have almost surrendered in despair. During their search they continually arrived at possible solutions and discarded them because they failed to survive the rigorous tests of criticism. Later, after a rest, and a period of *incubation*, they have sometimes been stimulated by what seemed to be a flood of genius. A clear *insight* into the problem occurred, and a solution was reached that would bear criticism. This insight into the problem sometimes arrives at an unpredictable moment when they are engaged in some activity entirely unrelated to the task at hand (68-71). Cases have been reported in which a rest has aided the solution of a problem. Writers lay aside manuscripts so that they may mellow with time, and upon returning to them they are able to add sections that were difficult to write and detect errors which were not evident previously. However, the role of hard, systematic work in creative or practical thinking cannot be too strongly emphasized. It is the factor which prepares the way for insight.

Tentative acceptance of tested solutions. After a conclusion is once reached it is held tentatively until new data show a more exact solution of the problem. Knowledge is continually being refined; science is continually pushing into the dark regions of the unknown. As new findings are revealed, existing generalizations must be revamped in terms of the new findings. The revision may be largely a matter of refining earlier knowledge of a cruder sort. One is not to be condemned because he sometimes reverses his point of view. He may reach one conclusion after examining some data, but with additional data a newer conclusion may be more tenable. On the contrary, tenaciously clinging to a conclusion might suggest personal insecurity which compels one to be uninterested in new evidence which may change his view.

Analysis of daily thinking and application of above principles. You will enjoy reviewing decisions, judgments, generalizations, or plans that you have made today or yesterday. Label them in terms of processes discussed in this chapter, as "hunch," "syl-

logistic reasoning," "suggestion," "prejudice," "analogous reasoning," and the like. Subject a number of daily acts and decisions to this analysis, and you will be convinced of how little you think. It may even make you more critical of your actions and lead to wiser decisions on your part. The college student's life is replete with situations in which he can practice identifying valid and invalid thinking. There is the bull session, the visiting lecturer, the newspaper, and even the classroom at times.

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CHAPTER FOUR

PERSONAL EFFICIENCY

BUDGETING TIME

Importance of time. The following statement comes from the pen of a young teacher who, when in college, attempted to win, by the end of his sophomore year, a competitive scholarship and at the same time earn his room, board, and fees through remunerative work.

"I came to value time much as the poorly paid laborer with a large family comes to regard money. An hour appeared just as large and just as important to me as a dollar seems to the laborer. Those two years of hard work and planning did more to teach me the value of time and life itself than all my other experiences. As a student, free hours were a truly appreciated joy. A dance or a movie in which I indulged about once a month was not just another party or show, as it had been in high school, but was an event upon which I feasted in imagination for weeks ahead. Even today I budget my time and fill it with work in order to experience 'that indescribable pleasure which issues from a change from work to the freedom of play.' I not only learned to enjoy work in those two years but for the first time I appreciated the refreshing nature of play—the freedom and relaxation following work."

Time has been referred to variously. We have all heard "time is money." Arnold Bennett, in that book which has been helpful to so many readers, *How to Live on Twenty-Four Hours a Day*, says time is more than money. "It is the inexplicable raw material of everything" (1). We are elsewhere reminded that time cannot be saved as is so often claimed; an hour of this day cannot be tucked away for consumption tomorrow. It has been suggested that the more money we save, the more we have, whereas time is more subtle stuff; if we start saving it we no longer have a moment to spare.

Time can, however, be invested. A few hours of time can

produce a beautiful experience to be carried in our memories for the rest of our lives. During an interval of time we can create something in the scope of our talents and motivation. The experiences which grow from the investment of time may be those which emerge from reading a good book, visiting a quaint town or a picturesque scene, conversing with a great character or congenial person, or developing a strong friendship. The creations may be the result of a hobby. They may be represented by a homemade bookcase, an automobile paint job, a poem, an essay, a collection of guns, or proficiency in playing tennis. The difference between a truly great personage and "just another individual" is largely the use of time. We all have some type of capability as raw material. The advantageous employment of time converts these capabilities into a fund of knowledge, understanding, and proficient skills.

You have 1440 minutes each day at your disposal; no more or no less than has every other individual. These minutes are in your custody, and you alone can invest them. This abundant supply of time sometimes evokes the reaction that there is so much time one can afford to wait until middle age to begin accomplishments. Biographies reveal, however, that youth is the time for creative work.

The Persian Empire was conquered by Alexander when he was 25; Bryant wrote "Thanatopsis" at 17; Madame Curie began her search for radium while still in her twenties; da Vinci in his eighteenth year painted the famous angel in Verrocchio's canvas; Gladstone made his first speech in Parliament when he was 24; at this age Goethe published the tragedy, "Gotz von Berlickingen," and at 18 Hamilton attracted wide attention as a pamphleteer and was shortly after made a member of Washington's staff. Schubert, the great composer, had just passed 30 when death visited him. The lives of Keats and Shelley were shorter than thirty years (2). These all indicate the importance of youth not only as a period of preparation but also as one of accomplishment.

Personal survey of time. How do you spend your time? How do you use your 1440-minute allotment daily? Make an inventory and learn. You will be surprised at the number of minutes for which you can give no account. These minutes will furnish few of the truly pleasant emotions, for wasted time is not

often relished time. Time fully enjoyed is not wasted. This is an illuminating survey every college student should undertake. It can be as interesting as a golf or bowling score.

Begin tomorrow morning, and note by hour periods how the day is spent. Take a blank sheet of paper for each day and record the time intervals at the extreme left and in the blank across the sheet note the activities carried on during these periods. For example:

7:00	Bathe, dress, breakfast, glance over morning paper, walk to school
8:00	Class—English
9:00	Study History in library

Be specific; if you consumed 10 minutes before you really got down to your work, do not include these 10 minutes as work. At the end of the day make a summary which will be similar to the following:

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Hours</i>
Classes	4½	Meals	2¼	Extracurricular	
Study (English)	¾	Athletics	0	(school paper)	½
Study (History)	1½	Remunerative work	1	Time unaccounted for	3½
Study (French)	2	Extracurricular (chorus)	0	Personal care	1
Sleep	7				

In this survey, time consumed in getting to and from an activity was included in the activity. The item which deserves the greatest analysis is "time unaccounted for." In the case of the above individual, on the day represented here, this time was lost after meals and in the afternoon. Most of it was spent around the house. Although this individual could have reached and attended all his classes in 3¼ hours, he consumed 4½. The rest was spent hanging around and loafing, the type of loafing which had no value for the student but upon reflection was recognized by him as an escape. However, in spite of this wasted time, this schedule was selected because it is exceptional in the amount accomplished. This student studied 4¼ hours, worked

1 hour, and wrote a news item for the school paper in $\frac{1}{2}$ hour. It will be well to prepare such an analysis for yourself. It has been found that many students do most of their studying on four days of the week. The week-end, then, would bear watching for wasted hours and half-hours (3). Then critically ask yourself whether your time could have been spent more profitably or enjoyably.

Avenues of adventure with time. How can one get the maximum return in happiness through the investment of time? The answer in general is: *by a controlled variety of activities and some appreciable accomplishments in each one.* College offers as great a variety of activities as one can desire. There are major and minor athletic events, both the participant and the spectator types; literary pursuits, either the creative or appreciative aspects; artistic pursuits, including music and graphic art; religious activities; social life; and other miscellaneous recreation and work.

In college the student has his choice of *athletic* activities. If he does not show aptitude in the major sports, there are minor games which afford in some cases more pleasure, although less glamour. Moderate proficiency in tennis, golf, swimming, skating, volleyball, rifle shooting, ping-pong, and archery will bring hours of pleasure throughout life.

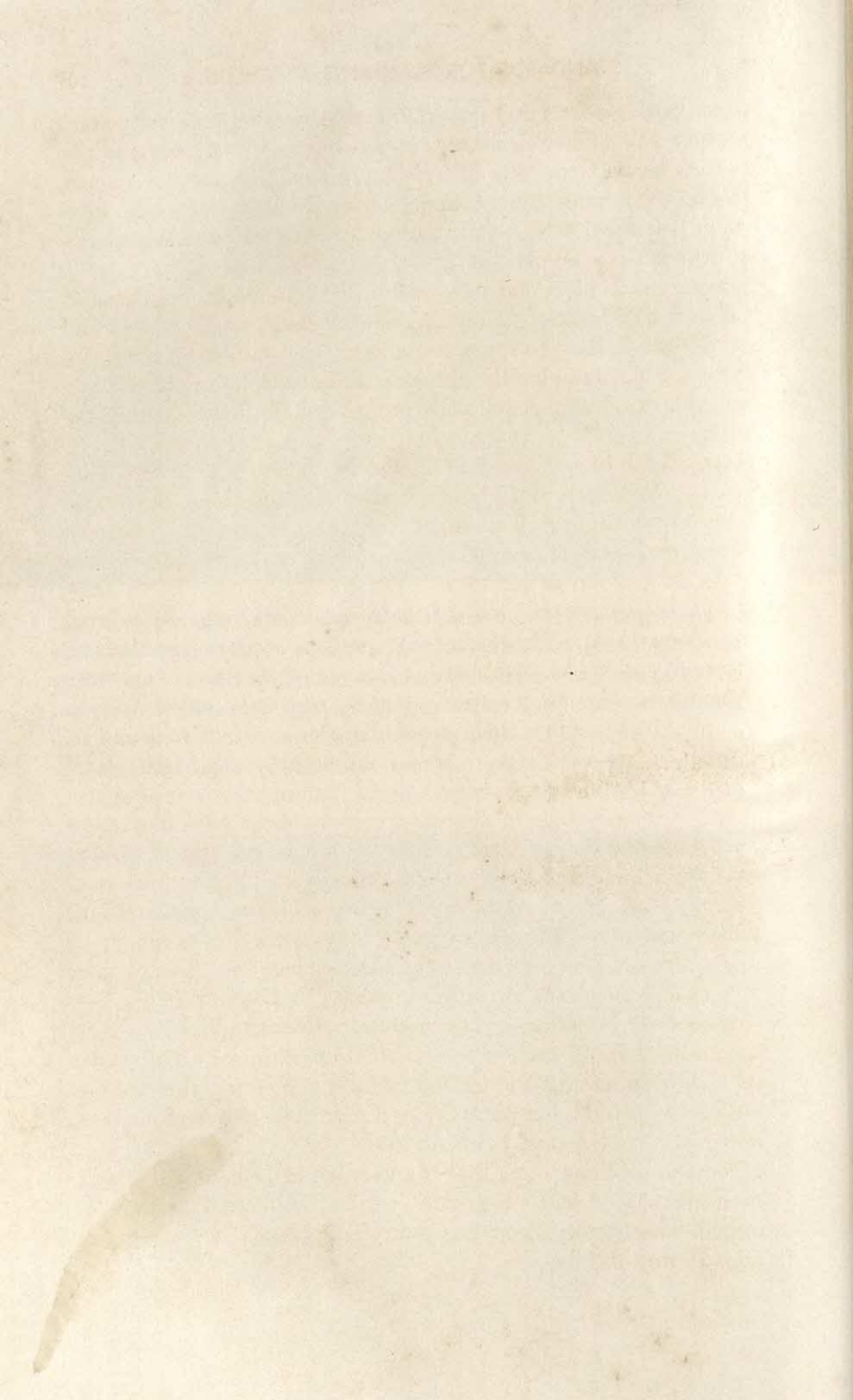
The university man has, within a few blocks of his dormitory room, a *library* of some of the greatest works of literature and science. Besides the many books which he must use as part of his work, he will enjoy browsing through interesting biographies and autobiographies, novels, short stories, plays, anthologies, popular non-fiction and travel books. He will find short and medium-length volumes which will fill those occasional empty minutes with life. The college man should never be bored; there is a great variety of sources of experience open to him.

Lectures are frequently scheduled on the campus, usually with free admission. These lectures are a liberal education in themselves. The administration of the university arranges to bring to the campus men of national or international reputation. At the larger universities such lectures are available several times a month. The college man or woman should supplement formal school work with informal cultural pursuits.



These pictures were taken in living quarters of a group of college women (above) and men (below). Various objects suggesting interests of all kinds were collected and photographed. Some of the objects suggest recreation and relaxation, others suggest in addition personal and cultural growth. Many avenues of adventure with time and avocations suggested in the text are reflected by the objects in the pictures.





Musical concerts, and *art exhibits* enhance the university community and offer rich sources of adventure. Your own campus and its locale frequently include historic edifices and documents, traditions, famous alumni, and renowned faculty members. Acquaint yourself with them. They will add to your experience and immediate enjoyment.

Religious leaders and programs in the community are thoughtful and challenging. They aid one to clarify one's ethical and moral standards. To some, religion gives a stabilizing emotional satisfaction. It helps the thinking student to integrate conflicting values. Campus religious groups usually have a social aspect.

As social beings we find ourselves enjoying *activities with others*. We enjoy our clubs, whether they be Latin clubs, athletic organizations, fraternities, or luncheon clubs. Dances, dates, and picnics sometimes appear in memory as pleasant oases on a desert of monotony.

Miscellaneous recreations include casual reading as furnished by newspapers and magazines; shows, games, conversation, relaxation, and walks. Hobbies and activities of interest vary with the individual. Under this category, discussed more fully in Chapter 10, would fall such extracurricular activities as debating, dramatics, school paper, school politics, band, and pep clubs. Consult handbooks or pamphlets on "information for new students" for assistance in choosing the organization you wish to join. We shall show later that an important method of adjusting to one's problems and affecting a creative development is to affiliate with a hobby or interest group which is congenial and which will allow the use of one's talents, the development of one's interests, and the satisfaction of basic motives. The psychological effects of this are fully discussed in Chapter 7 (4).

Standards for planning a schedule. *Routine activities.* How much time should each of these activities consume? This varies with the community, the individual, and numerous other factors. There are certain standards formed from opinions and surveys, however, which should be mentioned.

Most authorities agree that the average eight-hour daily sleep program should not be greatly varied. Although some individuals consistently sleep less than eight hours, they often take naps during the day.

Many busy individuals spend too little time at their meals. It has been suggested that $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours be devoted to this purpose. Taking meals with congenial conversationalists is an aid to greater relaxation, and the reading of newspapers and magazines before and after meals is suggested for periods of rest and relaxation. Pleasant sedentary activities at this time aid digestion.

With these hours taken out of the 24 hours of the day, one can proceed to divide the others between work and play. It has been suggested that man is happiest when he "splits his day three ways": eight hours for sleep and rest; eight for serious work; and eight for recuperative and recreational activities (2). Students who have found themselves and enjoy the curriculum they are pursuing will consider some of the extra time they must consume in study and work as recreation.

Scholarly activities. How much time is and should be spent in study? Study is the primary object in college. Surveys from both a junior college and an eastern university show that the average college student evaluates college studies highest among all college activities, daily social contacts second, and, for university students, fraternity life, contact with athletics, departmental clubs, school publications, literary and debating clubs, and social institutions follow in the order given (5).

Traditionally 2 hours of *outside preparation* has been considered as the requirement for each credit hour in college. The question arises, How much time do students *actually* spend in study? A survey in several institutions establishes that the high school student spends an estimated 9 to 12 hours a week in homework (6). The average college student (who spends about 16 hours a week in class) devotes about twice as much time to study as the high school student. In some colleges about one-third of the time is devoted to academic work (7, 8).

A study of University of Minnesota students shows that the study time varies greatly with individuals: some spend less than 10 hours and others with the same credit load consume 50 hours or more, with the average around 23 hours. There are further variations in the averages of all the students with the season of the year (9). It appears, then, that the student must re-adjust his study schedule upon entering college. The exact time devoted to study will depend upon *his individual* ability and habits. If the student finds that he must devote much more

than 48 hours a week to school work, it may be wise to select a lighter schedule. One extra year in college sometimes makes the difference between four years of frustration, fear, and remorse, and five years of great serenity, success, and more challenges met.

An inquiry has shown that students with lower college ability scores spend considerably more time in study and yet receive much less credit. Intelligence is a far more significant factor in school achievement than time spent in study (9). Reports show that there is a relationship between grades and well-planned time budgets (10, 11). It behooves you to learn your college aptitude score or relative intelligence and take this into consideration when you compare yourself with students who spend less time studying or do not have systematic study habits.

Avocational activities. A *faculty-student committee* of the University of Chicago suggests these maximum and minimum standards: a four-hour-a-week minimum for serious reading; for lectures, concerts, theaters, and art, a three-hour minimum; for formal social affairs, dances, and teas, a two-hour minimum and a five-hour maximum; for movies, shows, attendance at games, a six-hour maximum; and for religious and social service work, a two-hour minimum (12). How do these standards tally with your expenditure of time? Are some activities top-heavy in your schedule? Studies of students' use of time show that as a rule it is not this well apportioned (13).

Participation in *extracurricular activities* has been studied at the University of Minnesota. It has been found that the average student engages in only one college activity. Prominent students participate in three activities, and honor students average four for men and five for women. When the alumni of this university were questioned about the value of extracurricular activities, over 50 per cent rated them equal to or above classroom work (14). A Yale University study points to the generalization that moderate participation in the activities of the campus is found to be associated with good scholarship (15). Other colleges report similar findings (16-22). This seems to substantiate the aphorism, "If you want something done, get a busy man to do it." Among athletes, however, there is evidence to show that grades decline during the season of competition (20, 22, 23). Extracurricular activities serve as hobbies, as an alternation and re-

cuperation from work. Moderate participation gives the student a fuller, more wholesome life and broader sources of motivation and achievement. He should remain alert, however, to the effect of this activity on his grades and curtail his participation if scholarship is greatly affected.

Remunerative activities. From one-third to one-half of present-day college students earn all or part of their expenses while attending school (24). Often a student is in continual conflict about the wisdom of doing so. He sees others with a larger social program and more time to devote to the accumulation of grades and credits, and this bothers him considerably. A review of the surveys of the *working student* shows that these activities curtail fraternity and sorority activities and attendance at parties rather than participation in other extracurricular activities. There is some evidence from a Yale study to indicate that the working student earns higher grades, probably because of greater motivation—greater desire to gain a preparation for a future career (15). To work more than 12 hours a week has been found harmful by a University of Michigan study. The generalization from a Minnesota survey indicates that earning more than 75 per cent of school expenses tends to affect grades unfavorably. The university hospital seems to be used more extensively by students with greater earnings (25). Students who receive federal aid, as under NYA, prove to be worthy of assistance on practically all counts. Such aid is regarded as an effective means of conserving human abilities (26–34). Students themselves, alumni, and many college administrators have a favorable attitude toward part-time employment. In general, the differences between groups of working and non-working students are slight. The benefits of working depend upon conditions specific to given cases (35–38).

Among the possible advantages listed are (1) the attainment of more education than could be achieved otherwise; (2) the acquisition of habits of industry and thrift and the greater utilization of mental abilities; (3) a test of character and ambition; (4) acquisition of occupational experience; (5) acquisition of a sense of independence and economic values (39).

Making a program. *Value of a program.* Students and employees sometimes rebel when a somewhat fixed daily schedule is suggested to them. The arguments against it are that it

takes the joy from life and tends to make machines of men. A program should do the opposite. A well-planned program (1) permits the more monotonous tasks to be done efficiently in short time and therefore allows greater time for more pleasant tasks; in truth, gives man more freedom; (2) eliminates procrastination, the resultant remorse, and the waste of time usually consumed before plunging into work; (3) allows the individual to perceive more clearly his progress per unit time, as each hour which is set aside for a particular task either yields or does not yield definite accomplishments; (4) gives the individual a fuller life because the program has been planned to include desirable activities; (5) makes him less a creature of circumstance and more an individual of self-initiation; (6) prevents emotional reaction from the inability to complete assignments in that it allows the individual to distribute his time adequately.

Pitfalls to avoid in making a program. The aversion that some have to a program is due, in a large measure, either to their disinclination to put forth the effort of trying a plan or to the previous failures of programs. Some programs fail because they are too rigid and do not allow for rest periods, changes of activity, and human frailties. It is imperative in planning a program to make it *flexible*, to allow for *unexpected events*, to plan long periods for that work which requires a warming-up period and short periods for fatiguing work, to *alternate* entirely different types of activity so that one type will have recuperative value for the other, and to plan for no more work than can be successfully accomplished in an allotted period. Play can be scheduled at the hours when there is a natural tendency to "let down." A clever plan is to reward yourself for unusual accomplishment. Treat yourself to a show or a favorite magazine after a period of hard work.

If one will critically survey his usual expenditure of time, he will realize how many minutes of each day are frittered away. He will then be able to plan his program more efficiently (2).

A student has to guard particularly the afternoon hours. They slip away most easily. There are four hours between two and six o'clock that in many cases should be salvaged.

The program. To avoid the causes for failure mentioned above, the program should be planned in terms of an accurate survey of time. It should be experimental for a few weeks and

therefore should be tentative at first. Generalizations may be made at the end of the week regarding the success or failure of the plan, the reasons for failure, and suggested changes. It will be gratifying to see how much more can be done when a program is used. Some free time should be left to allow for emergencies. Below is a sample program for three days of the week.

	<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>
6:30	Bathe, dress, eat, review, walk to class	Bathe, dress, eat, review, walk to class	Bathe, dress, eat, review, walk to class
8:00	English class	Study History	English class
9:00	History class	History class	History class
10:00	Psychology class	Mathematics class	Psychology class
11:00	Remunerative work, eat	Remunerative work, eat	Remunerative work, eat
2:00	Gym: wrestling	Latin	Study Latin
3:00	Gym: wrestling	Study Latin	Study Mathematics
4:00	Walk, read, date, or dramatics	Unassigned	Unassigned
6:00	Eat	Eat	Eat
7:00	Conversation, relaxation	Conversation, relaxation	Conversation, relaxation
7:45	Study Mathematics	Study English	Study Mathematics
8:30	Rest, study Psychology	Rest, study History	Rest, write letters, listen to radio
10:15	Walk, conversation, games	Walk, conversation, games	Walk, conversation, games
10:45	Sleep	Sleep	Sleep

The real secret of a full life is to salvage odd moments and fill them with pleasurable experience.

BUDGETING MONEY

Importance of budgeting money. In this symbolic age money represents time, talent, and efficiency. Some persons consider budgeting money even more necessary than budgeting time. Those who consistently fail to live within their incomes suffer in reputation and self-respect. Businessmen are sometimes intolerant of youths who are unable to regulate their personal finances. A well-planned budget fosters a smoothly running daily existence and releases time for the consideration of more serious problems.

Wise spending, which means *satisfying one's deeper wants by*

the use of one's money, results in an enriched life. The basic value of money, in the last analysis, is how best it can satisfy our broader needs. The amount is not important; its effective use so that it will increase our comfort, enjoyment, and security, is significant (40).

Students with financial problems.

Here is a happy-go-lucky young student who must have *everything he sees*. If a student down the hall buys a new sport coat at a bargain price, Jimmy thinks he ought to "save money" by taking advantage of this bargain too. He forgets that he took advantage of three or four other bargains this month and he is now spending next month's living allowance on this month's luxuries. If he carries these habits and attitudes into business he will violate some of the basic principles of budgeting.

Lewis and Maurice both enjoy "games of chance." To Lewis it is a possible means to recoup his unwise expenditures. Maurice, on the other hand, gets a great emotional thrill out of winning and has an interesting way of forgetting his losses. *Gambling* to him is almost like a drug. Neither he nor Lewis has learned to look upon a game of chance as a form of play which may place his finances in jeopardy. Neither has learned to set aside a certain amount when he enters a "friendly game," and to quit when this amount is gone. Neither has learned to stay out of games beyond his limit, and Maurice has not even learned to stay away from sharks.

Marie is dissatisfied with her allowance. It is in excess of what her parents should give her, in view of their income. All her friends, however, have large allowances. Her parents have unwisely sent her to schools in which most of the students are from families with larger incomes than theirs. Marie therefore continually objects to her small allowance and is unhappy because she cannot have that which other girls enjoy. She is forced to live within her allowance since no other money is available. Her family has frequently gone into debt for her and has exhausted this source of funds. She therefore spends all her allowance around the first of the month and does without necessities the rest of the time. Should Marie frankly face the facts, select companions with allowances like her own, and budget carefully, she would have ample funds to dress herself well and enjoy life thoroughly. Furthermore, she could lighten the financial burden her parents now carry.

Karl's financial problem is that he voluntarily *keeps his expenditures too well within his allowance*. He imposes upon his friends without any intention to reciprocate. He will drop in frequently on

a group of boys who are "baching" and lunch with them. Not once will he invite them to lunch with him. He does not buy textbooks, but borrows from others. He frequently goes on double dates with a friend who has a car but never offers to buy gasoline. He smokes cigarettes but rarely buys them. At the end of the year Karl is \$200 or \$300 ahead financially but far below par socially.

Mark is the *chronic borrower*. His allowance barely covers last month's debt. Every acquaintance has an equity in his wardrobe. He never contracts commercial loans or gives his friends collateral. Although he is a pleasant and potentially popular person, most of those who know him soon lose respect for him on account of his shoddy financial habits.

Suggestions for good financial habits. A few well-tried principles for building good financial habits are given below.

Assume financial responsibilities and experience the consequences of poor budgeting. Responsibility can be achieved by earning some of one's spending money. We best realize the value of money when we have spent hours of hard work to secure it. A college student will not spend \$25 for a dress that is suitable for only one occasion if she has to earn this \$25 at the rate of 50 cents an hour. The same viewpoint can be gained by living within a fixed income. By this is meant that, if one overspends his allowance, he must do without necessities for the rest of a designated period or supplement his income by employment.

In most of the cases above the student had not experienced vividly enough the consequences of poor budgeting. He had not been deprived often enough of necessities after he had spent his allowance. On the other hand, he had not experienced the calm and security that result from a successful financial plan.

Devise a detailed budget for income, and check daily successes in meeting it. It is amazing what a simple device like a budget does for the individual's peace of mind. It tentatively solves in advance many of the problems the individual will meet. It makes the individual face the reality of his actual income as well as his needs. It forces him to decide before it is too late which of the many desires he may satisfy.

Suggestions for a planned budget. Budgets vary in extent and complexity. A simple budget consists merely of a statement

of the income on the top line followed by a list of needs and desires and their cost. The total of the costs of needs and desires must not be more than the income unless the individual has a means for augmenting his income.

The budget should first list *fixed charges*. These consist of rent, food, and the like. It is well to pay them in advance or at least deduct them from the bank balance (41).

A student can obtain a more valid basis for next month's budget if he keeps an account book of the present month's expenditures. This little book he can carry in his pocket and record all expenditures as they are made. It can become a highly interesting and informative practice.

Some students have large enough capital at the beginning of the year to open a checking account. This gives them experience in banking.

The good budget provides a *sinking fund*. The budgeter should always allow for emergencies. If there is a surplus at the end of the month he may use it for a few luxuries which he lists at the end of his account.

A clever budgeter saves for future buying. He can always buy to greater advantage if he has a *reserve* when bargains are available. He can buy in quantities and take advantage of cash discounts.

A good item to include in a budget is *savings for future security*. It is good mental hygiene to prepare daily, even if only in a small way, for tomorrow. Illness, unemployment, and old age are three conditions most of us meet. Savings for future security is not an important item in the student budget, but it is well to begin thinking about it early.

Economy within the budget. Another suggestion that many have found valuable is: *be your own producer* when it is economical. Many college students apply this principle extensively. They form groups to organize cooperative houses. They plan their budget cooperatively, and each devotes a certain amount of time to the preparation or planning of meals. Some handle their laundry cooperatively. A few raise part of their food supply.

One may economize by *serving oneself* rather than paying someone else for the service. If one is skillful in the use of dye, shoe polish, electric iron, needle, and carpentry tools, many

a dollar may be saved wisely. Early repairs are thrifty. Many savings may be made by buying the material and producing the end commodity.

Wise buying is the best way to economize. Make buying a hobby. Read consumer periodicals * and the many fascinating books written to inform the consumer of the ingredients of many of his purchases. The thread count of the material in a garment is a much better index of quality than a brand name. It is not true that "you get only what you pay for." Some of the more expensive suits are inferior to cheaper brands. Carry on a little experimentation of your own. Mark each article you purchase with the date of purchase and cost in an inconspicuous place with indelible ink. Then note which brands are most satisfying when several are subjected to the same use.

It is a good suggestion to find a means of *enjoying yourself without too great expenditure of money*. Busy people usually have little time for amusement. The greatest pleasure comes from events and products which are the result of our own creative efforts. Many women derive their greatest satisfaction from making their own clothes, decorating their own homes, engaging in handicrafts, and the like. Men experience similar pleasure when they repair their own cars or work on their hobbies. The best parties are those that employ clever, improvised features rather than professionally planned decorations and amusement.

Another suggestion for buying is to *imagine that you have possessed the object for a week*. If you still want it after you have spent hours in imaginary use of it, perhaps you should buy it. Think of the many things you have bought that have meant very little to you a month later. Recall these incidents when shopping. Remember that the more variety of experience an object will afford, the greater its value, regardless of cost. Remember, too, that some of your neighbors get as much variety out of a \$500 second-hand car as you will out of an \$1800 car. There may be more relaxation and pleasure in using the cheaper car because of freedom from anxiety to keep it scratchless and to meet the instalment notes.

* Consumers' Research, Inc., Washington, N. J.; Consumers' Union, 17 Union Square, New York City.

Individual differences in economy. You have no doubt known some individuals who have the same income as their neighbors, yet they appear to have more to spend because they buy wisely. Such a person has a better home, better furniture, better clothes, and more books and objects of art. He and his family shop extensively before they buy anything. They learn all they can about an article. They never buy luxuries at their original cost because they realize that the resale price is much less than the original. They save so they may have capital to take advantage of bargains. They always secure detailed prices before contracting debts. They buy clothes at odd seasons, preferably at the end of the season. Buying is one of their hobbies. They frequently visit the second-hand shops. They go on tours of old barns and attics. Some of their choicest furniture was covered with layers of dirt and ill-chosen paint when they first saw it. These articles cost practically nothing except the time and energy to restore them to their original beauty. Several books that were worth many times their price were discovered in a junk heap. To find them was an adventure.

There is another variety of individual who buys stingingly, who makes every purchase an unpleasant relationship for all concerned. He differs from the other person in that the former buys with a plan, takes lots of time, and creates his bargains. He serves the seller by purchasing goods which are valueless to him. The stinting kind of buyer makes purchases under pressure, coercion, and shrewd tactics. Such an individual is unpopular and loses in good will far more than he gains in dollars and cents.

Many of those who believe themselves to be thrifty are "penny wise and pound foolish." They will save a 35-cent taxi fare and as a result pay a 75-cent cleaning and pressing bill. They will buy note paper that costs 5 or 10 cents less per 500 sheets and have it tear and discolor in less than a year. They will economize by eating starches rather than milk, fruit, and vegetables and be poorly nourished as a result.

A most pitiable person is one who feels that he must "put on a front" in excess of his income, who values only a rich crowd. False pretenses such as these cause an emotional strain and usually defeat their very purpose—pleasure and relaxation. To raise one's standard of living beyond one's ability to support it

is extremely unwise. Sooner or later one must return to a lower standard, which is most difficult and unpleasant.

Expenses of college students. What is the cost of a college education? The answer varies with the institution considered and the tastes of the student. The variation is so great that we can discuss only those general expenses which are necessary in most colleges and let the student accumulate particular information on his own campus. On his data sheet he should include a column for the "lowest" expenditure required for each item, a second column for "average," and a third column for "generous."

It has been found that expenses of members of Greek letter social organizations during normal times are more than \$200 higher than those of other students. Besides, the initiation fee varies with the local chapter. It has been suggested that a student who expects to join a fraternity add from \$100 to \$200 to his estimates for the freshman year, and \$45 to \$81 for succeeding years after the initiation fee has been paid (39, 42).

The table on page 121 is a detailed budgetary table compiled by the dean of women at the University of Illinois. It was computed from actual budgets of women students. It has practical value in that it suggests specific ways in which college expenses may be reduced. It shows very clearly that a *college education may be obtained on varying incomes*. Use this table as a model and compute a similar one for your own campus and sex group. Your budget will be more interesting and valuable if three or four students work out this information together. The administrative offices in your school will be pleased to furnish you with information. Some of it no doubt is published in the college bulletin (43).

Source of student income. A democratic ideal is to make education available to all those capable of receiving it. Because higher education is expensive and frequently involves self-maintenance outside of the home, it is important that financial opportunities be made available for all those who are in the higher ability brackets. Society suffers when capable students are denied higher education because of their financial status (44). In one Midwestern city, 42 per cent of the high school graduates in the upper 15 per cent in ability were not in school at all.

Build and Balance Your College Budget *

Thirty-Six Weeks a School Year		Work- ing	Cooperative Housing	Average Budget	Ample Budget	Expenses Can Be Reduced by:
Room	(Work)		\$300	{ \$ 150	\$ 180	Always practicing econ-
Board	\$ 80		80	360	400	omy
Tuition (out of state \$160)	10		10	10	10	Budgeting
Matriculation fee (paid once)	5		5	5	5	Infrequent trips
General fee (refunded if not used)	16		16	16	16	Loans to upperclassmen
Laboratory or art fees	25		25	25	25	payable after gradua-
Books and instruments	14		14	18	18	tion †
School supplies	5		5	5	5	Office work
Gymnasium costumes, locker and towel service (\$1.50 refunded)	10		10	10	10	Own personal grooming
Hospital membership (to include part of Doctor visits—\$10)	10		10	10	10	Good health habits
Student union fee	10		10	10	10	Scholarships
Estimated data:						Second-hand books
Clothing	125		150	200	300	Sending laundry home
Cleaning	15		15	20	25	Sensible buying and home
Laundry	9		9	15	25	cleaning of clothes
Campus interests (optional)	13		15	20	28	Working for room and
Concert course						board
Athletic book	\$ 6.00					
Campus organizations	12.00					
Year book	5.00					
Recreation		20	20	30	50	
Personal necessities		30	30	50	65	
Total		\$387	\$714	\$1024	\$1252	

* Compiled from actual budgets of university women students, by Miriam A. Shelden, Dean of Women, University of Illinois, 1948.

† The freshman's budget should provide for at least one semester's full expense as freshmen are not eligible for university loans.

Seventy per cent could not go to college because of lack of funds (45).

Extent of student self-support. Even during the prosperous period of 1929, about half of the men and a quarter of the women students in the universities of this country were working part-time, and one-fifth of the men and one-tenth of the women were earning all their expenses (46). There are marked variations among different groups of students and different schools. In one college only 5 per cent of the women in the sorority group were working, and in another 75 per cent of all the students in a group of several professional schools were working (46, 47).

Students work about 20 hours a week on an average. There is, however, wide variation (39). The amount earned by students also varies with the institution and the training of the student. At Yale, for example, during 1935-36 about one-fourth of the working students earned less than \$50. The upper fourth, on the other hand, earned from \$300 to \$1000. In land-grant colleges students earned from \$150 to \$360 during the college year (48, 49). Rate of student pay was higher in privately controlled colleges than in state institutions (50).

Nature of self-support. It has been previously indicated that the remuneration which a student receives from work is closely related to the type of skill required by the position. College students have found numerous ways to finance an education. Below is a list of miscellaneous means of earning sufficient funds for some degree of self-support.

Domestic

Waiting on tables
Cooking and kitchen work
Janitor
Care of children
Housework
Yard work

Educational

Coaching
Lecturing
Tutoring
Grading
Boys' work
Laboratory assistant

Professional

Artist
Musician
Entertainer
Draftsman
Translator
Technical assistant
Church work

Clerical

Typing
Secretarial
Library assistance
Telephone duty
Miscellaneous

<i>Miscellaneous Holiday and Vacation Work</i>	<i>Personal</i>
	Attendant or companion
	Caretaker
<i>Industrial and Commercial</i>	Chauffeur
Selling	Usher
Collecting	<i>Trades</i>
Soliciting	Carpentry
Student agent	Electrical and mechanical
	Barber

Many students have originated novel and interesting means of financing college education. For example, six railway cabooses formed a "depression camp" at one university. They were set in quadrangle form. Four were used as sleeping quarters, one as a study, and one as a kitchenette. This arrangement reduced student expenditure to one-half that of other men in the same university (51).

Five students in another college lived at the outskirts of town. They had brought with them 200 quarts of canned goods, a bale of hay, a dozen cured hams, some live poultry, and a cow (52). Some colleges have cooperative dormitories at which students can earn a reduction in college expenses (53). Other colleges have made use of part-time employment as a vocational guidance program (54). Several colleges are well known for their provision for vocational work. The Antioch plan allows students to go to school part of the year and to work the other part. Berea College provides means by which students may earn 76 per cent of their college expenses. They operate a bakery, the Fireside Industries, a broom factory, the Berea College Press, the Creamery, the Woodwork, and the Sewing Industries (55).

At the date of writing, universities have assumed more responsibility concerning the housing and personal welfare of single and married students than ever before in the history of education. Although many of these provisions are temporary, others will continue for many years after the veterans of World War II have received their education and will be converted into low-cost provisions for scholarship students.

Financial behavior and adjustment. The way one uses money may either reflect inexperience and lack of training regarding its use or may be one of several indexes of inner difficulty (56). Students have been known to use money for objects which increase their prestige and decrease their feeling of insecurity.

Others have a narrow span of interests and hobbies, and the spending of money and the acquisition of objects is one of their few sources of pleasure. Squandering the money of parents has been discovered in counseling to be a means of expressing hostility toward the parent. Impulsive and erratic financial habits have frequently been part of a total personality pattern. A desire for affection and security has sometimes been satisfied by showering oneself or others with expensive gifts. The connection between money and power must not be overlooked. Stinginess might also reflect restrictiveness in personality. It is well for the student whose behavior with money and possessions differs markedly from that of others to try to discover the inner motivation of this behavior.

EFFICIENT BODY AND ENVIRONMENT

An efficient external environment. *Seek proper lighting conditions.* Adults use their eyes about 16 hours a day, and about 70 per cent of the muscular movements we make are initiated through stimuli affecting the eyes. One survey of 21 different industrial and office activities warrants the generalization that the eyes are engaged in serious work 70 per cent of the time. In view of this, an environment which does not allow the efficient use of the eyes adds greatly to fatigue. Studies in the laboratory and in industry support this generalization. Increases and decreases in output resulting from a change in illumination vary with the fineness of the work and environmental conditions. Reported losses in efficiency are as great as 25 per cent, a decrease in efficiency which is tremendous. When proper lighting is provided, safety, efficiency and comfort are increased, morale raised, vision conserved, fatigue lowered, and a general feeling of well-being is created. Good lighting is hygienic; it is stimulating (57, 58).

Proper illumination is necessary for good working conditions. This means *sufficient light, absence of glare, and even distribution of brightness*. Natural, shadowless daylight is ideal. Insufficient lighting causes strain. Uneven illumination or glare from certain bright objects results in excessive muscular movement. It also results in a reflexive tendency to turn toward the light. This the individual overcomes only with effort. Desk

lights which shine directly into the eyes, or cause uneven areas of brightness on the desk, or are so dim that they result in strain should be avoided. A sufficiently shaded light placed to the left of the worker so that it does not cause glare from the paper is effective. It is good hygiene to rest the eyes occasionally by looking up from the book toward distant objects. Closing the eyes and relaxing them is recommended. A good preventive measure for those who impose a daily strain upon these vital organs is periodic examination of the eyes by an oculist. Make an inventory of the lighting condition of your room today. Are you dissipating time and energy because of poor lighting? Is there glare, shadow, or dimness? Have your eyes ever been tested? Are there indications, such as headaches, that you require glasses?

Minimize noise and distraction. An interesting experiment, in which an individual did somewhat simple mental work during alternate noisy and quiet periods, showed that after an initial fall in efficiency during a period made noisy by buzzes, bells, and phonograph records, there was a rise. This rise in efficiency during the noisy period was *at the expense of greater energy* (59). In most investigations noise is reported as disagreeable and contributive to inefficiency and fatigue (60, 61). Some background noises, such as music, are usually agreeable and stimulating to production in work of a repetitive nature (62). Many students know, however, that listening to the radio while studying is likely to cause much wandering of thought in the direction of associations produced by the program.

The student is free to leave his work overtly or covertly, and not return to it for a period if he becomes greatly interested in the distraction. The experimental subjects in industry and laboratories did not have this freedom but were urged to work continuously. It seems, then, that *noisy and distracting conditions should be avoided* when complex creative work is to be done. If a noise has no associative value and cannot be prevented, the individual should reassure himself because such disturbances impair efficiency little. They do, however, require more energy, when the individual *must* continue to work in their presence, as in the above experiments (57).

Plan for optimal ventilation and climatic conditions. How do weather conditions affect efficiency? It is well established

that the symptoms we show while working in a poorly ventilated room are not due so much to the lack of fresh air as to insufficient circulation of air. Air should be of optimal *temperature, humidity, and circulation*. It is a common observation that on humid days discomfort is experienced widely, although the thermometer indicates that the temperature is not high. Circulation of air removes the warmer air from around the body and allows the evaporation of moisture on the body. Studies in industry show that poor ventilation affects efficiency and health (63, 64).

The best advice gleaned from these findings is that you choose a temperate location for your life work, if too much must not be sacrificed to get it (65). If unsatisfactory climatic conditions are unavoidable, strive for *modern architectural methods of controlling climatic conditions* within a housing structure. A temperature of about 70 degrees should be maintained in work rooms, and the air should be kept in motion. If temperature regulation is beyond control, it is well to remember that one study showed no change in mental efficiency when the temperature was raised from 68 degrees to 75 degrees. One should *motivate oneself and work on* (66).

Plan and arrange environment for work. Industrial efficiency teaches us to plan. When the work to be performed is brought to the worker on a moving belt or conveyance so that he does not have to make numerous movements, or when the work is carefully planned and outlined so that each procedure follows another mechanically, efficiency is stepped up.

By making records of continued work and plotting the curves, it has been learned that the early morning hours are typically the most productive. A fall occurs toward the end of the morning. The afternoon curve is similar, except that the general curve is lower and the fall steeper. This is shown graphically in Fig. 5 (67).

A similar curve may be plotted for work throughout the week and year. One curve plotted for efficiency during the various days of the week indicates that the greatest productivity occurs in the middle of the week, with later a fall and final rise at the end of the week (68). These findings from industry hold generally for study (69). There is some evidence that October, November, and December are inferior to April, May, and September. Summer months also rank relatively low in efficiency (65).

One outstanding student of efficiency succeeded in reducing the motions required to lay bricks from 18 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ by the elimination of numerous superficial movements, and by mechanical and unskilled human assistance. By studying this job he was able to use a skilled worker's time most efficiently (70). This study is one of many which point to the possibilities of reducing fatigue and increasing output by planning work instead of allowing it to be accomplished through random movements. These and

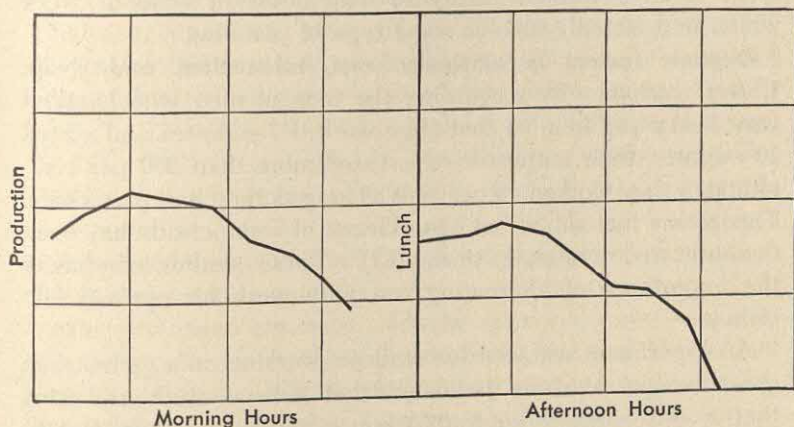


FIG. 5. Typical daily production curve. (After Burt.)

other findings argue for the importance of planning for all work, whether manual or intellectual.

It behooves a student to determine the most efficient hours of his day and to schedule his most taxing tasks at that time. Are these hours the same as the above industrial studies indicate? Similarly, one's most efficient days should be ascertained. Less efficient hours may be reserved for recreation, and the anticipation of these hours will motivate work. The student should ask himself these questions: What movements and distractions can be eliminated during study? Are all books at hand, pencils sharpened, and pens filled? Are bookmarks used to prevent a three-minute loss due to the distraction of looking through the book for the proper place? Is the working environment conducive to efficiency? Is my chair, for example, upright and productive of an active attitude? Is each day planned? Can I work with a maximum concentration when I start a lengthy, efficient

period? Since a goal in business is efficiency, *the elimination of wasted time and motion*, why should not the student in college prepare for this aspect of a business career?

Some argue against such mechanization in creative work. It must be remembered, however, that most creative work involves detail. As efficiency is increased in executing details, more time is available for thought and inspirational activities, which are fuel for the creative flame. The biographies of many of our great creative workers testify to long hours of arduous work which undoubtedly involve some type of planning.

Organic factors in efficiency: rest, relaxation, and sleep.

1. *Rest periods.* By scheduling the time of men who handled very heavy pig iron, so that they worked 7 minutes and rested 10 minutes, their output was increased more than 260 per cent, although they worked 43 per cent as long as they had previously. This seems incredible, but the efficacy of rest periods has been demonstrated numerous times (71). These studies emphasize the importance of alternating rest with work for optimal efficiency.

An experiment with Purdue students working on a gymnasium chest weight machine indicated that college students, using their own feelings as guide (57), can select the most satisfactory work and rest periods in this type of work.

The rest pause is most helpful when it is inserted *just as efficiency begins to wane*. This is ascertained in industry by plotting a curve to indicate the amount produced per working interval. Complete relaxation during the rest period is recommended when the work requires much physical energy (57).

In study, the student must work out his own periods of work and rest, filling the pauses with an activity which differs from the study and relaxes and rewards him for concentrated work. If rest periods are filled with material which competes too successfully with study, they will become longer than the study periods. Rest periods may be well used to get fresh air from an open window and to take a good stretch. The type of work that requires a half-hour or more for warming up will be impaired by a long rest period. Reorientation is needed before study can be resumed. It is well to stop for rest only at a natural junction in the study material.

2. *Sleep.* Casual observations as well as clinical data show that sleep freshens the individual, removes evidences of fatigue, and allows him to recover from the strain of activity. We are all convinced, after a night of reduced slumber, that to deviate from our sleep habits produces subjective and apparently objective results which are undesirable in terms of efficiency. One industrial study in which a record of the worker's sleep was taken showed that the amount of sleep the worker secured was reflected in his performance (72).

Laboratory studies with college students as subjects show that, when the student's work after normal sleep is compared with work after voluntary insomnia, the difference is relatively small (73, 74). The effect on prolonged, complex tasks is greater (75-77). This is probably due to the great effort expended. The student is probably motivated because he is taking part in an experiment. Similar masking of inefficiency has been found in experiments in which individuals were subjected to drugs or to high temperatures.

After prolonged insomnia, a few hours of sound sleep in addition to regular hours of light sleep usually bring the subject back to a normal condition. Individuals who habitually get less than 8 hours of sleep often take short voluntary or involuntary naps during the day. These naps refresh one who has reduced his nocturnal sleep. In some of the experiments on sleep, and in many actual cases of working students who get insufficient sleep, these naps occur involuntarily in class. The individual's only realization of having been asleep is that his neighbors have recorded several more lines of lecture notes than he.

All these studies and casual observations show us that a certain minimum of sleep is a necessity. Whereas, with sufficient motivation, one may compensate for lack of sleep for some time, individuals tend to show the embarrassing lack of control mentioned above. Whether a new habit of reduced sleep can be permanently established without attendant inefficiency or detriment is not known at present. *Unless unusual situations call for violating conventional sleep habits, efficiency prompts us to observe them.* A student who reduces his sleep program greatly from the 8-hour-a-day norm should watch his weight and other indexes of health and consult a physician periodically. Furthermore, if one finds he requires much more than 8 hours' sleep

and is constantly falling asleep in the day, he should consult a physician. He may have a low basal metabolic rate.

Drugs and efficiency. Although there are numerous experiments on the psychological effects of drugs, scientists working in this field have encountered difficulties which are partially responsible for the equivocal nature of some of the results. This is largely due to the differences between individuals in physique and attitude, the complexity of the processes studied, and the variation in the amounts of the drug administered.

Alcohol impairs efficiency and removes inhibitions. Can a man do better work after drinking an alcoholic beverage? Is alcohol a stimulant? Numerous experimental findings bear upon these questions. Studies show rather conclusively that alcohol, particularly in sizable doses, harmfully affects efficiency, quantitatively and qualitatively.

One experimenter gave his subjects various quantities of beer, some containing alcohol, and some not. He had these individuals perform a number of tasks and compared efficiency under the influence of various amounts of alcohol and under a condition when no alcohol was administered. He found that alcohol reduced the steadiness of hand movements, reduced motor co-ordination in a task of minor skill, decreased speed of tapping with the hand, and slowed down the ability to name colors and to tell the opposite of words which were presented. Learning rate was decreased, and the pulse rate was increased by the alcohol (78).

Alcohol is classed as a *depressant* and not a stimulant, even though it seems to stimulate the individual. It is generally stated that this pseudostimulation is the result of the *removal of certain inhibitions*, as alcohol affects the higher and more recently acquired mental functions. The individual seems to care less what he says or does. He is less critical of himself, less self-conscious, his troubles diminish, and he feels freer. The alleged increase in efficiency is probably due to this removal of inhibitions. An individual may report that he makes a better speech after drinking an alcoholic beverage. This he attributes to increased ability, when in fact it is due to a decrease in the tendency to analyze critically and curb his actions. At this time, too, judgment is less keen. He apparently makes a better address because of

the spontaneity and buoyancy resulting from the abeyance of certain self-critical attitudes (79).

Questions usually raised by students during a class lecture on alcohol are: "If alcohol removes inhibitions and makes one appear more at ease and more spontaneous, why not use it?" "Why should not the psychologist recommend it?" In answering these questions it should be emphasized that the effect of alcohol is temporary. It is known clinically to be a form of escape, particularly for some individuals, an escape that may become more attractive with time. These people must recognize that they cannot "take it or leave it" and must find other ways of relaxation. Alcohol blunts judgment, including the discretion as to when to stop drinking.

It is often asked whether an individual can be excused for certain typical behavior under alcohol; whether one becomes different or more truly like his inner self when inebriated. There is not an abundance of data bearing on this question, but when patients of various mental disorders were given alcohol intravenously (injection in blood stream), they tended to show the same symptoms but to a greater degree (80).

Tobacco smoking. The alleged ill effects of tobacco have been attributed to the influence of the poisonous drug, nicotine, introduced into the system. However, the amount of nicotine believed to be taken into the system varies in different reports. One chemical analysis gives evidence that it is exceptional to find any nicotine in tobacco smoke. Rather, it decomposes into pyridine, a much less poisonous substance. Nicotine is said to occur in small quantities in rapid-burning cigarettes (81).

Smoking of mild tobacco under a prescribed set of laboratory conditions and blowing the smoke from the mouth, *without inhaling*, has been found to increase the pulse rate and tremor of the hand and to decrease the accuracy of coordinated movements, as in skills. These results refer only to the effect within 1½ hours after smoking. The effect on higher mental processes is very slight (82). The fact that speed of adding was lowered by smoking in the case of non-smokers and raised in the case of habitual smokers, together with other evidence, led the author to suggest that the use of tobacco is favorable mentally when older behavior patterns are concerned, and when the individual is an adult, habitual smoker. There is slight evidence to indi-

cate unfavorable responses when the subject is attempting to learn new patterns (82). There is evidence that a tolerance for smoking can be developed (83). Very heavy smoking may produce patches of retinal blindness or contribute to peptic ulcers (77).

Smokers have been found by several investigators to have lower grades in school than non-smokers. Only 5 per cent of 130 high honor students in a large eastern university were smokers (84). What does this mean? How can this be reconciled with the above findings? Smoking certainly does not cause low grades, and abstinence from smoking high scholarship. The explanation probably is this: one type of youth studies hard, spends little time on drugstore corners and in social gatherings, gains his social recognition by obtaining good grades, and does not acquire from his fellows the habit of smoking. Another is a more social type. He acquires the smoking habit from the other fellows in his many hours of association with them. He spends less time in study, and his grades are lower.

The smoker will tell you that he enjoys his cigarette or pipe. He is "not himself" without them. Smoking *sets* him. It seems to make him more efficient. He is probably right; smoking has been *associated with his activities* many times a day for some time. It has become a well-fixated habit. His actions are conditioned by it as they are by other constantly recurring conditions. Without his pipe he feels like the dignified businessman who has lost his hat and must appear in public without it. Smoking seems to add to social poise because it is a well-established, smooth habit that can be introduced into a situation when one may feel awkward and at a loss to know what to do otherwise. If one wishes to curtail smoking he should substitute an approved, established habit using similar activities. Gum chewing has been used successfully as a substitute.

Caffeine in popular beverages. Caffeine is found in small amounts in coffee, tea, and the cola drinks. Two questions usually arise concerning these beverages. Do they increase or decrease efficiency? Do they keep one awake? Mild doses, such as found in single servings, usually have a stimulating effect. Speed of movement is increased, and mental tasks show slight improvement after a quantity equivalent to that found in a cup of coffee is taken. In typing, speed was increased and errors

decreased after a small dose of caffeine; ability to do addition was increased, and reaction speed was decreased. Larger doses, however, disturbed motor coordination (85). Association in learning is reported to be definitely improved by coffee (86). One experiment showed results slightly different from these. Performance of a simple movement was impaired in some individuals, particularly 25 hours after the drug was taken, and the effect was a sustained impairment of a more complex skill. It should be noted that these effects are primarily on the steadiness of complex movement (86, 87).

Caffeine or benzedrine sulphate, which gives the feeling of pep (88, 89), taken in tablet form before examinations, or at other times when sleep is to be forgone, certainly cannot be generally recommended without a physician's advice.

Small doses of caffeine such as found in a single cup of coffee can hardly be named as the causal agency in sleeplessness in all cases. If it is taken late and on an empty stomach or by a person of low body weight, it might serve to prevent sleep. Suggestion is a powerful agency. One who is convinced that the coffee he drank or the benzedrine tablet he took will stimulate him will probably not be disappointed! (90).

Diet and health habits. Some of the well-established and constantly reiterated principles of hygiene connected with diet follow. Eat moderately. Most of us overeat; some few economize unwisely on food. For the mature, sedentary worker, too much protein is not advised. Proteins are found largely in meat, eggs, cheese, beans, peas, and milk. Concentrated food, such as butter, pastry, ice cream, candy, and nuts, can be overeaten readily. Fresh fruits and vegetables serve as good foods because of their bulk, roughage, and vitamins. Milk has value in view of its well-balanced constituents. Most authorities agree that if we eat a *wide variety of foods in moderate quantities, eat them slowly and under pleasant circumstances, we are practicing, on the whole, good dietetical hygiene.*

An experiment on prolonged, restricted diets, as a result of which the college students who participated were 10 per cent below normal weight for 4 months, seemed to have no ill effects on mental processes. On the contrary, the students mentioned less tendency to feel drowsy in classes after lunch. There was some decline in physical energy during this period. After the

experiment they regained their former weight (91). Three subjects who fasted for periods of 10, 17, and 33 days suffered a loss in mental and muscular functions with a gain in proficiency at the end of the period. During the fasting period rapid fatigue was noticed (92).

Extensive and careful investigations in nutrition give evidence that the availability of energy can be increased by five meals a day, consistent with the body needs. Factory workers, for example, increased in efficiency with light mid-morning and mid-afternoon snacks (93). It has been found also that, whereas a heavy meal produces greater *output of effort*, in mental work at least there is less *accomplishment* after a heavy meal than after a light one (94).

The efficiency of young women is not affected during their menstrual period. If there is any effect, it is a compensatory increase in accuracy in tests (95).

Outdoor exercise, producing perspiration and followed by a bath, serves to eliminate poisonous substances from the pores of the skin. Moderate daily exercise furnishes fresh air, sunlight, and recreation, and adds to efficiency for the remainder of the day.

Exercise, sunshine, fresh air, and the relaxation that these bring have been recommended to the student since his early school days. Many have proved the value of this hygienic advice, and for them such activities have become well-established habits. There are in our colleges, however, some who still fail to enjoy outdoor games. For these we urge one of the following hobbies to be enjoyed periodically. These are suggested in addition to the sports usually offered by the athletic department. Many of these games may be played in the yard of the home where the student is staying. Others require the open spaces in the vicinity of the college. Explore them for recreation. The student who feels his lack of previous experience a handicap should remember that no matter how unskillful he is there are others of the same caliber of performance in the college.

Long walks
Badminton
Outdoor ping-pong
Pitch and catch
Horseshoe pitching
Collecting biological specimens

Horseback riding
Boating
Football passing and kicking
Picnic hikes
Fishing
Hunting

ATTITUDES AND EFFICIENCY

The individual who has developed habits of work. Although there have been no systematic studies of work attitudes, certain tentative generalizations grow from counseling experience. If one has a specific goal and sees the tasks of the present bringing him closer to it, work is usually not unpleasant. If there are enough interesting activities that satisfy the basic motives of the individual, he is zestful. The student who has done hard, systematic school work has built up certain habits of work. He knows that at the beginning of the work period there are inertia and a disinclination to start, but that these vanish entirely once he *warms up* to the task at hand. "If I can get at my desk and put in ten minutes of work on a task that is to require a couple of hours, my problem concerning the completion of that task is solved." He also knows that there may be temporary periods of dullness.

The good worker realizes that the completion of the many duties before him requires a certain number of hours of work *each day*, and he is willing to work during these daily periods for the freedom and ease he will enjoy at other times. He has learned the sense of well-being that comes from work *well done*, and he spends more than the necessary requirement of time in order to complete each task. He also realizes that when he adds personal touches and the *creative spirit* to his assignments they are more intriguing. He relieves the monotony of drab duties by making them a little different. He never performs mechanically the requirements demanded of him but sees the sense and the *meaning* of them. This makes the whole task more pleasurable.

The individual who lacks habits of work. There is, on the other hand, the student who fears work, who has a strong *conflict* between his need to get down to work and his desire for more interesting activity. He has built up a habit of escape from work, of getting by, and this habit becomes so strong that it eventuates in a personality trait. He usually is not fighting work—he is fighting his attitude toward work. This attitude is an unfortunate one, because usually this individual *has not done enough work* under the most desirable circumstances to see how

pleasurable it may become. When he has worked, he has done so with disgust, tension, and other unpleasant negative attitudes.

Sometimes this attitude of escape has developed because the individual has been conditioned against reality, has been punished for his errors, and therefore fears to submit the products of his work to the judgment of others. He fears their ridicule. Very often this individual is perfectionistic in attitude. For him, no work at all is better than criticized work. The case of Bill H. illustrates this.

Bill H., after several conferences in which he talked quite freely about his inefficiency, was able to verbalize the specific nature of his poor work habits. He said, "I am never satisfied with what I am doing. I always want to be doing something else. When I am studying, I think about dating; when I am dating, I think about playing basketball; when I am playing basketball, I think I should be studying." The counselor asked him if his real problem might be the use of daydreams as an escape from the activity of the moment. Bill agreed that was exactly the process. When he was studying he thought about the ideal date, not the specific activities that occur on his own dates. When he thought of basketball, it wasn't the caliber of game he usually played, but championship basketball with himself as a star. "But why do I dislike reality?" asked Bill. Then he proceeded to answer his own question. "As a child, reality was grim. I lived on the other side of the tracks and had to work. My mother worked outside our home, too, and came home at night worn out. I was constantly being punished. It seemed that nothing I did around the house was right, yet I was working all the time. I suppose I came to the place where I couldn't attack a task calmly, carry it through to completion, and then label it either a success or a failure, or point to certain aspects of it that were wrong. To my mother's perfectionistic standards, any failure was abhorrent, any departure from the ideal was intolerable. So I would doodle, beat around the bush, fear to attack the task, and daydream during the task. That is the approach I now have toward work. The fear of failure is too strong for me to work wholeheartedly. Even though the atmosphere here is different, my mother with her standards and punishments is still a part of me. That's it!" said Bill with obvious elation. "I punish myself with delays, depression, doodling, doing things the hard way, and not coming to grips with the problem because I have the fear that punishment is inevitable as it was when I was a child, and I may as well give it to myself and get it over with." Bill put in his own language discoveries which were quite helpful to him. He learned why he was inefficient and could not attack a task with verve. Although he had strong motives toward law and the ma-

terial he studied, his whole approach had been one of emotionality and distaste.

Let us consider people who are less involved emotionally than Bill. An individual may be immature in motivation and may not have developed a need for a source of success, such as a vocation or a life purpose. He may not see the importance of his present activities in terms of a vivid future goal. Sometimes he is one who has not learned satisfying habits of work, which will run along automatically and pleasantly. This problem of purpose was discussed in Chapter 2 under "Motivation for Study." Below are the contrasting cases of Pearl R. and Julie K., who differ in efficiency.

Announcement is made at three o'clock that a short paper must be handed in the next day. The student has no other required activity that day. Below we find the application of two systems of habits and attitudes to meet this problem.

Pearl R. realizes that she can best enjoy the remainder of the day and assure herself of a good grade by going to her room immediately, making an outline of the entire theme, ascertaining what references must be consulted, estimating the time that will be required, and immediately beginning to plan and write the theme. She finds that after the first hour she cannot leave her work, she has become so absorbed in it. At supper it is practically complete, and one hour after supper it has been retouched, put in final form, and checked.

She has the satisfaction of having completed a task well and now has the time to relax in any manner she desires. She may turn either to a new job, utilizing the zest which results from a completed one, or she may go to a show, engage in some game, or read for pleasure.

Julie K. says, "I have all night to do this. I am tired after the day's work. I ought to go get a coke." There she meets some friends and spends the time until supper in light conversation. She eats a heavy meal, remains in the living room a half-hour after supper looking through the papers and magazines, goes up to her room, decides to take a nap. She sleeps an hour, wakes up almost too befuddled to work, and decides to set the alarm clock and wake for an early morning session. She wakes at four, goes to her desk, spends half an hour trying to recall some of the specific requirements of the paper, becomes panicky as daylight broadens, writes as well as she can under the strain she is experiencing, and finally tosses a poorly written theme over to the corner of the desk with the statement, "I'll do better next time."

Attitudes which produce work. The individual who finds that he cannot get down to work, who sits at his desk and ex-

periences an aversion to the task at hand, will not solve the problem by immediately rushing into some escape activity and feeling remorseful later because he has not accomplished anything during that period. This might be an excellent time for him to discover why he is temporarily blocked. What are his inner resistances to work? The following is recommended: Let him sit at his desk with a pad of paper before him and write out everything that comes to his mind, possibly beginning by describing just how he feels. It might begin with something like this: "Here I sit, knowing I have this assignment to complete, but finding it very unpleasant to open the book and deal with the material at hand. . . ." As he writes on he will make some discoveries about his aversions. He might even go back to earlier experiences, might find, buried below consciousness, some unpleasant associations with the subject matter or with the teacher. He might discover that he has been driving himself too hard and not allowing periods of relaxation when he might indulge in activities which he thoroughly enjoys. He might find a conflict between his basic motivation and the activities in which he is at present engaged. Eventually positive attitudes will emerge. Below are some positive generalizations that have grown out of such explorations. They may have validity for you. Maybe you can discover others that are more appropriate in your case.

1. *Work itself is usually not unpleasant.* What is unpleasant is the *conflict* between the realization by the student that he should work and that he is losing time by evasions, escapes, and procrastination. Try to find the reasons for evasions. Plunge into your task.

2. *One of the characteristics of true adulthood is the assumption of responsibilities.* A college student is an adult only if he acquires the attitudes of the adult. His major responsibility at this stage of development is to attain the best academic preparation for the future that he can.

3. As adults we must accept the *bitter with the sweet*. Unpleasant work is usually that which shows no progress. Assume the "I must learn to *take it*" attitude. With time you will warm up to the task, see progress, and experience pleasantness.

4. *We appreciate the relaxation that play brings* if it is a real change, if it is a letdown after a hard period of tension and work.

5. *Enjoy the individual units of work* so that goals will not become empty symbols which, when once achieved, mean relatively little to you. Avoid the "big-shot" complex which emphasizes high-

powered achievement and places relatively little attention on the absorbing means by which this achievement is reached. Occupational therapy in the hospitals for the mentally ill presents each task as an absorbing, satisfying achievement and makes the individual face life each minute of his existence.

6. There are *few short-cuts to real creation*. Those who are interested in creating a thing which will be worthy of their labors and imagination are so absorbed in the details of their product that they do not seek short-cuts. Do not begrudge the time it takes to do a task well.

7. *Think of the many more disagreeable jobs* you might be called upon to do. Jot down the numerous jobs of any type which you would find very unpleasant as your lifework, and then, on the other hand, those for which college can help you to qualify.

8. *Exert energy commensurate with the task*. Many people drive tacks with a sledge hammer. They have much energy available at a given time, but none of it is organized. They want to perform a dozen acts at once. Such a person may be one who feels inferior and tries to compensate for this attitude. The reason why some try to do so much in so short a time is to achieve superiority.

9. A *subgoal* which supplements the major goal *is a source of motivation*. It is true that we want to see accomplishment early in the game. For this reason it is probably wise to stake our minor goals, the achievement of which affords satisfaction and eventually leads to the major goal.

The case of Russ N. below indicates the effect of a change of attitude.

Russ N., a student whose major interest is in dramatics, English literature, and the arts in general, had prescribed for himself a second-semester freshman program of a science and a foreign language, both of which he viewed with strong distaste. The electives which he was allowed proved later to be disappointing. At the end of the semester he had inferior grades in both of the 5-hour required courses. He was discouraged and thought of the large percentage of college students who did not get a degree and wondered whether he ought to pursue higher education any longer. At a counseling conference he discussed many matters which troubled him. He talked of the work to which he was best adapted in terms of aptitudes and interests, his academic capacities, and the reasons for his poor study habits. With a new perspective gained through this discussion, he continued to take the foreign language for another semester but elected one course in English which he knew he would like under an instructor he admired. After two weeks of the new program he found that his attitudes had changed markedly. The teacher of the foreign language remarked, "Mr. N., you are not the same student. You

never come late to class any more, and you always have your lessons prepared. What has caused the change?" Russ described his change in attitude as due not only to change in perspective and a renewed hope of graduating, but also to the inspiration value the English course held for him. It allowed him to experience directly the material with which he will deal in his vocational life as a high school English teacher. His perspective was improved somewhat by acquaintance with a high school English teacher, a graduate student on the campus, who encouraged him in his interests.

Relation of feelings to output. Very often we feel fatigued, and a job becomes monotonous long before our output drops.

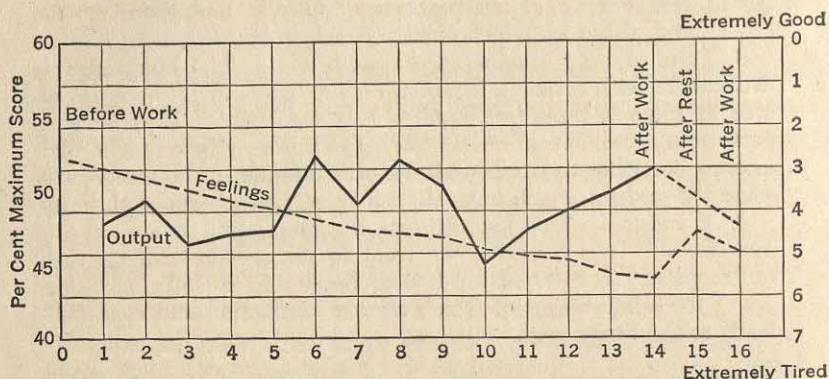


FIG. 6. Relation between feelings and output. (After Poffenberger.)

An interesting experiment shows the relative disparity between feelings and efficiency.

Twelve individuals worked continuously for about 5½ hours at inserting words into sentences in order to complete the meaning. The work was divided into 15 equal units with a rest pause before the last unit. At the beginning of the experiment each individual reported on a scale how he felt. He reported his feelings again as he completed each unit of the job. The scale upon which this report was made ranged from "extremely good" to "extremely tired." Figure 6 shows the relationship of feelings to efficiency. At first the individual feels fine, then, as output begins to rise, feelings fall and continue to fall throughout the task. Output is practically always above feeling, except at the beginning of the job (96, 97). We should realize that when we are tired our feelings of fatigue are not an indication of our level of efficiency. Furthermore, with a change of attitude and re-

newed motivation most of these feelings are usually removed. Attitude toward a job reflects to some extent the morale of an individual or a group. This is discussed on page 687.

Factors in monotony. Monotony has been studied in factories and other industrial situations. It is related to the feelings of tiredness discussed above. It is a disinclination to work which is distinct from actual fatigue. It is a mental state apart from fatigue. It may occur at the beginning of the work, and it may disappear toward the end when actual fatigue is greatest. We differ as individuals in our susceptibility to this attitude. Some of us prefer routine, repetitive tasks. Others like variety and dislike uniform, specialized work.

It is well for the individual to study himself in respect to monotony. Specifically, he should study his likes and dislikes toward various tasks. He should rearrange his work so that monotony will be avoided. Those tasks which are monotonous and which must be done should be made more interesting by assuming some of the attitudes suggested above or by making the task more pleasant in some way. For example, substitution of piece-rate for time-rate payment was an adjustment which proved satisfactory in one industrial situation (57). This no doubt challenged the individual and made him exert more initiative on the job. Building interest in the details of the work, as well as dividing the task into smaller consistent units, has possibilities. Numerous suggestions have been made in the preceding sections which may help the student to make a game of his study responsibilities and thereby heighten interest and reduce monotony.

Accident proneness. Another index of poor efficiency is the occurrence of accidents. Whereas students and members of professions are in vocations for which there is a low accident rate, accidents occur to an alarming extent, nevertheless, in automobiles, homes, and games. Data show that bad luck is not the cause. About 98 per cent of accidents are preventable, and of these 90 per cent are due to human causes. Only two diseases kill more people yearly than accidents. Some individuals are more prone to accidents than others. Among taxi drivers, for example, 20 per cent of the drivers cause 50 per cent of the accidents, and 25 per cent of them never have an accident. Many of the factors which produce inefficiency cause accidents.

If you can prevent by forethought the injury that may occur to you and to those around you in the next three or four years, you will save yourself much remorse, many dollars, and many hours of useful work. If you are accident-prone, it may profit you to discuss the matter with a psychological counselor. The primary causes of proneness are faulty attitude and judgment, ignorance of potential hazards, impulsiveness, irresponsibility, inattention, nervousness, and fear (57, 62).

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CHAPTER FIVE

UNDERSTANDING ONESELF

NEEDS FOR AND GOALS OF COUNSELING

The desire to understand oneself. As early as grade school days we become conscious of the ways in which we differ from other children. At that time we impulsively and sometimes blindly attempt to overcome our defects; we run away from our fears; we become sensitive about our clothes; we retire to the bench in the building when comments are made on the playground about our slightness of stature. We may, on the other hand, plunge feverishly into athletic or extracurricular pursuits when we become sensitive regarding our parents, grades, facial features, stature, or physique.

In the late high school and college period, reflection on our problems begins to assume the form of analysis. Even at this time, however, the analysis is not systematic but highly superficial and emotional. We *isolate* some aspect of our physique, background, or present relationships and brood over it. We sometimes see it as *setting us apart* from others. Rarely do we gain a clear understanding of our personality. The problems are usually too unpleasant and too complex to attack coolly, and in our great desire to adjust we deal with them quite irrationally.

Young and mature adults have always analyzed themselves and will continue to dissect their personality traits to learn why they are unpopular, why they are shy, and why their behavior conflicts with their intentions. Today probably more than ever before do people want to analyze their personalities. There are available many books of popular variety which have grown from the author's armchair analysis of his own and other personalities. There are also many attempts to interpret for the layman the scientific techniques in this field. All this attention to personality

and adjustment makes the average man desire to know himself better.

Even when one is fairly well adjusted to his desires and environment there is some self-searching. Rarely does any young person satisfy himself. Social mistakes and failure to reach cherished goals are keenly felt. At such times we may ask ourselves: What do I really want in life? What are my talents, my assets, my faults? What are my dominant traits? How serious are my handicaps? Can experience and training bridge the gap between my present status and the successful adult whom I admire? On the other hand, many who are leading a meaningless life on a wholly materialistic, self-indulgent basis too rarely ask: How can I live more profoundly and realistically, satisfying deeper urges rather than escaping from the real problems of life through trivialities?

Quacks, amateurs, and trained counselors. Unfortunately, in the past, personality analyses have been left largely to the quack. Consider the income of the fortune teller, the physiognomist, the astrologist; read the advertisements of the self-styled psychologist with no systematic training, who promises to improve your personality in ten lectures. The mails are swamped with literature of cults which will teach you to "find the hidden power within yourself" or which claim to tell you why you have not been successful. The mere fact that there are so many of the psychological "gold bricks" and racketeers indicates the demand of the public for an analysis of their personal assets, liabilities, needs, and conflicts (1-3). It is not necessary, however, for the interested person to go to the charlatan for his information.

The inadequate, unsystematic, emotional impressions of the student himself are not sufficient. The opinions of his academic advisers, of the local minister, or of his father may be incomplete or biased. The dabbling of the amateur, however well-meaning, in the field of consulting psychology and psychiatry may create more problems than it solves. He may not recognize the depth of the emotional problem or know the therapeutic procedure appropriate for the individual. The trustworthy confidant knows the limitations of his training and will usually send the student to a professionally trained counselor in the field of emotional problems.

The field of personality evaluation is still young. It does not claim to offer as much as the astrologist or the phrenologist, who needs to know merely the hour of your birth or to feel the bumps on your head to describe your total personality!

Counselors aid understanding, self-acceptance, and control. Today students expect counseling on personality development, the nature of their aptitudes and interests (4). Those who have applied for such services represent the typical college student, and in some respects the superior student (5-9). The groups who have been counseled report that it has been valuable and that they achieve higher grades afterward and improve in their adjustment to college (10-12).

Counselors differ in the methods they use. Some will have you take the major responsibility for solving your problem. These counselors will encourage you to discuss your problem as you see it and to express freely your feelings and inner states (13). Others will be somewhat more directive. Whereas the more directive counselor will encourage you to discuss your difficulties or tendencies at length, he may also give you various *tests*, *interpret* now and then the meaning of what you have stated, *reassure* you by indicating that many other students have the same problem that worries you occasionally, and relate cases of others to lend *perspective* to your problem. Finally he may *suggest* methods which have been helpful to others (14-30). Whether directive or non-directive, the goal of counseling is understanding of yourself to the extent that you will *accept your basic traits and tendencies and become less emotionally disorganized and more effective* in your attempt to deal with them.

The background of training of counselors differs somewhat. The well-trained clinical psychologist has a scientific background with an emphasis on the facts which have grown from child study, learning and habit formation, emotion, attitude and trait development, mental measurement, and counseling. The major emphasis in his training has been on normal development and functioning. The qualified psychiatrist has a medical degree with additional training in a mental hospital or adjustment clinic. He is well acquainted with the development, treatment, and prevention of mental diseases and emotional disturbances. Most clinical psychologists are connected with public institutions like

schools and clinics. Psychiatrists work in private practice and in public institutions.

Problems initiate self-discovery. The individual seeks "to analyze himself" when a problem arises. The problem, complaint, or worry may not be, and usually is not, his real difficulty. It is usually a fragment of his whole personality that is placed in the spotlight of attention. It is a *symptom* or *surface problem*. This symptom is usually emotional. It may have a physical or mental reference. In some cases it is an illness or physical upset: regurgitation, headaches, lack of appetite, insomnia. In other cases a fear, a worry, a persistent idea, self-consciousness, feelings of inferiority or unworthiness, or depression may be the complaint. The problem may be related to the family, school work, finances, discipline, the future, relationships with others (particularly of the opposite sex), health, or oneself (31-34).

The youth or mature adult who becomes conscious of a problem has been developing attitudes and certain traits for years. He may have been experiencing a conflict for several months, but some recent event has intensified it. It may have been touched off by some experience. This experience usually is a traumatic or unpleasant event, such as a disillusionment, a failure, an embarrassing occurrence, loss of a friend, unfavorable comparison with a contemporary in some activity or skill, or being snubbed or rebuffed by someone whose good opinion is desired.

There are some cases in which a less vivid event will arouse a desire for "analysis." One may see a movie, read a book, take a test, hear a lecture and become conscious of a problem and want to understand its nature or "solve the problem." New plans, such as a new vocational decision or change in environment as, for example, going away to college or to a job, may arouse self-evaluation. Even present success which forecasts future accomplishment may be a stimulus for self-searching.

In summary then, the psychologically sophisticated individual rarely regards the complaint as anything but a *sign*. Real problems are more *complex*, more *obscure in origin*, with a *developmental past*, and usually represent a *conflict* between basic aspects of the personality which have grown from one's total development. Real understanding consists in knowing these

conflicts and seeing their bases in past development—usually in childhood—accepting them, and dealing with them.

CONFLICTS AND ADJUSTMENT

Basic causes of problems.

Isabelle is a physically attractive, unselfish, hard-working, serious, 20-year-old co-ed with a winning smile and gentle manner. She wins people readily and has many girl friends who respect her but who can't understand her devaluation of herself. She has broken a promising engagement because she "wasn't good enough for the boy and would lose him sooner or later."

As a pre-adolescent she had lived in a neighborhood of people of foreign birth. Although her parents are typical, sincere, hard-working, first-generation Americans, she has never accepted them or their group as part of her background. Her models have been chosen from teachers and her associates outside of her parents' group. As she would listen to the boisterous good fun in the neighborhood at night and realize that her parents were a part of it, she would lie in bed and cry. She couldn't escape her background, try as she might. Now and then she had a glimpse of what her life might have been had she been born a mile west in the same city. Boys with taste in clothes and with good manners noticed her, but she knew she "could never belong to one of them." Boys from her own neighborhood disgusted her. Isabelle was experiencing a *culture* conflict. She yearned for life in a suburban American culture. In action and appearance she could pass for one of this group, except that so much of her past was of an orthodox background and its strong teachings. Then there were always her parents who loved her but were puzzled by her. In repudiating her background she belittled much of herself—her ability, her heredity, her religion. She could never forget or cut off her roots, and yet she could never accept them. This conflict was so strong that for a long period she was depressed and remained aloof from most people.

This brief synopsis of Isabelle's plight illustrates the primary source of maladjustment. Strong basic tendencies within the organism *conflict*. These tendencies are organized around *primary motives* like love, self-esteem, or recognition. Isabelle wanted status or social recognition. Even love and future happiness were associated with status in her thinking, yet she felt that because of her origin she could never merit the recognition she desired. She was hemmed in psychologically. She loved her parents yet hated them inwardly for their lack of social

status, but her strong religious training made her repress her hostility toward them so that she was only vaguely aware of it.

When basic motives are thwarted (*frustration*) or oppose one another (*conflict*), symptoms of maladjustment occur. One becomes depressed, hostile, anxious, or withdrawn. Before entering upon a detailed discussion of conflict, it is appropriate to investigate the nature of motives.

Nature of human motivation. *Growth of motives.* We are dynamic creatures. We are constantly adjusting to our motives. These motives, as seen in Chapter 1, are any persistent conditions which direct behavior. They begin as physiological urges. When an infant's stomach contracts he feels hunger pangs. He squirms and cries, and his mother comes to feed him. He learns that crying satisfies the motive of hunger. Similarly, the unpleasantness resulting from wet clothing is removed because the mother responds to a cry. Fatigue, thirst, and other inner stimulation, fear, and anger are all among these primitive physiological drives or motives which guide our activity in childhood (35). In addition, various sensory experiences guide behavior and add to the motivating value of objects. Certain objects mean pain, bitterness, or nausea; others, sweetness or brightness.

Our motives are not all of the primitive type. We are continually developing new needs, wishes, and purposes that must be satisfied. Interest in food and play objects, attachment to mother and home are *derived motives*. The baby's mother becomes a very strong source of motivation at an early age, because she satisfies and becomes associated with so many basic biological motives. Caressing, fondling, and petting, through their positive responses, add to her value. In turn she guides the baby's behavior toward other goals and also aids in the development of basic attitudes and traits. Mother's "good" and "bad," smile and frown, have motivating value. At about 2 years of age, the arrival of the father in the evening occasions joy. At 10, the father's religion, politics, and mode of dress are defended with fisticuffs. These are related to symbolic or derived motives which with time become just as strong as bodily urges. The child's ideals motivate him. The college football player who lives down the street guides his behavior at 12. As reading broadens his world, the nationally known athletes

take the stage. The young girl watches and listens intently to the 16-year-old high school student next door. She wants tinted finger nails and rouged lips so that she may be like her older friends. She reads movie magazines and emulates the pictures and poses, and dreams in terms of the men who are the contemporary idols.

Think of all the experiences and situations for which you strived throughout your development. Recall all the people and things that tended to direct your behavior and dominate it at times. When you make an inventory of all these factors you have a list of some of the motives that were operative in your development.

Complexity of human motivation. The life of a person is primarily an organic unit. It is sometimes difficult to separate certain experiences and tendencies from the rest of behavior and obtain a true picture of a person. Very often we are *ambivalent* to a situation; we both love and hate it. This is a reaction experienced frequently toward a parent or even a "steady date." We may repress the hostility, but it continues to influence behavior. Usually *several motives* stimulate action. The best marriages, for example, satisfy many motives: love, companionship, security, social recognition, and new experiences or adventure.

Motives have *physiological and symbolic aspects*. A young man hates a boss or officer who reminds him of an unsympathetic teacher of his early years or of his father who criticized him severely (20). His strong hatred has many physiological components as, for example, raised blood pressure, but it also has subjective elements such as images of the disliked person. A college student is enamored of a co-ed. He gives her his pin or ring. Is his motivation entirely physical attraction? Or do her attractiveness to others, her prestige value, her hard-to-get attitude also operate? Do adventure, curiosity, prestige all influence him? His attraction, whatever its source, is unified. An individual's motivation, as we shall show in our study of development (Chapter 6) is the result of all the factors that have been influential in building habits, attitudes, and traits. An individual's way of life, his wishes and dynamics result from many interacting factors.

Psychoanalytic explanation of motivation. Lust, hunger, and basic self-preservation tendencies are all primitive biological motives—strong, blind, impulsive, selfish, and lacking in ethical quality. Freud, the first great psychoanalyst, a Viennese physician who treated maladjusted patients, spoke of these as the *id*.

The *ego*, that which we call “me,” the conscious wishes of the individual, he said must deal with the *id* and bring these impulses in line with our standards and “conscience,” which he designated as the *superego*. To these three concepts he added the *libido*, which he regarded as the total of the motivating forces of the individual; he pointed out that they are pleasure-seeking.

From this simplified standpoint, life’s struggle is mainly to satisfy these biological urges in a manner which we can fully enjoy in terms of our standards and the standards of those with whom we live. Both the *libido* or race preservation urges, based on sex and love, and the *ego* or self-preservation urges based on hunger, thirst, and the like, must be satisfied in a manner compatible with the culture in which we live.

Psychoanalysts have pointed to *unconscious* motivation. They show that some tabooed impulses such as hostility toward parents, sex wishes, and other experiences that would lead to shame are repressed but nevertheless influence our behavior unconsciously (36).

Individuality of motives. Writers have attempted to classify the motives of adults, and there is some value to such a grouping. Before listing the dominant motives of humans, however, let us say that the college student is an *individual* primarily, and as an individual he has motives which, although they are like those of others, have a unique quality. Below we see some of the differences in patterns of motivation among the five college students described in Chapter 1.

Ken puts an emphasis on success. This may be the result of his mother’s dissatisfaction with his father’s mediocre financial achievement, because his mother has had a great influence on Ken’s thinking. He has striven for honors in school work, athletics, and miscellaneous extracurricular activities. Ken wants to do what is accepted and is strongly motivated to win the approval of others. He dates and dances, but girls are not so important for him. He is not, however, a social climber. His mother, through her family, has won a place in social circles for him.

Katherine evades the complexity of modern life. She substitutes the simplicity of daydreams in which she can return to childhood and to idealism. Dates, friends, and social events may lead to disillusionment, so she minimizes them. There is unconscious hostility toward her mother and sister. Although desirous of doing well in school, the fact that her going to college is her parents' idea affects her motivation.

Henry is particularly interested in impressing people. Much of his behavior aims to prove his manliness and to win prestige for himself. He wants to conform to the conventional pattern, but when this conflicts with his individualism the latter wins. Reading is important in his life, and so are other colorful cultural pursuits. Although he is motivated by sex, his expression of it is not on a mature level.

George is highly sensitive to what people think of him. He is easily depressed when he makes mistakes. Clothes and suburban standards influence him greatly. He strongly desires to win status in the upper class. His desire to be a doctor is largely motivated by this rather than by interest in the subject matter or by his success in scientific endeavors. He satisfies his motives less nowadays in daydreams. He fears being thought of as a country bumpkin, and this fear influences a great deal of his behavior. Girls are stimulating to him from a romantic and lustful viewpoint, but because they are people he fears that he may appear at a disadvantage in their eyes.

Larry wants to be in the center of a crowd. He enjoys humorous repartee with the gang. He usually responds to girls much as he does to boys. Extracurricular activities and their spotlights appeal to him. Ideas are stimulating, whereas clothes, cars, and other things are not so important. Possibly there is an unconscious motivation or conflict which explains some of his nervousness. He gains his popularity by being a comedian and a colorful person in the group.

Each of the above students is differently motivated. Each has certain dominant motives as well as other subordinate motives. The character that our motives assume depends upon our individual experiences and our cultural background, the customs, attitudes, and mannerisms to which we have been subjected.

Classification of motives. Let us consider some of the motives common to human beings in the American culture. You have learned to desire many of the following conditions:

Social recognition—desire to be known by others, to be prominent in the community, to “amount to something,” to be a power in the group.

Success—desire to master and succeed in school work, social skills which make us popular, athletics, or vocational skills.

New experiences and events—desire for travel, adventure, books, games, new friends, new possessions such as furniture and clothes, social affiliations, membership in groups, cliques, invitations to parties.

Affection—desire for friendship with “the crowd,” affection from friends, parents, acquaintances, and the opposite sex, and desire to give affection.

Security—desire for economic status, social status, physical health, and family, and for approval of friends, family, acquaintances, superiors, followers, and of oneself.

Accentuation of certain motives. It has been stated that motives are organized on various levels and that those who gratify basic elemental motives are thereby freed to seek higher gratifications. The physiological drives (1) are most elemental. Then follow needs for (2) safety, for (3) love, warmth, and affection from others, for (4) self-esteem and recognition from others, and for (5) mastery or self-realization, or being able to accomplish and achieve in accordance with one's talents.

Individuals who grow up without extreme privations, in secure, loving, happy homes, can turn to self-realization and to the satisfaction of social needs and can better withstand privations in later life. Such a person can create: invent, write, appreciate the arts, or make a contribution to industry and society. If one has lacked love, security, or basic physiological satisfactions early in life, he is preoccupied by these earlier insecurities and privations and will be more easily disturbed by crises in later life. There is considerable evidence that those who have had severe psychic wounds in their early development often succumb later to emotional strain or react in a neurotic manner to them, even after compensating for them (37, 38).

One psychoanalyst has emphasized *neurotic motivation* representing extremes of normal trends which grow from early frustration. A few examples follow:

An extreme need for affection and approval, shown in a strong need to please everyone and to be liked and approved by everyone, or shown in a fear of self-assertion (18, 39).

An intense need for someone, usually a spouse, who will assume all responsibilities, shown in a fear of being on one's own (18, 40).

A strong tendency to restrict one's behavior and life within narrow borders, shown in an urge to save rather than to spend, or in a necessity to remain entirely inconspicuous or to belittle one's abilities and to overemphasize modesty (18).

An inordinate need for power, shown in a lack of respect for the individuality, feelings, and dignity of others and an interest in them only in the role of subordination, or shown in a reverence for strength and an utter contempt for weakness (18, 39).

A tendency to exploit and to get the better of others, as shown by a great emphasis on money, bargaining, or sexuality (18).

A need for perfection, as shown in dread of mistakes or personal flaws (18, 40).

Among other traits found in personal tendencies in their extreme form are needs for prestige, admiration, personal achievement, and independence (18).

Understanding one's own motivation. No aspect of self-understanding is more valuable than a deep knowledge of one's own motivation, particularly in the light of problems or personal unhappiness and confusion. The above-mentioned neurotic trends are no doubt identified in persons known to you (possibly yourself) who are seeking happiness or peace of mind but are trapped in their inability to satisfy their own drives by their present habits. Review the above lists of motives as a means of helping to discover your own motivational needs and the extent to which you have developed means to satisfy them. Can you see why some writers say that the happier, better adjusted, less tense and anxious individual is rather widely motivated and is satisfying his motives in a manner compatible with the rest of his personality?

Frustration of motives. When any motive is blocked the individual is frustrated unless he discovers a new method of satisfying it. Frustration may take the form of *privation* or *lack*. Insufficient time, knowledge, or intelligence may be extremely frustrating during an exam. Lack of spending money or athletic or social skills, inadequate wardrobe are other situations that frustrate some people. Frustration may be caused by *deprivation* or *loss*, as when one is separated from those he loves, fails in some pursuit, or wrecks a car. Many a war veteran experiences frustration because of a physical handicap due to wounds. Finally, frustration may be caused by an *obstruction*.

or *barrier*. Examples are seen in the frustrating effect of noise during study, of a low grade when working for a high record, of having to live with an annoying person (41). Young adolescents often feel that their parents' standards are frustrating to their attempts to rate with the gang. They complain that they cannot stay out late, smoke, use cosmetics, and wear their clothes in a certain fashion. The loss of a goal is disturbing, but even more disturbing is *how* that failure occurs (42).

Whenever a lack, loss, or obstacle thwarts a strong motive, such as a desire for love or status or some desire strongly related to the ego, it can be very disturbing to the individual. Not all frustrating situations are external. Some notably personal deficiencies are *within the individual*. When the obstruction becomes a part of the individual, as in the case of fear or guilt, we speak of the process as a *conflict*. For example, a socially conscious sorority girl may want to date a certain boy who has looks, poise, and ability, but who comes from a family "with no background." He does not belong to any fraternity, must work, and has a foreign name. All these factors she regards as barriers to a social relationship with him, and they produce a conflict in her. Frustration has merged into a mental conflict.

Conflict of motives. A motive may be blocked because it conflicts with an opposing motive. This is a more basic cause of maladjustment than frustration, particularly if two strong aspects of an individual's motivation clash. He is psychologically torn apart. Mental conflicts are the key to most symptoms: unhappiness, irritation, depressions, feelings of inferiority, sex problems, and violence. Many times the two factions that are at war within the personality are not readily identified. For this reason numerous conflicts will be presented below to enable you to identify them in yourself, bring them to your attention, and deal with them.

Experimentally produced conflicts in animals and humans. A dog can be trained, by being rewarded with food, to respond to a circle and not to an ellipse. Then the ellipse can be changed gradually to look more and more like a circle. The animal discriminates the smaller changes in stimuli, but, when the circle and ellipse are so similar that discrimination becomes difficult if not impossible for the animal, he tends to "go to pieces." He

may squeal, move around in his harness, bite at the apparatus, and bark violently (43).

A rat was taught, through punishment, to respond positively to a black circle on a white background and negatively to a white circle on a black background. After the animal had learned to get food when he jumped to the black circle, the experimenter confused the rat in order to produce a conflict. He changed the clues and in other ways made the problem insolvable. The rat, however, was forced to jump by a blast of air from behind him. This, rather than the conflict, seemed to be primary in producing the convulsions and atypical behavior in the animal. Under these conditions some animals jumped from the experimental platform, ran around very rapidly in circles, lay on their sides in convulsions, and sometimes could be rolled into a ball or molded into various forms as though they were wax animals (44). This is called audiogenic seizure. Experiments such as these have also been performed on various other animals with similar results (45, 46). Cats, for example, yowl, crouch in the corner of the cage, climb up the cage, bite, claw, urinate, or fall sprawling on the floor. After the conflict experiment they tend to be different cats, so to speak—less friendly; one habitually hid in dark corners (47). These responses come to be more meaningful when we consider human reactions to extreme conflict.

Students at various educational levels have been given tasks in which they could not or did not succeed. They showed emotion, an increase in errors, non-adjustive responses, and neurotic mannerisms of various kinds (48-50).

Classification of human conflict. How may all our various conflicts be classified psychologically? (51) There are (1) conflicts between opposing desirable motives, sometimes called "approach-approach conflicts," (2) conflicts between a motive and a tendency to avoid the situation toward which the individual is motivated, sometimes called "approach-avoidance conflicts," and (3) motivation to avoid two situations both of which are undesirable to the individual—"avoidance-avoidance conflicts." A fourth classification was added as reflection showed that the first group of conflicts becomes much more complicated in real-life situations. Giving up one goal to obtain another makes that other goal partially undesirable (52). The fourth has been

called "double approach-avoidance," since the individual moves toward one and then away from it as he realizes he must lose the second goal if he accepts the first.

Approach-approach conflicts. This discussion deals with situations in which the individual is attracted by incompatible goals. Jack wants to room with his boyhood friend, but he also wants to accept the invitation to room with a new acquaintance who is stimulating, different, and seems to be the kind of fellow with whom he would really enjoy living. Mary wants to marry Frank this semester, but she also has her heart set on finishing her course and qualifying as a nurse. It can readily be seen that these are more than approach-approach conflicts, since in their complicated settings there is an aversion to losing one of the alternatives. In reality they become double approach-avoidance conflicts.

Approach-avoidance conflicts. A freshman is attracted to a social group or fraternity he has joined. He likes the brotherhood, idealism, the magnificent house, the prestige and camaraderie of most of the fellows but is repelled by the paddling, pledge duties, and dominance of a few of the older members. A student wants a prominent office, but it will entail electioneering, public speaking, back slapping, all of which he does not particularly like. A girl is strongly attracted to a certain boy who has a car and dresses well, but she has an aversion to his loud manner, his public caresses, and his drinking.

Most inferiority conflicts fall in this category. The individual has strong ambitions to achieve in athletics, the social world, or in some enterprise, but he feels inadequate, lacks confidence, and is discouraged by any obstacle or minor failure. Sometimes the thought of an obstruction or possible error serves to discourage him. The motive to compensate for failure is strong, but the fear of failure is also intense.

Sex conflicts are often of this type. The primitive urges (the id) are thwarted by the taboos of society which the individual has acquired—there is an attraction to a girl, a tendency to pet, but there is also the realization that in view of the ideals of both the boy and the girl this behavior will lead to complications, guilt, and eventual loss of mutual respect. Most so-called struggles with conscience represent a conflict between a strong

impulse and an acquired aversion to the consequences of acting upon that impulse.

Other examples of these conflicts are shown by the person with overaggressive traits who is impelled by strong drives to get recognition. He alienates people by his aggressiveness, and as he loses friends his urge to social aggression becomes greater. There is the 18-year-old who tries to live up to his father's ideals of initiative and social aggression but finds it impossible to become the tough-skinned extrovert who can do door-to-door selling as his father does. The girl who wishes to follow closely the religious teachings of her fundamentalistic or orthodox parents finds that some of her friends belittle these standards in their attitudes.

Avoidance-avoidance conflicts. Occasionally an individual will be forced or feel forced to respond in an undesirable manner to avoid a situation even more undesirable. An example is the case of the individual who feels that he should try to get an acquaintance whom he does not like into a fraternity because this acquaintance obtained a job for him one summer. He knows that he will lose friends by pushing the case, but he will also seem like a heel if he does not. A boy feels that he must marry a girl whom he does not love merely because breaking the engagement now, he thinks, will hurt her and her parents and make a fool of him and his parents. His mother has emotionally declared that he will disgrace his family if he breaks the engagement. He knows the marriage will not be happy, but he feels that he could not live in his home town if he called it off.

Double approach-avoidance conflicts. In these conflicts the individual is torn between two goals which are both desirable and disturbing in some aspects, and he must choose one. The *perfectionist* is easily trapped in this sort of conflict. Harry wants to satisfy all motives, to be highly successful in all pursuits, but time, energy, and aptitude permit success only in some of them. He wants all perfect grades, student offices with prestige, social life—dates, parties and bull sessions—and the sleep that will keep him in physical shape to function happily and congenially. He decides to give up social life, then feels he cannot be without it; relinquishes study time to activities, then is bothered by lower grades; and finally he finds himself unable to make up his mind, so he vacillates from one goal to

another. Alice hates to give up her plausible plan for creative writing as a career to go into teaching to please her mother and to provide a definite income. She thinks she will "abhor teaching" and will not do well in it. At present she is undecided and somewhat listless about the conflict.

Reactions to conflict. *Behavior during conflict.* Before we discuss the various ways in which the individual reacts to resolve a conflict, let us see how he behaves *during* a conflict. First he vacillates between his desires or urges, or between them and the aversions to them. As he approaches his goal either in actuality or in idea, he is impelled toward it. If he has an aversion to the goal, the nearer he gets to it the stronger his tendency to avoid it becomes. Sometimes the tendencies to reach the goal and to avoid it neutralize each other and produce a block which keeps the individual from responding at all (53). This sort of behavior was seen in the animal which experienced an experimentally produced conflict. As it was hesitating to respond to one stimulus or the other, much vacillation was seen. It would look first toward one, then toward the other, and some blocking of behavior was observed. All of us can recall experiences of great conflict—the "to be or not to be" indecision—and the period in which we are unable to act at all. George wants to phone a girl he has been secretly admiring. He fears she may rebuff him. As he thinks over the idea he moves toward the phone several times, dials the number, and hangs up twice, then dials again but hangs up as she says "Hello."

Vacillation and blocking have been studied in the laboratory. It has been found that the strength of the avoidance tendency increases more rapidly than the approach tendency as one comes closer to the goal (53).

Sequence of response to frustration. How do we usually adjust to frustrated and conflicting motives? What are the various attempts made to remove the frustration and to resolve the conflict? The general answer to these questions is that animals and humans use *trial and error*. These random acts usually include *aggression* or some non-adjustive reaction (54). Experimentally frustrated animals fought, but they also exhibited fear and trembled (44). Humans become *anxious* when frustrated, possibly because they fear the punishment that so often followed previous aggressions. Both animals and humans *regress* to behavior used

earlier in life, or *fixate* some random act that may seem senseless, and repeat it over and over. The frustrated rats ran around in circles or repeated errors they had long since eliminated. The human being finds many methods to *escape* or *defend* himself from the disturbing anxiety produced by the frustration. One easy escape is to *repress* or turn away physically and mentally from the disturbing situation. Children seek their source of security, the parent, and adopt the behavior, attitudes, and ideas of this model. This introjection of their parents' standards becomes their "conscience" or super-ego which guides them in many situations. However, before long other models with different behavior are introjected, and *conflict* ensues, producing more anxiety, more defenses, and escape. In fact, *adjustment to life is not a logically worked out plan but patterns of motivation and frustration and a series of defenses and escape from the anxiety the thwarted motives produce* (36).

We shall review these various escapes and defenses in the language of Sylvia, a college senior who wrote this summary of her adjustment after a series of conferences with her instructor:

"I see now the basis for many of my problems. I have tried to summarize them in terms of the course material I have learned in Psychology.

"My early frustrations grew out of my parents' incompatibility. Most vivid factors in my life at that time were their fights. When my father left home, my mother spent a great deal of her time belittling him and telling my brother and me that her whole life revolved around us. She may have loved us, but I did not realize it because most of her behavior toward me consisted of restrictions and domination. The fact that I am constantly seeking security and love now indicates to me that these motives were *frustrated*. Since I have been in college I have symbolically fought her by my own type of aggression. I shock her and her friends by saying cruel things.

"As a child I learned (*introjected*) to use my father's method—a temper tantrum—to disturb my mother, and I *regress* to it even today when my security is jeopardized. I suppose, from one standpoint, much of my emotional life is *fixated* at a 10- or 11-year-old level and I am still, as a college student, yearning for the affection and security a child should have at that age.

"Another trait that is a real liability to me today is my jealousy. I presume this grew out of my relationships with my brother. Feeling insecure myself, I attributed some of my unhappiness to my parents' treatment of my brother. Whenever he was held up

as a model for me, I became furious. My parents were wealthy, and I came to despise everything that wealth and power stood for (*displacement of emotion*) and began to support the cause of the underdog. I became intensely interested in Negro equality and even gave up my parents' religion. My interest in the underprivileged has almost become my life work. I presume this is an example of *compensation* for my feeling of inadequacy as a child. This trend was facilitated by my relationship with an older woman, a social worker, whose traits I introjected. She was one of the most vivid examples of sincerity, kindness, and affection I had ever known, and she was greatly interested in a better world.

"Until I had conferences with you and took courses in Psychology I *rationalized* much of my behavior. After a temper tantrum I used to say, 'People are so dumb. You need to get tough with them to make them realize issues.' Instead of realizing my real problem, I spent many an hour *daydreaming* about the kind of life I would like to lead, and the kind of person I would like to be. I dreamed of myself as an ideal wife with an ideal family. My goal now is to understand some of my negative personality traits as defenses and to *sublimate* my inordinate desire for affection in a manner which will make me, my future husband, and our children happy."

Aggression. One of the most primitive reactions to thwarted behavior is aggression or hostility. Any strong motive that is severely frustrated predisposes the individual to anger. The very young child shows anger at restrictions to movement and learns to direct his irritability and temper outward. Aggression has been studied to determine its relationship to the motive thwarted and to the degree and number of frustrations (55).

Some of the violence of the Nazi can be explained in terms of frustration. It has been found that aggression in the form of lynching is definitely associated with economic frustration. As the annual farm value of cotton in southern states diminished, lynching increased. The Negro became the scapegoat (56). This common phenomenon of finding someone, usually helpless, "to take it out on" when frustrated is generally known as *scapegoating*.

A college graduate who worked while he was in school during the depression of 1929 and made very poor grades has since established himself successfully in business. He looked out of his office window one day and remarked, "When I would sit in my boarding house window while in school and see cars pass, I could have

socked any of the drivers if one had crossed me. Now I feel differently since I have a business, a car, a wife, and family."

Aggression is sometimes shown in dreams. Katherine, who has been discussed in Chapter I, relates a dream about her mother and sister, both of whom had frustrated her. She dreamed that they were being mutilated. No doubt she suppressed any aggressive thoughts toward them during waking hours, but they came to the surface in dreams.

Social upheavals, like depressions, wars, and reconstruction periods, produce aggressiveness. The strength of the hostility may puzzle the person experiencing it. A college veteran who had undergone a rough war experience and an unsatisfactory marriage could not understand why he felt like swatting a fellow who went along the street gaily singing a popular song. This is an example of displaced emotion, which we shall consider now.

Displacement. From another viewpoint, acts of aggression illustrate displacement of emotion. Displacement refers to a shift of emotion from persons or situations with which the emotion originally arose to another similar person or situation. Often the emotion is suppressed when it first occurs. It has been suggested that some of the resentment against persons in authority is a displacement of repressed emotion toward one's father. One may not feel free to criticize one's boss or teacher, but one may speak disparagingly of his vocation or of fat men in general or of his lodge. Loyal friends of Franklin Roosevelt felt that much of the criticism of Mrs. Roosevelt's activities and of his children's behavior was displacement of repressed feeling toward the President.

Repression. An early and easy adjustment to frustrations and taboo situations is repression. When a motive is "stymied," particularly in childhood, the individual is likely to exclude that motive from his consciousness. Consider all the unpleasant aspects of life that you do not dwell upon, the embarrassing moments, the times when you have felt that you acted the fool, or showed unusual ignorance, the times you have taken advantage of another, the terrible sights as accidents or cruelty. Many persons who have been in military service, in prison or concentration camps or in fascist Europe or Asia, have experienced

sights and events they wish never to remember, and which recur only in dreams. Often this material is *too heavily laden with anxiety and guilt to be reviewed voluntarily by the individual*. Experiments on college students show they tend to forget unpleasant memories more than pleasant ones (57). Similarly, individuals forget more of their selfish choices than of their generous ones in an experiment on repression (58).

Introjection. The child's emulation of his parents and ideal persons and *identification* of himself with them is discussed under the development of motivation. Introjection refers to the process of making their behavior and attitudes his own. Some of this is admiration of, or the association of motive-satisfaction or pleasantness with, the parents. These positive attitudes are called his ego-ideal. At other times the child follows the direction of the parents to escape punishment or the withdrawal of love. These attitudes were previously seen to be his "conscience," sometimes called the super-ego. According to the parents' standards, these admonitions and examples will keep him out of trouble and solve his problems. But, of course, if they are not valid or consistent or if his attitude toward his parents is a negative one, the introjection may lead to conflict instead of relieving anxiety. The case of Sylvia, related above, illustrates this. The college student, in reflecting upon his past experience, particularly his relationship with his parents, and in comparing himself with his associates, can come to realize the strength of his ego-ideal and his super-ego. He may be the kind of individual who has had positive ideals set before him with only the minimum of suppressive punishment, or the kind of individual who is restricted, afraid to venture forth because of stringent discipline in childhood.

Fixation. Some individuals seem very immature emotionally for their age. Although adults, these individuals show much of the behavior of adolescents or even of little boys and girls. Some youths, like Katherine (Chapter 1), frankly state that they do not want to grow up. Others do not realize they are meeting frustrated motives by *fixating* on an earlier level of emotional development.

There is the boy whose mother praises him for pre-adolescent behavior, his lack of interest in the opposite sex, his child-like devotion to her because she fears the loneliness or dangers of

having him grow up. All the pitfalls of love, sex, and adventures in the world are depicted to him. His initiative and aggression are suppressed subtly, and he remains immature, often without realizing what the difficulty is. The young war widow who had just a few romantic months with her husband before he left may fixate on this period, live completely in terms of their plans for the future. Similarly, the alumna who takes more interest in sorority affairs than in the girls who are active in the chapter may be fixating emotionally at the college period. Fixation protects the individual from the effort of assuming greater responsibilities and of solving new problems. The term "fixation" is sometimes used more broadly to mean resistance to change in learning new habits. Under frustration and emotion, animals and humans are known to repeat ineffective habits rather than to try new ones (44). Laboratory studies have indicated how this resistance to change is related to such factors as strength of motive, reward, and punishment (59).

Regression. Some individuals, in times of frustration, substitute behavior which formerly was appropriate; they *regress*, sometimes wisely, to an earlier stage of development. In regression the individual usually returns to fewer, simpler, and more primitive goals, and possibly less realistic goals (60). The individual may return to any group of habits or any stage previously discussed as a point of fixation. Regression in memory is illustrated by the oldsters who refer to "the good old days," "we don't have the good old . . . we used to have," "the old home place." Many a military service man, on the sands of a Pacific island or in a cold abandoned farmhouse in Italy, under extremely frustrating conditions regressed in memory to Mom's pies, the drugstore gang, the girl in her light spring dress, ice cream sodas, and Bill's convertible. All these represented an earlier day of less stress.

Regression may involve only certain aspects of the personality. It may be only a temporary escape from present vicissitudes for a later fresh start rather than a permanent retreat from reality and the problems of the present which must be solved for progress. The antics of grown men on a convention trip or at the college homecoming, the play-acting of an entire city as at the New Orleans Mardi Gras, the club initiation pranks, and

the behavior during a vacation to the seashore or mountain cabin—all are suggestive of regression.

Regression has been demonstrated experimentally with children by removing toys which they have enjoyed and allowing them to select less interesting toys and games. The more the child seemed frustrated by the removal of the more desirable toys, the lower the constructive level of his play (60).

Fantasy. If motives cannot be satisfied in everyday existence, they may become a reality in a dream world, either after one has gone to sleep or during a dull moment in the daytime. Everyone daydreams somewhat, and some people lead an active life of imaginary existence. Among college students 69 per cent admitted daydreaming frequently (61). In a study Negroes were found to daydream more than white boys, probably because of greater frustration (62). The silent child daydreams more than the talkative one, probably reflecting less overt satisfaction of motives (63). Many who have not been successful enough from their standpoint with the opposite sex daydream of a very pleasant date or of accomplishing some extraordinary feat in the presence of an important person. Romance is a frequent subject for the daydreams of the adolescent boy, as are themes of violent aggression and of wealth (36). The martyr type of daydream is also prevalent; it accompanies the "they'll be sorry" theme. One collegian who has few acquaintances tells of an imaginary acquaintance to whom he boasts and who is impressed by him. He even imagines opening doors and allowing the imaginary chum to enter the building before him. The child's play is largely fantasy. He can readily imagine riding in a play car and locking his playmate in an imaginary jail. The appeal that movies, novels, art, and games like Monopoly hold is to some extent due to their satisfaction of motives for adventure, affection, and security not otherwise experienced.

Projection. There are always certain aspects of our personality which we come to despise through discipline or taboos. In dealing with these, we learn to deny the traits as part of ourselves. We discover that we can attribute them to someone else and feel relief by so doing. This "misery loves company" process takes many forms. Seeing dishonesty, immorality, and ruthless, self-seeking behavior in others, discovering evidences of forbidden impulses clandestinely satisfied by them, are a few examples.

Pointing to guilt in others is so satisfying when one is troubled with impulses which lead to feelings of guilt in oneself. The many excuses for being late, making errors, etc., fall in this category. "The majority of the class is flunking the course, too," the socially busy sophomore tells his dad; "She had a bad reputation before I ever saw her, so she better not talk about me," argues the fellow who feels guilt for the shabby behavior toward a girl whose future he blackened; he tries in this manner to attribute the initiation of the undesirable behavior to her; "There are more immoral fellows on this campus than I have ever seen before." All illustrate the projection mechanism.

Rationalization. Finding reasons for our failures and evading the real causes and consequences of our difficulties can take many forms. Hardly an hour passes without most of us substituting rationalization or false reasons to explain some event which would cause anxiety and loss of self-esteem if faced frankly.

Sometimes whole areas of thinking form "logic-tight compartments" which the individual cannot expose to free thinking. Religion, for some people, remains in a logic-tight compartment. The mother whose son or daughter can do no wrong is impervious to criticism of the child, no matter how valid it may be. Most prejudices are supported by rationalization rather than by examination through reasoning.

Selfishness is bulwarked by statements like "The Lord helps those who help themselves," "You have to protect your family"; or it is bolstered with statements like "Our country was built on individual initiative," which are expected to defend all kinds of exploitation. The individual who finds that his affiliations with Christianity conflict with his week-day hostilities and shrewd practices belittles the "wild-eyed idealist" and says, "You must be practical."

When all the effort that we can muster fails to achieve a goal, we decide it wasn't worth having anyhow. In addition to the "sour grapes" rationalization there is the "sweet lemon" approach. The *status quo*, no matter how undesirable, assumes new value when changing it involves more talent or courage than we possess or means that we lose cherished prerequisites by the change. It is shocking sometimes to see how good, moral adages are quoted out of context to justify some basically im-

moral practice. Elaborate expenditures on church buildings, when the man for whom the religion was named emphasized good works instead of property, is often justified by saying that "nothing is too good for the House of God." The nature of valid reasoning versus rationalization is discussed more fully under "Thinking" in Chapter 3.

Compensation. A real or imagined obstacle or defect results in substitute behavior or attempts to overcome it. This type of process is a widespread biological phenomenon. A defective thyroid gland by compensation grows larger; with exercise, breathing and heartbeat become faster to accommodate the greater need. Stories of individuals with physical or social handicaps who have attained greatness are legion. Sometimes, from a motivational standpoint, the greatest asset a high school or university student can have is a feeling of inadequacy, if it is antecedent to appropriate compensation. The process of turning a handicap into an asset is called *overcompensation*. The actor with the large nose or big mouth or prominent eyes who uses these as a mark of distinction is well known to the American public. Similarly, the self-made man who grew up on the other side of the tracks is an example of compensation.

A deficiency may lead to direct or indirect compensation. The individual may achieve success in some realm other than the one in which he is handicapped, such as the borderline student who becomes an outstanding extracurricular leader, athlete, or successful manipulator of campus business deals. Arrogance, loud talk or clothes, cut-outs and weird gadgets on cars, as well as superior accomplishments in music, art, or scholarship may represent compensation for an earlier feeling of inferiority.

Sublimation. It has been previously stated that the greatest conflict occurs not between basic motives but rather between *methods of satisfying* these motives. Therefore it is quite possible to substitute socially accepted means of satisfying impulses that push toward asocial satisfaction. If aggression and hate are the results of accumulated, frustrated motives, then all means by which motives are satisfied prevent the more violent types of aggression and hate.

There are many socially approved methods of satisfying basic motivation. All the various forms of play and sports, social gatherings and parties, service to others, hobbies, art and cre-

ative work, outings and travel are socially approved methods of satisfying motives. Sports, for example, are an outlet for aggression and frustrations; social gatherings and religion are outlets for affection.

The whole process of readjusting the individual who is emotionally disturbed consists in *finding avenues through which his basic motives may be satisfied in a manner which will merit the approval of the individual himself as well as of society*. Motives differ with the individual; they represent the personal history of an individual. The creative means of satisfaction will vary from person to person. As an individual expresses himself in a hobby or social activity, he releases basic tendencies within himself in a desirable form. He feels more secure and is better able to accept and redirect those of his traits which produce anxiety.

A most important need of civilization is to help individuals to find a source for satisfying their strong motives, and to help them organize their experience in a manner to handle their anxieties effectively. If one is able to do this, he will have less need to project his short-comings onto others, to become hostile toward them, to rationalize his prejudices, to compensate in a manner which will injure his fellow man, and in other ways to bolster his own ego and appease his own guilt by belittling those around him. Even a sublimated activity, if it leads to a holier-than-thou attitude, may become a disguised hate. It has been pointed out that a given form of sublimation might become fanatical. In such cases it usually is the result of repression and failure to face one's real problems. It is an escape from life as it really is (64).

Miscellaneous escapes and defenses. It has been seen that any random attempt at adjustment may assume extreme and abnormal proportions. We saw that some motives may be accentuated until they become compulsive and dominative of the individual as, for example, an extreme desire for perfection or an intense need for affection and approval, or an overpowering tendency to exploit others. As indicated above, even sublimations may become fanatical. Such defenses are well illustrated by tendencies toward *self-punishment* and *reaction formation*.

One psychiatrist has written a book devoted entirely to *Man Against Himself*, illustrated by examples of martyrdom, neurotic invalidism, addiction to alcohol, depressions, self-mutilation, and

accident-proneness, and even impotence and frigidity. All of these are presented as methods by which the individual punishes himself as an escape from or defense against anxiety (24). *Self-punishment* is aggression or hostility turned upon oneself rather than against another.

Reaction formation is the term given to behavior which is the opposite of that which the individual desires to express. The exceptionally pleasant individual may be using pleasantness as a façade for inner tendencies to be aggressive. Reaction formation consists of compensating for negative impulses by substituting behavior that will best mask these impulses. The individual who just cannot face his tendencies to be aggressive or lustful feels that he must go to the opposite extreme to prevent this behavior. Many idiosyncrasies which separate an individual from others fall in this group. The person who must be overly neat, overly careful, or overly honest may be fighting impulses which he does not dare express even in their mildest form.

Many apparently non-adjustive or queer reactions, then, do have an adjustive basis if we thoroughly understand the subject's motivation. Self-punishment or martyrdom may not seem so silly if it has given the child parental sympathy that was otherwise withheld. Likewise puritanical traits are understood if they offer solace to the individual made anxious by strong lustful impulses within himself. Even depression and suicidal tendencies, regarded as punishment for suppressed guilt, assume meaning.

Evaluations of escapes and defenses. At this point in our discussion the individual who has been taught to believe that certain types of behavior are always right and others always wrong will be somewhat confused. As he sees certain behavior that he may have cherished being criticized as a defense or an escape, he may be disturbed. Let us reiterate that life is filled with frustrations and conflicts and we are constantly in a process of adjusting to them. Defenses and escapes are inevitable and universal, and they represent a kind of adjustment to unbearable anxiety at that point in growth. We are all in the process of adjusting to conflicts and escapes, and defenses are among the means of adjusting. It has been pointed out that defenses and

escapes merely indicate that one's personality has strength and is *in the process of adjusting* to a disturbing situation (65).

We must now raise the question: When do defenses and escapes become dangerous or serious? These adjustive reactions must be evaluated in terms of the *total personality*. There are times when a brief regression or compensation in one segment of experience may enable an individual to make a better total adjustment. Their *social value* is also important. If an individual's aggressions, compensations, or even displaced emotion results in a better adjustment for other people, its value is enhanced.

The adjustive reaction should not *absorb so much of the individual's energy* that he cannot carry on the functions of everyday life. Chapter 16 deals with this question. It may be briefly stated here, however, that, if the escape or defense seriously *interferes with the overall development* of the individual toward a mature, happy, sociable, integrated, plastic, zestful person living in the present real world, its value tends to be negative rather than positive. Stated more bluntly: Adjustive mechanisms are dangerous when they *jeopardize the physical or mental welfare of the individual or of society*. Certainly an understanding of these adjustive mechanisms which enables the individual to deal better with his own inner life and guide it toward future adjustment has great value.

Conflicts and mental health. It has been said previously that conflicts are the primary basis for maladjustment and abnormal behavior, and many of the above reactions to conflicts have been shown to be *symptoms of maladjustment* as well as intelligent or blind and stupid *attempts to adjust*. These questions arise: Do conflicts alone produce serious maladjustment and neuroses? Does the *constitution* of the individual play a role? Is the basic constitution of the individual weakened or strengthened by his *earliest experiences*?² The experimentation on animals has shown that not all animals are deeply disturbed by the experimentally produced conflict. Furthermore, a certain emotional response of a convulsive nature caused in rats by subjecting them to high-pitched noises has been shown to be inherited and related to temperament (44, 66-68). There is also some evidence that temperament is related to types of physique (69).

It is highly conceivable that the *kind of temperament* the individual has, as well as the *frustrations which occurred very early in life*, could act to influence the later susceptibility of that individual to abnormal and neurotic behavior during conflict. It is thought that the extent to which the individual breaks under conflict depends upon the *kind of conflicts*, how *deeply seated* they are in terms of the individual's drives, their *frequency*, and *intensity* (70). One student of mental conflict emphasizes that *it is the nature of the conflict rather than the amount of strain* that is most important (71).

Certainly the conflict becomes much more important when it involves the *ego-status* of the individual. If the person feels that his whole reputation as a personality depends upon the outcome of the conflict, then it is a very serious one. Those who emphasize the importance of constitution would insist that the extent to which the conflict affects the individual depends primarily upon the constitutional susceptibility of the individual to these influences; that there are some persons of apparently high resistance who may be subjected to almost any of life's experiences without suffering an emotional or mental break (72). Many others regard structural physiological and biochemical pathology as minimal, and personal and social factors—conflicts—as most important (73, 74).

The inevitability of conflict. Conflicts are an intimate part of life itself. In fact, life would be colorless without them. They add to the zest of living. Conflicts in and of themselves are not undesirable. It is because conflicts exist among our loyalties and emotional conditionings that we stop to think and formulate a way of life. A better integration of our personalities can result from an intelligent approach to conflict. If we learn early in life to face and deal openly with the inevitable choices and incompatibilities in thinking and behavior that do occur, we will learn how we stand on basic issues. We will formulate our governing values. Presumably such a frank approach to problems produces a strength to deal with problems in the future if the problems are not emotionally overwhelming.

A distinction must be made at the outset between *objective* and *subjective* conflicts. Objective conflicts represent the clash between frustrations produced by events in the external environment toward which we can react with unanimity. A college

student may despise cheating and may have resolved with his whole being not to cheat and to make his attitude toward cheating clear. He may find himself gravitating toward others who feel as he does, and as a result they may together create a moral atmosphere. He has no conflict within himself regarding this. There is no question whether he will be tempted by an opportunity to cheat. His conflict is with the situation and the people who allow cheating to exist and thereby jeopardize the grades of those who do not cheat. The more forceful conscientious objectors to war had no conflict in their own minds about the right course of action for them. Their conflict was not within themselves but with the social structure which brought about war. This explains their strength of character in situations that were very disturbing to them and also accounts for the humanitarian services that some of them performed in mental hospitals and in health experiments.

Objective conflicts are not too taxing to the individual because he can put the whole force of his personality behind his reaction to them. The individual who is torn within himself about the viewpoint he is to assume is the one who is disturbed. The person with the to-be-or-not-to-be attitude, the individual who vacillates between loyalties and who does not know where he stands on an issue, is the one who is troubled. Even the presence of objective conflict may not be too disturbing if it leads the individual to gain insight into his basic personality.

We may conjecture that certain conflicts early in life which involve the ego and self-esteem of the individual, if they are prolonged, may be very disturbing to him. Other conflicts which help him to build adaptability and a pattern of reactions to his world may be fortifying for later living. The greater part of Chapter 16 will be devoted to the subject of factors which produce the well-adjusted personality.

TECHNIQUES OF SELF-UNDERSTANDING

You no doubt have gleaned some insight into some of your conflicts, aggressions, and anxieties as well as into some of the escapes and defenses that you are using to deal with them. The next chapter will concern the role that past experience and the events in your earlier life have played in bringing about your

present motivation, personality patterns, and reactions to conflict.

You may want to know how you may implement this process of self-discovery. Sometimes, writing an *autobiography* will help. There is, in the Appendix of this book, a *pre-interview blank* which may be used as an outline for a survey of your development and present activities. This survey will prepare you for the next chapter, "Development of Personality." The pre-interview blank may be used merely as a suggestion for an autobiography which you will develop yourself. In Chapter 7 we shall discuss the use of the various creative arts, short-story writing, and free associative writing as means to self-discovery.

Tests are a less dynamic, more stereotyped, but more reliable and more objective means of revealing trends in your personality, particularly as these trends are related to those in other people. The various advantages and limitations of tests will be presented in Chapter 9 in connection with vocational selection.

A copy of the *rating scale* also appears in the Appendix. You may type off five or six copies of this and present them to your friends, asking them to fill them out anonymously and mail them to you. Your associates will be glad to do this frankly if they know that others are filling out the same blanks about you at the same time, and that you will be unable to identify the authors of specific remarks, but rather see the response of your friends as a group. This experiment is particularly valuable if you tend to feel inferior and lacking in confidence, because then you frequently think less of yourself than some of your associates do.

Sometimes, as will be mentioned in Chapter 7, *creative writing* in the form of fiction such as short stories and novels produces insight. Sometimes *discussion groups* are effective in this connection. The professional counselor is one of the best sources of self-discovery and self-realization. This means, too, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

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CHAPTER SIX

DEVELOPMENT of PERSONALITY

INTRODUCTION

Most of our difficulties in youth and maturity have their roots in our childhood. As you read in the next chapter cases of individuals with difficulties, you will see that frequently the circumstances of early life seem related to present shyness, anxiety, feelings of inferiority, restlessness, or some other difficulty in youth and early maturity. Regardless of your present stability, confidence, efficiency, or purposefulness, you will find it interesting and valuable during your reading of this chapter to think of your own development. We shall discuss the many factors which occur during the years of growth and which make people what they are as adults—factors such as the family, neighborhood, school, play experiences, and various ventures and projects. Better still, you may refer to the pre-interview blank in the Appendix or obtain a similar blank and relate your own history or think over the factors in your development before proceeding with this chapter.

Cases showing developmental patterns.

Tom G., a 19-year-old college sophomore, is a handsome, well-dressed, mature-appearing, poised young man. He is 6 feet, 1 inch tall, weighs 175 pounds, is a brunet, and has a clean-cut, manly appearance. He seems to have the respect of his fellow students and to possess easy social relationships. He is neither extremely introverted nor extroverted and is temperamentally stable. People tend to seek him out as a companion.

At present, he is slightly above average in grades. He tells the following story of his life: His family is urban, well-established in an upper economic bracket. His birth was normal. His mother is an even-tempered woman who reared him in a regularized, modern manner. She was careful to supervise the servants to see that Tom did not acquire any fears, and his early life was a healthy

one. He was rarely spanked. Discipline consisted in withholding privileges. He showed no nervous habits, was very fond of both parents, who played with him, and the three frequently went on trips and camping expeditions together. He idealized a young uncle who often took him flying and on similar adventures.

He enjoyed the luxury of an excellent neighborhood, extensive play equipment, friends, and many playmates. He states that he had no sex curiosity, was not much interested in girls until after puberty. His father was his pal, gave him adequate sex education when he was about 13 years old, and at that time corrected a few misunderstandings. His rigid, extra-family religious training, he feels, produced some anxiety, but, by and large, his childhood was very happy, without any worries or maladjustment.

Toward the end of the grade school period, he began to lose interest in school work and had a hard time maintaining the attention required by his subjects. He was not particularly interested in athletics, although he was a good swimmer. He went to camp each year.

In high school he was allowed excessive freedom, cut classes, joined a fraternity, associated with older, more mature boys, and began dancing and dating. He felt that his childhood was cut off prematurely. At first he felt ill at ease with girls, but this was soon overcome. At about this time his father suffered financial reverses. This, he states, brought the family even closer together. He found himself trying to make events in life intelligible. He experimentally sought a new religion and, much to his satisfaction, persuaded his parents to join the Unitarian Church with him. As a high school senior, his father allowed him to work as a laborer in his business. This was a profitable experience, and he came to respect the men who worked with their hands. He believes this experience also gave more meaning to his religion. He worked very hard and lost weight, which he regained as soon as he came to college.

At college he joined a fraternity, went to quite a few parties, in general had a good time, was very popular, spent more money than he thought he should, and nearly flunked out of school. Although his parents were patient with him, he viewed this period as a crisis. He began to take stock of himself and saw that his old tendency to drift and to shirk his responsibilities was coming back. He realized that he was not building intellectual interests or substantial hobbies. Neither did he put his schemes to make money into effect. These arresting realizations and resolutions to change brought about an improvement. He now regards his year of shiftlessness as a valuable experience because of what he learned from the various types of boys with whom he was thrown in contact. He was given an "average" rating by two mature contemporaries in terms of his total adjustment to life. His score on a per-

sonality inventory blank indicated good emotional and social adjustment.

Ned J. is a 21-year-old senior of above-average physical attractiveness, but slightly below par in grooming. He is a conscientious, hard-working student who obtains superior and excellent grades, seems shy and nervous, but is friendly and sincere. The story of his life runs as follows: He is the eldest of three children of a high school teacher who had only a very modest income when Ned was small. His mother is a rather high-strung, exacting, nervous individual, who disciplined him rather vehemently but fairly as a young child and taught him to be quite helpful around the house. His father is a shy, sincere, kind-hearted, hard-working, tense individual who spends all his spare time working on the small farm on which they live.

The home atmosphere was frugal and regulated, but his parents encouraged the children in many creative ventures on the farm, involving the raising and marketing of produce. He evaluates his parents' activities very highly and does not at present resent their stringency or the superior social adjustment of a brother who is a few years younger. Although the parents were well knit as a family, they had frequent minor quarrels. Although tension pervaded the home, Ned regards his home life as ideal.

His health was good until he was about 10 years of age, when he was seriously ill for several weeks. As a child he learned to play the piano, had many friends, and enjoyed activities with them. In school he tended to be shy and serious. In pre-adolescence he belonged to clubs, teams, Boy Scouts (but did not pass many of the tests), participated actively in athletics in the neighborhood, and developed two warm friendships which were terminated upon graduation from high school.

He fell in love with a younger girl in high school, became far too serious, daydreamed about their life together, and has not yet been able to forget the affair which her parents ended.

The family traveled widely. They were very active in church work. With adolescence his parents allowed the children much greater freedom and opportunities to make their own decisions.

The hardest adjustment Ned had to make was in college. He felt immature, was not interested in the social activities of the fraternity, and regarded the change as sudden and strange, felt ill at ease in large social gatherings like parties, yet wanted to attend them. He did not enjoy fraternity house activities like smoking, drinking, and loafing. Intramural sports were the only fraternity activity in which he participated. He turned to a young people's church group and more compatible companionship. He preferred girls to boys and spent more time with them. At this time, too, there was a conflict between his early religious training

and college science, which he came to enjoy greatly and in which he attained excellence.

During his college years Ned regarded himself as physically unattractive, owing particularly to a very slight case of acne and a cheek mole, and he felt self-conscious about his curly hair (which in reality is attractive), and generally inadequate. As a matter of fact he had a well-developed body. His self-consciousness, although not at all socially obnoxious, was noticeable. Had he made any effort at all to become one of the group, he would have succeeded because he was extremely modest, conscientious, sympathetic with students who were having difficulties, and helpful to them. His fraternity brothers recognized him as a loyal member and a "nice fellow." Two mature contemporary students judged his total adjustment to life very poor. His score on a personality adjustment inventory indicated maladjustment.

Ned later took graduate work, and although he was constantly fearful that he would not succeed and would never be able to teach a class, he has achieved superior success in terms of his responsibilities, even though he does not have the ease of some of his colleagues.

Nita N. is a 17-year-old freshman of average height and weight, moderately well groomed, and above average in appearance. She grew up in a town of 2000, went to a small high school, and ranked third in a graduating class of 20. She was liked by all her teachers, and she won a scholarship awarded by a national firm interested in youth on the farm. She received a great deal of recognition in the town for her 4-H activities and the various trips and awards she earned.

She had many acquaintances but rather few close friends. She was highly competitive in her relationship with her contemporaries, felt that she had to make very good grades to uphold her reputation. She says she is studying hard, but, after she spends three hours a day working for remuneration and attends a full class schedule, she is not very efficient in the evening hours. She has several dates during week-ends and studies very little then.

She is one of three girls in her family. Both parents are young—her father a hard-working, introverted farmer who has had very little contact with people. Her mother, on the other hand, is a vivacious person who is always in the limelight and in recent years has been very active in young people's groups. Both parents have always expected a great deal of Nita, have overprotected their children, and have given them full instructions about what they should do, with few liberties. Although Nita had shown a great deal of initiative in 4-H work and extracurricular activities in high school, she had to account for her time rather closely. Her home is conventionally religious. Apparently she has received rather little real affection from her busy parents, and the response that

she has obtained from her contemporaries has been the result of her successes rather than of any warmth or personal charm. As a college student, she seems somewhat tense, aloof, and is likely to give her fellow students the idea that she is conceited.

Although in conferences she discusses quite freely her concern over her future vocation and grades, she avoids mentioning anything about her social or inner life. The counselor hypothesizes that Nita is excited by the new freedoms at college and the varying standards she sees among her associates. No doubt, she finds it difficult to accept the fact that many of her associates can handle this freedom intelligently. Boys seem to interest her more than she will admit to herself. The closest that she will come to discussion of her problem is to indicate on her pre-interview blank that she is idealistic, weak-willed, moody, and does not show "oneness of purpose and consistency and stability of attitudes and desires." The counselor has the feeling in talking with her that she has never been able to confide in anyone, and because of her background fears to face and verbalize some of the matters that are disturbing her deeply. She was doing poorly in a course in Zoology, and this threw her into an emotional state somewhat like panic. The counselor had the feeling that she was concerned about more matters than the Zoology and had displaced some of the anxiety associated with the problem of handling her new freedoms to the problem of school work. Her ability, her previous record and interest in school work indicated that there is very little reason why she should have academic troubles if emotional problems were not a disturbing element.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO DEVELOPMENT

These brief sketches of the development of three college students should give you an idea how students and counselors label certain factors very important in total personality development. We must admit at the start that personality is so complex that it is doubtful whether all aspects of any individual have been thoroughly understood. Nothing specific is stated in the above cases about the *heredity* of these individuals, their body chemistry related to their *endocrine glands*, which in part affect their temperament and moods, their *earliest* development, which goes beyond their own memories and may have been a routine matter to their parents. Surely some of the *social and emotional atmosphere* around the home, neighborhood, and town was missed. It was also difficult to ascertain how important each of these factors was because the factors interacted. Tom, Ned,

and Nita were individuals or persons all during their lives, and they were treated as, and they behaved as, integrated individuals and not as a group of influences. All the many influences which affect our on-going growth fuse. Not one of these personalities discussed above is the result of a *mechanical accretion of factors*. They are living, striving, growing individuals with certain hereditary influences in the cells of their bodies *interacting* with environmental nurture which began nine months before their births. Growth continues always, determined partially by inner forces and partially by outer pressures. Any one trait, aptitude, or tendency of Ned, Tom, or Nita is not the result of heredity or environment, or of this failure or that encouragement, but *is a product of all these factors* and perhaps many which remain undiscovered *as they interact and fuse*.

Despite the limitations of your knowledge it is possible for you to gain insight into your development. We shall, in this chapter, try to help you by calling your attention to factors which are known to influence the course of development of the individual. On the basis of experimental studies we shall indicate the external and internal forces that affect adjustment.

A. Constitutional factors—reflected in part in body build, temperament, and basic reactive trends.

B. Prenatal life and birth.

C. Early maturation.

D. The mother—who may be loving, understanding, overprotective, inconsistent or unreasonable in discipline, tense and domineering or anxious, reject the child or play favorites.

E. The father—similar to mother.

F. The family unit—whether parents were compatible, home broken, affected by relatives, reputation, offered warmth and security.

G. Aspects of the home and neighborhood—such as cultural level, rural or urban, kind of neighborhood.

H. Play, social contacts, and recreation—group activities as outlets and sources of growth.

I. School experiences.

J. Extraschool experiences—movies, radio, work.

K. Religious and moral influences.

L. Health and physical factors.

M. Self-impressions and evaluations.

N. Affection and sex.

O. Pubertal changes and adolescence—attitudes produced by changes, newer social and parental relations.

P. Maturity—vocational establishment, independence of family, philosophy of life, heterosexuality.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Constitutional factors. You have noticed extreme physical traits running in families. Two or three people in the same family will have a strikingly similar build or some noticeable facial feature. The concept of constitutional or hereditary factors in development has gained some popularity through observation of phenomena such as cases in which twins develop a mental disorder even though they have been separated by distance for years (1). However, hereditary and constitutional factors must always operate in an environment which affects them one way or another. Not all twins, for example, will develop a mental disorder when their identical brother or sister enters the hospital. When this is the case, a difference in the environment and way of life seems to explain the disparity (2). Whereas certain aspects of temperament and social behavior seem to remain remarkably alike in twins reared apart, other forms of behavior of a social nature differ in these separated twins (3).

Observation of young children, even of the same family, indicates that temperaments differ quite early in life. Children differ in speed and extent of movement, ease with which they become excited or irritated, responsiveness to environment, smiling tendency, tenseness, and such traits. Undoubtedly some of these differences are due to basic temperament; others can be explained in terms of early environment (4-6).

At present it is difficult to generalize about the extent to which these constitutional factors affect emotional life and individual ways of behavior, but evidence is available to show that these background influences work together with environmental factors in making us what we are (7). We shall discuss this again in connection with conflicts and constitution as causal in emotional disturbance.

Body build and temperament as influenced by constitution. Although a number of attempts have been made to connect physical types with temperament without conclusive success, one writer has produced some evidence to indicate that there is

a tendency for certain temperaments to be associated with certain body types. He describes three temperaments and names them as follows: There is the *visceratonic* individual. He loves comfort, relaxes easily, enjoys food, requires social approval, tends to sleep deeply, and needs people when troubled. He is found to have the *endomorphie* build, that is, he has massive digestive organs and weak and undeveloped muscular tissue. You can visualize him as the fat individual who is soft and spherical.

The second temperamental type described by this author has the assertive posture of an energetic person. He seeks exercise, is direct in manner, and has an unrestrained voice. He seems older than his age and needs action when he is troubled. This temperament type is called the *somatotonic*. His body type is known as the *mesomorphic*. He has a structure that emphasizes bone and muscle and is hard, firm, and athletic. You can visualize him as a strong and tough man. His blood vessels are large and his skin thick.

Third, we find the *cerebratonic* temperament—the person who is restrained in posture, overly fast in reaction, fearful of people, and socially inhibited. He resists forming habits, is restrained vocally, has poor sleep habits, is youthful in intentness, and needs solitude when troubled. He tends to have the *ectomorphic* build, which is fragile and linear. A picture of him would show a flat chest and a delicate structure. Muscles and visceral or digestive structures are both undeveloped. He is long, slender, with delicate, pipe-stem bones. He may have a stooped posture and hesitant, restrained movement (8).

We must raise this question in connection with the above: Is this temperamental behavior learned at least in part as the result of the manner in which people react to the individual's body type? That is, are the thin self-conscious because they are conspicuous or noticeably awkward?

Prenatal life and birth. Very little of our psychological development is directly due to prenatal influences. The development in these nine months is mostly a matter of physical growth which includes the structure that is basic to later capacities and temperament (9).

One writer points to the great change that occurs in mode of life at birth as an emotionally disturbing factor (10). Studies of

individuals who have been delivered by Caesarean section show that they do not differ temperamentally as adults from persons who have been born normally (11). There are, however, cases in which physical injury or instrument delivery at birth has affected later behavior (12).

The mother. The question we wish to raise is: How is the child affected by the mother who does not *love* the child and *rejects* him emotionally, by the one who *overprotects* him, is *dominant*, exemplifies *unreasonable* or *inconsistent discipline*, by the one who has a favorite among her children or makes *unfavorable comparisons* between them, or by the mother who is *emotionally unbalanced* herself and reflects her own conflicts in her children?

There is considerable evidence to indicate that the child needs the affection of the mother in order to develop *stability* and to feel *secure* (13, 14). An investigation of numerous young babies indicates that adequate handling and fondling prevents tension and persistent crying, and fosters better physiological activity (15, 16). Separation from the mother can give rise to *anxiety* in the child (17, 18). It has been argued that affectionate mothering bridges the gap between the dependent existence before birth and the many frustrations of the outer world (19). Well-adjusted college students speak of their mothers as being gentle, agreeable, and even-tempered more often than do students with emotional problems (20). It might be asked whether the importance of these factors is limited to middle class Western civilization (21). Furthermore, how important is affection in comparison with constitutional factors and all the other influences in play, school, and adolescence?

Obviously a parent can continue babying the child too long. There are many indications of the negative effects of overprotection. In nursery school such children are described as lacking initiative, crying easily, demanding adult attention, and avoiding other children (22). When indulgence has reached the extreme, nervousness and personality problems often result (23-25). If the child is overprotected by his parents, he may not come to realize what is accepted or not accepted by the group. He may get his own way too readily and too often, so that he comes to expect his will to be supreme. He may not learn to accept responsibility. The minimum effect of overprotection is

encouragement of traits such as dependence, lack of cooperation in situations requiring give-and-take, and poor work habits (26, 27).

This early influence of the parent may not show itself in full bloom until the child attempts to win success in his relationship to other children. Obviously other children will not have the great regard for him that a doting mother has. Particularly is this true if he is in a tough neighborhood where independence is expected. The other children might even ridicule the child's shyness or punish his insistence on taking the center of the stage. This makes him unhappy and withdrawn from others. If this treatment continues, he may always have an inadequate personality. If his social contacts are not compensated by some other achievements, he may easily develop the seclusive personality seen in many withdrawn psychotic patients (28).

Mother's rejection. The opposite extreme in the parent's attitude exerts even greater disturbing forces. When the child is unwanted, neglected, or rejected by the parent, insecurity and resultant overaggressiveness, pugnacity, flight from home, and delinquency may result (13, 23, 24, 29-34).

There are other conditions which jeopardize the mother's affection for the child, in the eyes of the child. If a baby is born into the family when the child is 18 to 42 months of age, his position in respect to attention from the parents and unshared affection will be disturbed, and aggressive symptoms may result. A child who has established many habits of self-control may regress to infantile habits and become a problem when *jealousy* occurs. Case studies show that the disturbance growing from this sibling rivalry may continue through a great portion of his life (35-38).

Mother's dominance. The dominant mother tends to produce traits such as obedience, courtesy, modesty, carefulness, and attentiveness, but her child lacks initiative, depends upon authority, and is better adjusted to older people than to his age-mates. Children of submissive parents, on the other hand, tend to be disobedient, disorderly, selfish, and aggressive, but they are also more self-confident, talkative, and independent (19).

Preference for and influence of mother. Both boys and girls are as a rule closer to the mother, at least during the first decade of life, than to the father. She exerts a prodigious influence on

them. The young child identifies himself with his mother and reflects her fears and her ideas of right and wrong (39-44). She influences these ideas more than do father, friends, club leaders, or teachers (43). The influences that produce emotional stability in college students are those which give the child the feeling that the mother is happy. Stable male students say their mother was non-demonstrative and mild (45). If we can depend upon the descriptions of their mothers by these well-adjusted college students, the mother contributes to the development of stability in her child when she is gentle, agreeable, and even-tempered (20). Nervous, tense, insecure, self-centered mothers with conflicts have the opposite effect (46-49). A child may acquire disturbing psychological traits such as anxiety or tension either directly from the parent or from an unhealthy atmosphere (50).

Summary. It appears that the mother's role in the life of the healthy child is to give the child affection and security and to guide it early in life. She is a better mother if she is calm and secure herself and allows her child to grow up and exercise his own initiative (51). She becomes the model of the girl if she is worthy of this ideal, and thus influences development. Anything that alienates the girl too much breaks this identification with the mother as a model.

The father. The father apparently exerts his direct influence later in childhood. His role as well as the mother's is determined in part by their relationship to each other, their compatibility (23, 49, 52). There is no doubt that the mother who idealizes the father to the child while he is at work or away in military service is adding to the real or imaginary influence he may have.

If the mother rejects the daughter whereas the father is protective or varies between love and sternness, the daughter becomes submissive (31). On the whole the girl of the family is more stable if the father is not too stern with her (45) but encourages a relationship which furnishes her with an ideal for her choice of a husband rather than an emotional fixation that prevents interest in other men (53).

The father's relationship toward his son produces a wholesome development if he shows interest in the boy's development, plays with him, punishes him wisely, and becomes an ideal which can be emulated.

The family unit. Negative relationships in the family which range from parental incompatibility (resulting in conflicting loyalties toward the two parents) to the broken home are factors in personality or behavior difficulty (54-57). When the histories of individuals who have developed emotional and mental disturbances are examined, inadequate family backgrounds and attitudes are frequently found (58-63). Within the normal range homes will differ. There are acceptant, democratic, indulgent, rejectant, and autocratic homes. Combinations of certain of these conditions may arouse rivalry among the children (58). Relatives may affect in some way the emotional adjustment of the children—possibly creating a source of friction or of inspiration. On the other hand, personality stability and later mental happiness is associated with a happy home (45, 53, 20).

Position in family. Whether a child is the only one in the family, has an older or younger brother or sister, or is a member of a family of six or eight undoubtedly influences his personality. It is obvious that not all "only children" or "youngest" or "oldest" are alike. Ordinal position in a family does not necessarily correspond to psychological position. A resourceful parent with one child may arrange events so that the child will never experience what strongly affects another only child. The most important factors in development are answered by questions like this: Is the child accepted and loved? Is the child over-protected or rejected? (56)

Summary. It has been said that a good home provides (1) real, consistent affection; (2) consistent, firm, united parental discipline which is administered in reference to the child's needs; (3) tolerant understanding and an ability of parents to identify themselves with the children; (4) willingness to seek competent professional guidance when needed (64).

Aspects of the home and neighborhood. Problem behavior often reflects conditions in the home. The number of adults and children, rivalry between them, the presence of visitors, the attitudes of the adults—critical, anxious, nagging, emphasizing badness in the child, domination, inconsistency—as well as organic states of fatigue, hunger, and poor health all show themselves in childhood emotional explosions (65-68). A parent may harp on some behavior, giving it undue significance. Parents and teachers studied some years ago were found to differ from

clinicians in what they regarded as a problem (69, 70). It has been said facetiously that there are no problem children—only problem parents!

Overcrowding in home and neighborhood has its effect too. Crowded living conditions are thought to cramp the child's personality growth. They prevent idealization of people, emphasize physical sex life rather than love, and act as a strain on emotional life (71). Children of lower economic status have fought more in nursery school than those of a higher status (72). The extent and kind of crime and mental disorder are related to neighborhoods even though there is a constant flux of population (28, 73). Cultural conflicts between the standards of the parent, usually foreign born, and the child who reflects the pressures of the neighborhood cause disturbances (74). These conflicts are accentuated if the child represents a minority of his group in the school he attends (75). Whether a child lives on a farm, in a small town, or in a city is influential (76).

Shame and feelings of inferiority may result as the child compares his home with those of others. Shame about one's home has led to rebellion and delinquency. A girl may escape from the home and compensate for her feelings about her home by trips with other girls downtown to visit movies, lunch rooms, and walking the streets. Such a practice may develop into nocturnal street cruising, drinking, and being picked up to be taken to hotels (77).

Inferiority feelings are slightly less in children whose parents have vocations with financial and social prestige (78). The contrast that the child feels between his status and the status of those around him is no doubt a big factor. Security and personal dignity have come to be associated largely in our society with the possession of money and goods (79).

Other factors are important in the atmosphere of the home; there are free, creative, colorful, cultural, or gregarious attitudes and constricted, provincial, rigid, traditional, or materialistic attitudes. Mention must be made of the parent who has the future role of the child planned despite the physique, temperament, or talents of the child which may caricature the role. Conversely, there is the understanding parent who helps the less athletic or the aesthetic boy or the mechanically inclined, unfeminine

girl to find himself or herself and to develop talents to achieve a creative adjustment.

Play, social contacts, and recreation. *Early play.* To what extent is a child who learns to play and to deal with his contemporaries early in life different from one who does not meet another child except occasionally until he enters school? Many events which occur very early during play speed the social development of the child. It has been found, for example, that contact with other children in nursery school has these effects upon the child: As a rule he becomes less an onlooker and shows more active participation in social contacts with others. There is an increase in *social poise and spontaneity* in social situations. He loses some of his tendency to fear others, to shrink from notice, or to hover near adults. Sometimes nursery school reduces tensions that may have arisen between the child and someone in the home. In addition there is an increase in the child's tendency to show *independence*, to stand up for his interests and rights (80). Contrast the child who has learned sociality with the child who sits alone, daydreams, and has so few outlets that any emotional experience becomes the subject of persistent brooding.

Play has another effect which all of us have observed in our own experience but has recently been subjected to elaborate investigation. It *releases tensions*, is an outlet for frustrations and anxieties. It is a means of assimilating disturbing experiences by repeating them in a mild and controlled manner (81). Children in bombing areas did not talk about air raids at first, but later rehearsed the experiences in spontaneous play (82). Even adult reading of detective stories and viewing of exciting movies may be a playing out of fear situations in order to release anxiety.

Friendship, popularity, and leadership. Play activities allow the child to establish the bases for friendships, popularity, and leadership, discussed fully in their later development in Chapters 10 and 11. They allow him to acquire the social habits and attitudes which may give him poise, confidence, initiative, and a knowledge of the social give-and-take. In addition, if his experiences are wide, his whole horizon will be broadened, and new interests and talents will be discovered.

Children develop friendships during play for different reasons, depending upon the pairs. Physical, mental, and social factors are among those found to be alike in friends (80). Friends tend to behave similarly, too, in situations such as those requiring honesty and generosity (83, 84). Popularity or acceptability by others is related to energy, if this energy does not annoy the other child. Listless and uninterested children are less acceptable to their peers (85). On the whole, the popular children are those who are superior in intelligence, grades, classroom behavior, playground skills, and pleasantness in attitude toward work and play (86). They are not necessarily the most cooperative (84).

Children who are *leaders* are above the average in scholarship, are rated as extroverts, are more intelligent, and as a rule are somewhat larger, better dressed, more fluent in speech, better looking, more self-controlled, and more daring. It appears that leaders tend to be conspicuous even though they are not conspicuously good (80). Children can learn to maneuver their way to leadership just as adults can, and children through their choice of associates pave the way to later election to leadership (87).

The value of release of tensions with play and free contact with others in development is shown by lowered delinquency rates where there are increased recreational facilities (88). In later life these values are demonstrated in the better adjustment in college and in military service of individuals who have a history of sports, team memberships, and social activities (20, 89).

School experiences. What effects besides socialization through contact with other children may school have upon the child? (90, 91) A child may withdraw emotionally because of a serious handicap in some subject or because of some situation which makes him feel inferior to others. He may be absent for long periods or transfer from one school to another with some effects (92). The personality of the teacher and her attitudes will affect children differently. Teachers who are able to secure cooperation and the good will of the children have students who cheat less, it has been found, than those who are more rigid and conventional in their methods (84). Similarly, when teachers create an atmosphere which allows students increased freedom and opportunities for responsibility, these privileges are used to ad-

vantage. Parents have found the personalities of their children to change when they go to school. A child might conceivably get warmth or objective treatment there which he does not receive at home (92).

If you go back in your experience and list events, periods, successes, and failures and explore abilities and interests in your school career which seemed to influence your present traits, you will doubtless make some discoveries (93, 94).

Extraschool experiences. These include jobs, camp experiences, hobbies, membership in clubs, loafing, travels, visits to relatives, city adventures like museum trips, and reading. What effect do these have throughout the years of growth? Every college student, upon reflection, will realize the effect of them on his life. *Jobs* hypothetically can inculcate responsibility and good work habits, arouse interests, test aptitudes, broaden one's horizon of life's scope, disillusion the child early, corrupt his standards, or produce poor work habits. *Camps* theoretically can teach skills, hobbies, appreciation of nature and can socialize and influence character traits (95, 96). *Hobbies* can become the source of a life interest or vocation. If broad in scope they may have educational value. If they include other people, they are socializing. *Travel*, either within the vicinity or over wide geographical areas, is educational and broadening in perspective at least. Veterans of World War II show this effect in their college work. The effect of *loafing* will depend upon the influences, human or otherwise, that operate during the period.

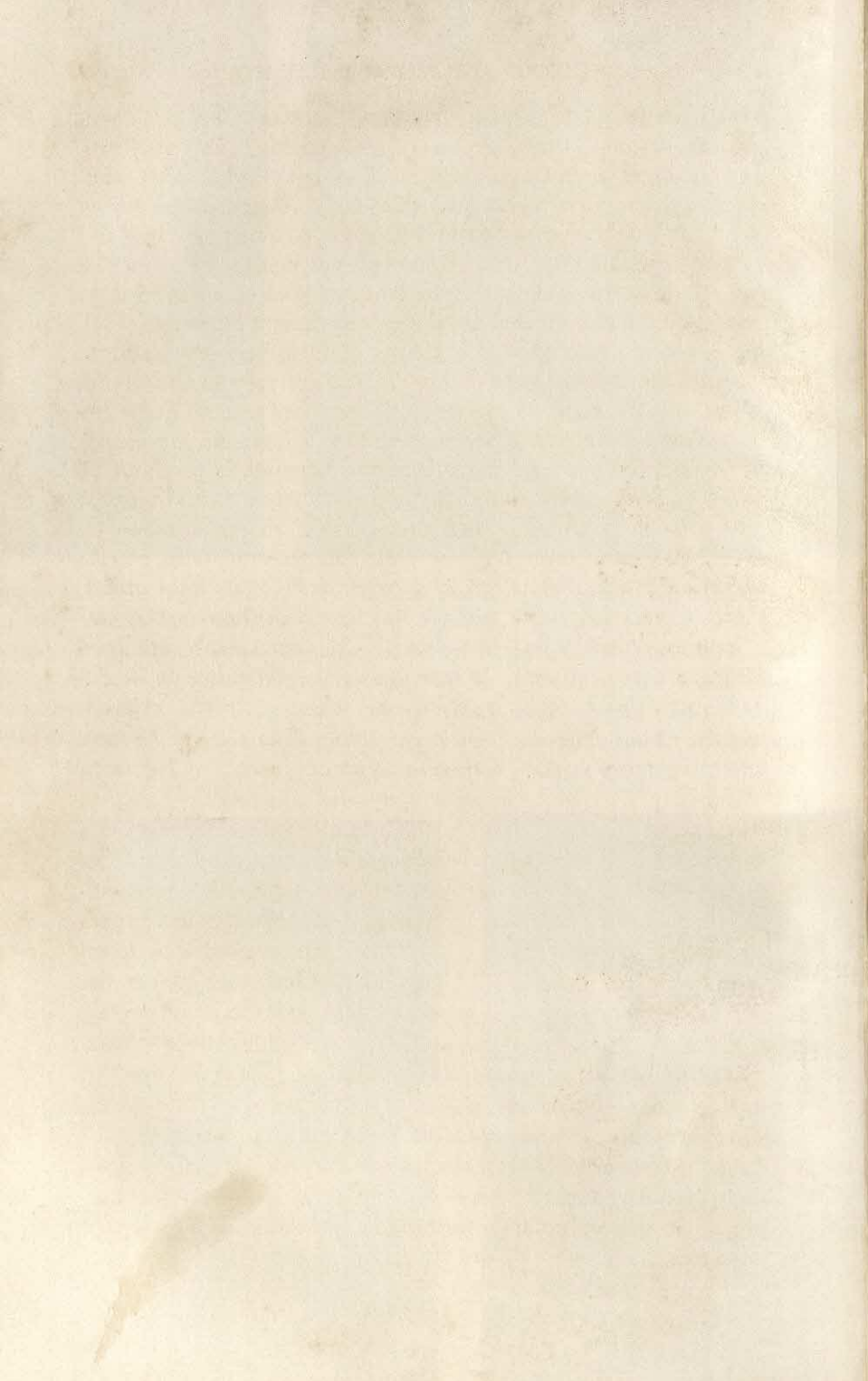
Social atmosphere influences children's behavior. If a group has an authoritarian leader who is dictatorial, makes all the decisions, and is personal in his criticism or praise, aggression or apathy is the result. Aggression crops out when restraint is removed later. The democratic leader is better liked by children (67). Younger children around 6 and 8 tend to choose their ideal persons from their immediate environment (97, 98). At about 10 years of age and above, historical and public characters become their ideals. Although parents have great influence as models in early years, at about the tenth year this influence yields to that of other persons whom the child knows directly or indirectly (99).

Movies. Some children miss very few movies which are shown in their area; others go only on rare occasions. Movies



Effective personality development is largely the growth of emotional maturity and a feeling of security. Although the early basis for this development is formed in family relationships, it is also necessary for one to build habits and attitudes which will enable him to find expression of his inner need in the social world. These pictures were posed by the personnel of The Neuro-psychiatric Institute of Living, Hartford, Connecticut. They show some of the methods used to help the patients regain a normal social life.





have been found to influence children's attitudes and ideas concerning customs, dress, manners, and morals. They also produce or accentuate fears. Movies affect the sleep of some children and produce nightmares (100-102). Restlessness during sleep after seeing a movie increases 26 per cent in boys and 14 per cent in girls (103). Under proper management, movies can stimulate the child's imagination and give concrete form to educational materials that are difficult to present otherwise (101). Movies may serve as a safe means of facing anxieties and as wish fulfillment for some children. Writers vary in their opinions about the force of movies in delinquent careers. Some believe that only about 1 per cent of the delinquents are clearly influenced by movies; others raise the percentage to about 15 (104). Cheating was found to be greater among children who attend movies frequently than among those who go infrequently (84). We must raise the question: Do children with certain traits and backgrounds attend movies more often than others, thereby reflecting these traits in the results of the experiments?

Religious and moral influences. Children usually are born into a religious group. It may be of the orthodox or fundamentalistic kind, or it may be one which puts its emphasis mainly upon morals and ethics. In various parts of the country any given religion may be the dominant one, or it may represent a minority and thus influence only the adherents. Religious leaders and educators differ in the intensity with which they use fear and coercion to mold behavior. Religious teachings differ in the extent to which they conflict with typical Western culture, which is largely materialistic, and with science, which emphasizes natural causes rather than supernatural that intervene between events and the individual. Clergymen vary in the degree to which they will encourage their flocks to make contact with those of different faiths and to prepare children for a complex, heterogeneous world. They differ in the extent to which they teach or discourage prejudices and bigotry. One of the worst accusations which can be brought against some avowed religionists is that they shroud with a cloak of righteousness their hostility toward those who think differently, and they propagate this unbrotherly attitude in the children of their congregation.

The home, school, clubs, movies, community centers, books, playmates, and major social upheavals have influence on moral development as well as on total personality adjustment (105). The breakdown of morals, ethics, and character is seen in the delinquent. Next to the home, intimate companions are mentioned as most important in bringing about delinquency (106, 107). On tests of honesty and generosity, children tend to resemble their friends in behavior (83, 84). Club members are more cooperative than non-club members, but not necessarily less prone to cheat (83). Attendance at various church schools improves slightly but consistently scores on tests of honesty and helpfulness, either because of the school influence or of the kind of family which sends children to these schools (107, 108).

It is interesting that an economic depression does not show negative effects on children so far as delinquency rates can be used as an index (109-111). War, on the other hand, probably because it breaks up the home, does produce more delinquency (112-114).

Real moral growth is more than a memorization of rules, more than associating unpleasantness with a certain act. It also involves reasoning on the part of the child as he tries to integrate his own experiences with the rules and actions of parents and playmates (56). It will require more research to learn what factors bring about genuine affection for one's fellow man (despite marked physical and social differences among individuals), self-sacrifice for others, and a peace of mind amid difficulties—granting of course that this is the real aim of religion.

Health and physical factors. Some children have more than their share of the childhood diseases and their aftereffects. One of these aftereffects may be parental overprotection or emphasis on health which keeps the child out of the normal childhood rough and tumble. Other children meet with frequent or serious accidents. Poor or good health and bodily conditions may show themselves in variations of vigor, social manner, or appearance and thus influence the early life (115, 116). The importance of pain in building fear of doctors and of other situations cannot be minimized. Health may affect the child's dreams, his disposition, his popularity, and his total personality adjustment (65, 80, 86, 117-119). One psychiatrist states that in 75 per cent of problem children health is a factor. College students who have

emotional problems speak more frequently of illness than do others (20, 63).

Self-impressions and evaluations. Not only are we influenced by the events that occur around us as we develop, but we contribute to this influence. During our development we gain certain impressions about ourselves as we react to other people. We feel unworthy or inferior, or lack confidence. We fail to meet our own level of aspiration or that set for us by those we admire (120-121). All the factors mentioned before, physique, health, abilities, and interests which influence personal adequacy and feelings of security, contribute to our evaluation of ourselves (92). An individual may have interests usually attributed to the opposite sex, feel too submissive, be inadequate as a student, or be influenced by his minority status in race, religion, socio-economic level, vocation of his father, or reputation of his family. Individual play roles and one's actual role may conflict with one's ideal. The person's attitude toward himself is a factor in the development of delinquent behavior (34, 35).

Affection and sex. How do we explain that some people seem almost oblivious to sex, others ask numerous questions, get information, and seem satisfied, and still others, through curiosity, indulge in childhood experimentation in the form of masturbation, homosexual or heterosexual contacts? Individuals vary in the extent to which they think, worry, or daydream about sex. We cannot separate sex from affection or love. In fact, in considering the sexual development in Chapter 12 we must consider the child's total personality because, as will be shown, this aspect of his life depends upon many other developments.

ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Pubertal changes and adolescence. In the course of normal human development there occurs first a period of very rapid growth and then a period of body change in which the boy becomes more manly and the girl more womanly. Secondary sex characteristics, as they are called, become prominent—the deeper voice, the broader shoulders, the beard and the pubic hair in the boy, and enlarged mammary glands, pubic hair, and broadened hips in the girl. In primitive societies at about this time there is a distinct transition from child to adult, but not so in

civilization. The youth has many years ahead of him before he can take his place as a fully recognized adult, economically and emotionally independent of his family, trained for a career, and mature in attitude toward himself and the opposite sex and toward society as a whole.

Puberty and the period in the teens known as adolescence in Western civilization is a departure from childhood even if it is not full adulthood. The personality retains most of the traits which have been developing since infancy. There is rarely a sudden change in basic traits in the teens. Of the adolescents who are delinquent, for example, 80 per cent showed these traits before puberty (122, 123). Some marked changes in outward behavior appear, however. They are mainly social in nature and result because (1) the youth usually seeks *independence from parental guidance*; (2) there is an attempt to establish satisfactory *relationships with the opposite sex*; and (3) the teen-ager attempts to *integrate* the various new and old elements of his personality. Such a social development signifies a growth toward emotional maturity.

The process of becoming psychologically weaned from the family consists of independence in decisions and plans, preparation for a vocation, and, sometimes, in earning part of one's education for this goal. Adjustment to the opposite sex involves in some a change in attitude, and often new social skills which are important in the process of rating and dating, as discussed in Chapter 12. The integration of one's own personality includes the formulation of a philosophy of life, or adopting those customs and modes of thinking among the welter of varying viewpoints and behavior in America which he can accept and remain a part of the group with which he has chosen to align himself. This integration is discussed in Chapter 8.

Adolescent physical changes and their influence. Many of the problems which the adolescent has to meet are intimately related to the marked physical growth which occurs just before puberty (124, 125). Girls as a rule reach pubertal changes before boys, and this difference among children in the same grade makes for conspicuousness and teasing. The average age at which the girl menstruates is about the middle of the thirteenth year. There is no comparable measure for boys, but the average age of the appearance of pigmented straight hair on the body is

around the middle of the thirteenth year (126). There is an uneven development of various organs and physiological functions (127), and some writers have attributed a part of the instability at puberty to this cause (123). It must also be remembered that in addition to the uneven growth within the body and the changes that the adolescent shows to the people around him, there are also the changes involved in his social world as he moves from childhood to adolescence.

Interests, attitudes, and behavior of adolescents are related to the physical changes and development at puberty. Girls, after the beginning of menstruation, are much more interested in physical appearance (128). At puberty boys tend to play less vigorous games, do more daydreaming, and have more conflicts with the family. In one study physically mature boys had greater interest in personal adornment, the opposite sex, and strenuous sports than did immature boys (129). Pubescents are also taller, heavier, and stronger than pre-pubescent (127, 130, 131). Contrary to popular belief, they are not more awkward or less dexterous (132). The awkwardness that we seem to observe in the adolescent is due to hesitation and self-consciousness rather than to lack of real skill after he gets started in an activity.

Individual differences in pubic changes. Go into any large group of 15-year-old boys and you will find them differing greatly in physique. Bill will measure 5 feet, 3 inches, weigh 122 pounds; Tom will be 5 feet, 10 inches tall, and weigh 125 pounds; and Bob, 5 feet, 3 inches, and weigh 140 pounds. Girls will vary similarly (133). Differences will also appear in most other physical features. The face, which is a major object for attention from the individual himself and from others, changes at this time. For some this change is greater than for others and, in certain individuals, upsetting (123). Acne, an eruption on the face, is frequently more disturbing than its seriousness warrants. Even the amount of perspiration increases and has been known to be a subject for worry. Adolescents may center their attention on any one phase of their growth if they are at all anxious in nature and emphasize it beyond all normal proportions (134). The most important difference will be the difference in *attitudes* produced by these physical variations (130). An individual is likely to feel that *he is different* from others.

There are individuals of either sex who have shown precocious pubic changes. The large mammary glands or enlarged sex organs might cause self-consciousness. On the other hand, there is the boy or girl who wonders whether he or she will ever mature sexually. This is particularly important to the boy because of the cultural premium upon size and strength among men. Boys and girls at puberty are quite ready to joke about changes in voice, fuzz on the face, prominent breasts, or other noticeable physical conditions.

No doubt the attitude that arises will be largely conditioned by what the parents and fellow playmates have engendered. There are parents who look with fear toward the child's maturity. They feel that their boy or girl has grown out of their influence, and they are upset by change. Some fathers and mothers do not prepare the child for pubic changes and assume a hush-hush attitude about normal development such as menstruation and nocturnal seminal emissions.

Sex development. Since most of the physical changes at puberty are associated with changes in physique that distinguish the sexes as well as with the development of the sex organs themselves, the adolescent becomes more conscious of sex functions than before. The adolescent's sex life is a continuation of his earlier attitudes and behavior, and the pubic changes merely reinforce these drives and attitudes. We have seen that there are wide differences in background. Some parents give full sex education as it is requested and allow the children to observe them freely and naturally as they dress and bathe. In addition they instill sensible taboos and provide vigilance so that the child is not exposed to sex stimulation. Other parents, because of overcrowded living conditions, a morally impoverished neighborhood, or their own lack of information on the subject, are unable to give their children the proper kind of background. Parents differ in the degree to which they make the child feel that he may come to them freely to discuss sex problems. Therefore, before and during puberty, sex experience differs as well as do the extent and force of the inhibitions governing sex. Some adolescents have non-realistic ideals and feelings of guilt in relation to sex. Others have no ideals. Still others are able to control sex impulses and sublimate their sex energies in widely diffused, satisfying play activities. These differences pro-

duce in our society the sex delinquent, the individual with severe conflicts, and the individual who experiences a wholesome love life (135-137).

Some youths who have not been given satisfactory sex instruction have been disturbed by puberty changes associated with sex. Menstruation can upset the girl who has not expected it or who does not understand the naturalness of the process. Bleeding is so strongly associated with fear and pain that it can produce fear and embarrassment if the girl does not develop the proper attitude. Nocturnal seminal emissions have been puzzling and sometimes productive of feelings of guilt in boys. The boy may believe that he is losing his manhood or that this emission is a punishment for sex thoughts or actions. If menstruation varies in any manner from the average, it may also be disturbing from that standpoint. Obviously, rape, attempted rape, or seduction of either sex by an older individual has traumatic effects. Experimentation with sex organs in play may lead to strong guilt reactions which may persist for some time.

Adolescents and home influence. College students report in their autobiographies many differing parental influences, and various attitudes toward their parents which they think have affected their development. About a third of the adolescents studied mention *conflict with parents* (138, 139). The student may be ambivalent toward his parents—love them at one time and dislike them at another. His parents may have inculcated in him certain traits of submissiveness, seclusion, fear, and hostility. He may feel that his parents are too old to understand him and his age group. He may be unable to meet the ideals they have set for him. Their accomplishments may seem so great that his only reaction is to enjoy some of the reflected glory. He may be very proud of his parents, their accomplishments, appearance, and social habits, or he may be deeply ashamed of them. His parents may quarrel and later separate. Both may try to gain his confidence and malign the other parent. He is confused by the conflicting loyalties (140).

The influences mentioned earlier on pages 189 to 194 have their effects in adolescence: *overprotection*, which may keep him close to home now (136); earlier sternness and parental *perfectionism* may account in part for his overly active conscience or personality disturbance (138, 140). He may have *introjected*

traits of either parent which he dislikes, or he may have gained from his parents traits which are incompatible with his present way of life (141, 142). He and his parents may be in conflict because they live in different cultures. The parent may regard play and social life as a waste of time, and stylish clothes and possessions a waste of money (143-145). Dating and coming and going may be rigidly supervised.

Studies of the behavior of adolescents also agree with those of younger children in that they disclose that broken homes (146), homes of low income (117), and families with constant friction between parents, overprotection, dominance, or rejection all produce undesirable effects on personality (147).

Adolescence is pre-eminently a period in which the offspring needs a wise model. Often, when given an opportunity to express himself, he says that he has longed for a parent who could be a friend and a companion, who would understand him and be a credit and a source of prestige to him (123, 138). There is evidence that a good, confidential relationship between youth and the parent, particularly the mother, is important for personality adjustment (140). The opposite-antagonisms with the parents over clothes, money, freedom in going and coming, and social activities—is disturbing to the personality (138, 139, 143, 148, 149). In extreme cases the adolescent may “run wild,” violate moral codes, and break the standards of common decency.

The adolescent regards freedom as a symbol of maturity. It is the most obvious sign of maturity to him, and he strongly wants to grow up, particularly as he sees that he *is* mature physiologically and resents the restrictions of childhood. Many of the most conscientious parents fail in the early years to allow the child to assume responsibilities, fail to *wean him psychologically*. The child has meant so much to the parents emotionally, the time since babyhood seems so short, that it is difficult for them to see their physically grown John or Mary as anything but a child. A parent, fearful of losing her role as mother, and thinking of “the other kids” as those without restraints, tightens the reins. Friction between parent and child is the result.

When college students describe the characteristics of a successful family, they emphasize: (1) absence of great tension and presence of affection between parents and between parents and

children; (2) entertainment of friends in the home; (3) moderate parental counseling and supervision and moderate consistent discipline (150). It is interesting, however, that about two-thirds of youths who have taken part in studies say that they have no criticism of their parents at all! (138) Psychological criteria of a good home and family atmosphere for the adolescent are not unrelated to what youth wants: a good home (1) allows youth to mature; (2) does not pass on its own maladjustment to modern society; (3) is willing to modify externals to make it more attractive to young people; (4) provides security, particularly in times of stress; and (5) serves as a model for the youth's future home (123).

Adolescent social life. *Crowds.* Just as the pre-adolescent has his *gang* for adventure and excitement, the adolescent has his *crowd* of both boys and girls, which congregates at a congenial home or some commercial establishment or church building (123, 151, 152). Amid what appears to adults as silly chatter, teasing, bantering, social skills are developed. The members feel that they belong to a cherished group, find satisfaction in the banter with the opposite sex, learn small talk, the current dance, and the self-confidence and social ease which some adults, who have developed outside one of these groups and feel *social isolation or rejection*, greatly miss. Social rejection can have serious consequences in later life (153). It is claimed that youths learn loyalty to a group, practice in judging people, and experience in love making under protected circumstances. The one negative aspect is their antagonism toward those outside their group. Sometimes this snobbishness seriously interferes with activities of the larger community or the school as a whole (123).

In adolescence there are numerous kinds of *social relationships*. Individuals differ in the number of friends they have and the closeness of these friends to them. There is the almost inseparable friendship, the close friendship, the familiar friendship—the friend toward whom there is little warmth—the various degrees of acquaintanceship, and finally the role of spectator, knowing one by name but not to speak to. There are all degrees of relationships between members of a crowd or clique (154). Usually the inclusion or exclusion in the clique is not a matter of family position but depends upon the relationships between

different personalities. In individual cases these relationships influence future attitudes and social behavior between an individual and his fellows. Attitudes of social rejection, persecution, loneliness, snobbishness, popularity, inferiority, leadership, social confidence, compensatory drive, and work are to some extent influenced by these teen-age experiences. Some adolescents, because they do not have a wholesome source of adventure and contact with the opposite sex, turn to delinquent activity (155, 156). In Chapters 10 and 11 there will be a fuller discussion of popularity, friendship, and leadership, especially as they are found in college.

In addition to the group relationship, dating frequently begins during adolescence. Numerous attitudes yet to be investigated arise as the result of dating or the lack of dates. Individuals report the following as influential in their development: desire for more numerous or more desirable dates, conflict between dates' behavior and their own standards, tendency of dating to lead to deep affection too quickly, inability to get repeated dates with the same person, lack of confidence on dates, feeling that he or she is not coming up to the date's expectations. Some individuals' later relationships toward the other sex are to some extent influenced by successes or failures at this time.

Extracurricular activity. Besides the informal social activities of adolescents, there are the activities promoted by adult-supervised groups—the extracurricular activities of the school, and clubs and other extraschool groups of a religious or secular nature. In Chapter 10 the value of these activities in building social traits and habits which will function in later life is discussed. Many an adolescent learns from these activities citizenship and skills which he can use in later group work.

Athletic activities, particularly for the boy, are of special importance at this period. The participant in athletics shows greater physical prowess, and prestige develops from his success as an athlete in high school and college in the eyes of the community. Often athletic success enhances traits like self-esteem and confidence. In addition to those who excel in competitive team sports, there are those adolescents who develop extraordinary skills in minor sports and gain recognition through them. There are also youths who feel a strong aversion to sports and a sense of inferiority because they are not skillful.

Others develop a "don't-care" attitude and along with this show superior motivation toward some non-athletic youth activity. Because of their failure in sports, they achieve success in the other activity.

Adolescence and the integration of personality. As the teenager develops physically, moves into a new type of social activity which is closer to the adult and is given greater freedom and responsibility, he begins to realize that he is no longer a child and that the days of adulthood are not far off. He looks to the future, a job, and preparation for marriage and for creating a home. He also must think through many of his standards as he comes in conflict with standards different from those his parents have given him and as he attempts to cope with new urges and temptations. Finally, he should be preparing to meet the new responsibilities of citizenship and social maturity. He will move more surely through adolescence and thence into adulthood if he understands himself, what is expected of him, and how to meet these expectations (157).

Economic independence and marriage. Some teen-agers, as the result of either adult influence or early insight, have evaluated well their abilities and interests, have chosen a field for which they can qualify, and are well on their way early in life. Others struggle to find an appropriate vocation or are confused in their attempts to choose one of several. High school students say that preparing for and getting a job is among their chief problems (158). Many delay their choice until college. A more thorough discussion of these problems is given in Chapters 8 and 9. The preparation for marriage is another serious matter of early importance; it is discussed in Chapters 12 and 13.

Maturity. Adolescents in America have been criticized for their lack of maturity and their lack of knowledge concerning important issues which they will have to meet and deal with decisively if our democracy is to be a reality or, as some believe, if our civilization is to survive. Schools, even universities, differ in the degree to which controversial issues are presented and facts pro and con are discussed. Schools and communities vary in the extent to which they thrust upon young children responsibilities and opportunities for self-government to prepare them for citizenship and suffrage. The nature of maturity is discussed in Chapter 16.

The background of the parents and associates are factors which prepare or retard us in the teens for the later necessity of confronting the various different customs and attitudes, and of deciding for ourselves what moral, ethical, and religious standards we shall accept as guides in our thinking and acting. Apparently work experience matures the youth more than does school. According to one study (159), unemployed students show least maturity. Some youths live in culturally sterile environments without purposiveness or inspiration; such environments discourage responsibility or self-discipline. These youths turn to vivid sensations—thrills—for stimulation.

Even in America we have people who do not believe that basic problems of life can be solved by the common man himself, but that he needs to be told what to think and how to act. No matter how authoritarian an individual's background may be, if he develops in a complex culture he will be compelled to make some decisions for himself. The extent to which he is prepared to do this will influence his future development. Religion, books, radio programs, movies, periodical literature, club activities, conversation—all are sources of guidance to ideas from which the youth may build a philosophy of life. (See Chapter 8.) Lacking stimulation from these, he may turn to organized vice for diversion. No doubt contact with others, discussion, and educational progress in the armed services have stimulated more serious thought about life problems than ever before. Studies of the activities of young people in the 1930's showed a need for greater growth in these areas (160, 161).

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CREATIVE ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION

Most of us, during the process of maturing or adjusting, regard some aspect of our personality as the actual cause of our troubles. "If I were taller, handsomer, thinner, had more 'personality,' could sing, were more intelligent—I would really rate," is the course of this kind of thinking. Sometimes attention is focussed on a minor flaw in behavior such as nail biting, procrastination, or untidiness. These may be symptomatic of a more basic defect. At other times a positive trait may be stressed: "I want to be a leader, become more popular, be a better student, have more charm." Then, again, something more basic such as an "inferiority complex," moodiness, nervousness, anxiety, or self-consciousness worries us (1-6). The tendency to change oneself, to improve in this or that respect may not be clearly seen but may be thought of as part of a more widespread motivation to succeed, to amount to something, to be well liked.

We have already noted in Chapter 5 that these problems or defects usually are not the real causes of our mediocrity or inadequacy. They are the smoke screen, even possibly a *defense against discovering the basic frustration or conflict*. Sometimes the problem behavior or symptom is an attempt to satisfy repressed motives—a release. A good example of this is shown in the chronic use of alcohol. Alcoholism is the symptom. The alcohol releases tensions. It is a means of giving expression to repressed trends in personality. The solution is not to withhold alcohol but to discover the nature of the disturbed personality and to furnish an outlet which is more satisfactory to the individual and society (7).

Our difficulties, we saw in Chapter 6, are often the result of the *influences* and *repressions* of our early development. You,

for example, may have seen yourself as somewhat like the rejected child, or your traits may reflect the result of an unfavorable comparison with a sister or brother. A dominant parent may have made it easy for you to withdraw within yourself. You may have lacked a good masculine or feminine model. Overprotection by your parents may have prevented you from learning the give-and-take of contemporary social life, and when you did play with your contemporaries you may have felt inferior to them and rejected by them. Experiences like these in your *development* may have been *frustrating*, productive of anxiety, and resulting in *adjustive reactions*.

Process of adjustment. We now shall be interested in the process by which people develop, occasionally turn liabilities into assets, take themselves in hand, adjust to difficulties, discover the response which will most effectively meet their needs, or, as one clever author has stated it, learn "how to be happily maladjusted" (8). When one is disturbed about some aspect of his personality, is troubled over some personal problem, battles with impulses which clash with the ideals he holds for himself, he has little perspective. It is hard for him to see the problem as it really is, to realize that many others have faced it, that it is one aspect of a total personality and a total life. Before he can proceed to experiment with his difficulties, use trial and error to solve his problem and build new traits, he needs to have faith in himself, know that he is fundamentally sound, and also see how this problem came about—how he, being what he is, is the basis for the problem. Stated succinctly, this involves the process of *understanding ourselves, accepting ourselves* for what we are, good or bad, feeling that both qualities are a part of the personality, possibly becoming emotionally free or calm by this acceptance, and then looking outward toward the adventure of *using* our interests and ordinary talents in a creative, self-satisfying, useful manner (9-25). This we might call effective or creative adjustment, because it does not involve mechanical drill but a discovery of what we are basically, what role we can play in life, what materials we can use, in what environment we can best place ourselves, and then a development into that role as an adventure rather than as a task.

Creative adjustment and development is not a sudden, mysterious change, although on rare occasions surprising new insights

and new ways of life do arise. It is not a matter of exerting more "will power" some one day, of merely "wishing it were so." A single book or lecture may start the process, but adjustment to difficulties requires more than a sudden inspiration (26-29). Platitudes and soothing verbiage may sometimes be an escape from oneself rather than an understanding and acceptance. Effective creative adjustment is an extended quest to discover oneself, having faith that what is found is a natural human development.

Although creative adjustment is a dynamic, variable, and individual process, with a large creative and inspirational element, it follows essentially a describable course and is basically an organic process with changes in the sensory-neuro-muscular system. New habits are built, others eliminated, new interests and attitudes are developed, traits are extended, substitutions are made in responses and effective stimulations. This may all occur in the framework of an adventurous project such as athletics, debating, or the preparation for a career. The pattern described in Chapter 1 holds. The individual is *motivated* to satisfy his developed needs. These needs are *frustrated*. Trial and error or *variable behavior* ensues, and he develops some *reaction which satisfies this need*, whether or not it satisfies him as a whole. If it is satisfying to him as a personality, he has adjusted to the situation. If not, a later *readjustment* must take place. Shyness, for example, satisfies a need. It is learned through trial and error. It protects its possessor from many social situations with which he is not prepared to deal, but in excess it also hampers his development. Eventually he must cope with it if he is to be happy.

Most problems and emotional disturbances are *non-adjustive* in terms of our total personality. They exist because they satisfy some motives. They have been acquired in a previous trial-and-error manner, possibly in a crisis. To eliminate them the motivation that originally caused them to arise should be satisfied in a different manner. If the original motivation is satisfied, this problem behavior may be eliminated if it is followed by unpleasant or unsatisfactory consequences. A case will illustrate this point.

Edward C. is 5 feet, 11 inches tall, well on the good-looking side, with average grooming. He comes from a small town and a

family of below-average means. In childhood he contracted infantile paralysis. He recovered and walks without any orthopedic devices and with only a slight limp. The muscles of one of his legs are atrophied, and Edward is extremely sensitive about this.

He is most sensitive about his mild handicap before girls. All during high school he would date only girls who were not asked by anyone else. He firmly believed that he would never marry. He probably realized that girls were attracted to him, so he apparently repressed much of his attraction to them. When he came away to college he became quite active in one of the larger young people's church groups, assumed leadership, and had social contacts with many more girls than ever before.

During and after his illness, he had acquired through his parents and the people around him the feeling that his illness had made him different from others. He was handicapped and was unworthy of the affections of any girl. His whole attitude toward himself became one of self-effacement. He was shy, except when he became a part of a group in some activity. This he did, quite frequently. No doubt his illness was a factor in his wanting to change his vocation from Law to the ministry.

He came to the counselor to discuss this change in vocation. Inadvertently, the talk veered toward dating and social activities. During the conferences that followed, Edward began to see himself more as a total personality with many assets. Both the counselor and Edward's roommate strongly encouraged him to date more than he did, and during the period of his college years his attitude toward himself seemed to change. His handicap gradually assumed somewhat less importance. This was probably due to the fact that more people regarded him as a person rather than as a boy who had been crippled earlier in life.

His retirement, particularly from members of the opposite sex, was an escape from the unpleasantness associated with his feeling of being unmarriageable. He felt rejected, "different," at that time, and if a girl, particularly one of whom he thought a great deal, refused him a date, this rejection on the background of the earlier rejection was very disturbing. The retiring behavior, then, satisfied the need for self-protection, but it failed to satisfy the larger motivation to be like all the other fellows in his own eyes and in the minds of his associates. His coming away to college, an understanding and admiring roommate, a counselor who saw him as a total person, and his successes with the religious group, all tended to satisfy that strong childhood desire *to be accepted and to be like others*. His attempts to get dates with the girls he really liked were successful. The few times his timidity got the better of him were very unpleasant and went a long way toward killing his diffidence. As a senior he became engaged to a very attractive girl with charm and many ideals similar to his. This was the climax of a social life in college which was actually more successful than average.

Practical program for effective adjustment. *Essence of program.* Turning to the practical side of this matter: What specifically can one do to make a better adjustment to relieve, for example, feelings of inferiority, anxiety, or emotional instability? When all the suggestions for personality readjustment are considered they involve basically the following (9-32):

1. Persons or environments which encourage us to express ourselves freely, either verbally or through some activity. These we may call *conducive human relationships or environments*.

2. *Free discussion* of our problem, our background, and inner tendencies, or *spontaneous activities of a social or creative nature*, which release inner tendencies previously unsatisfied or repressed.

3. With ventilation of our problems, or accomplishment and success in social and creative activities, there usually arises a *feeling of confidence and self-worth*. The individual comes to accept his assets and liabilities—personal morale develops.

4. With discussion or projection of ourselves into activities, we come to *understand ourselves*, to see the nature of our inner trends, or at least to make a better adjustment to our problems.

5. As self-confidence and self-understanding grow, and as we are freed from fighting inner tendencies, we begin to *experiment with events* around us and within us; through trial and error or a planned program we build new traits and change others.

Program related to individual's adjustment. The above processes occur in different sequence for different people, depending upon the area of difficulty and extent of their frustration, conflict, and maladjustment. Some individuals are so much at war inwardly that they have no energy to turn outward. They must first seek a respected counselor, talk over their difficulties, try to discover the bases for the disturbances, and learn to live with their difficulties until adjustment is made. Others plunge into some social event and then slowly, through the friends and sponsors they meet there, confront themselves and their difficulties. There is also the rarer individual who has had a development compatible with the life he is living now and must later live. He has an inkling of his role in life and seeks techniques through which he can define his goals more clearly and reach them most efficiently and effectively. Finally, an individual may seek another person or an activity as a defense against or escape from his real problem. Understanding himself is too disturbing, and

the protective substitute activities are perpetuated and prevent growth.

Young F. is a very short but well-built 22-year-old fellow who spent several years in the Army. He sought the counselor because of depressions and suicidal ideas. He comes from a lower middle class, penurious family who pride themselves on being very proper, to the point of forbidding smoking and drinking. He had an early illness which left him slightly lame in one leg, but the medical report indicated that his reaction to this was much stronger than the pathology warranted.

He is an extreme lone wolf. He spent most of his leisure time in the Army going off on solitary tours, taking pictures, and collecting botanical and zoological specimens. He had one or two friends who shared these interests, and with them he developed these hobbies to an extent that made him quite competent as a biologist, despite the fact that he had only average ability. This hobby is his major source of pleasure, but it is not sufficient to satisfy him completely. He does not seem to hold any great affection for anyone, although if he tried he could certainly win the attention of a girl. As a young adolescent he did have a couple of secret love affairs. He was so shy that the mild kidding he suffered when he was seen once or twice with a girl and his inability to impress girls as a confident, interesting fellow discouraged him from dating. Not only were his contacts with girls severely limited, but he was also notoriously reclusive.

He is undoubtedly sensitive about his lack of height but has never mentioned it. He has displaced his emotion about it onto his affliction. His parents, too, may have discouraged any attention toward girls. He has attempted to repress sex entirely. One night after he listened on the sidelines to a raw bull session on sex, perverse ideas ran through his head. These he tried to banish, but they continued to recur. They concerned perverse relations with both sexes. He could not bring himself to discuss this with the counselor, but since the counselor had on numerous occasions encouraged him to write out his difficulties in order to obtain release, he followed this advice and handed a couple of pages to the counselor one day when he left the conference room, making one request: that they not be read until after he had left the building. These pages discussed his battle with the perverse ideas.

At the next meeting, the counselor tried to explain to him the reasons why these had occurred: that he had no natural outlet for affection, that he had repressed the natural outlets for sex so thoroughly there were some strong unconscious urges which were stimulated by these bull sessions. The counselor attempted to show him that this was the result of a natural sequence and that he

might find some relief in talking about it and in having more social contacts.

This case illustrates well how a hobby can be actually an escape from real life contacts and the wholesome satisfaction of natural motivation. In his conferences F. was able to face for the first time with someone else his anxiety about sex and about his inability to reach any near normal standard in social behavior. The conferences did a great deal to remove his depression, talk of suicide has disappeared, and he is beginning to make minor contacts with others.

An individual with gnawing inferiority may also seek a position of power as an escape. Once he achieves the power, he clings to it lest the loss of it make him again conscious of his inferiority feeling.

We shall now examine counseling and group activities as means of effective adjustment, and then review some of the specific techniques and processes through which old traits, habits, and attitudes are eliminated or new ones acquired, usually as a part of some such project as those discussed above.

Conducive human relationships and environments. A very important factor in personality development and adjustment is what has been called a "permissive" relationship or environment (26). A warm, understanding friend, sponsor, or counselor can do more to help the individual to find and to express himself than almost any other human relationship. This does not imply that the individual should find someone to do things for him, but rather someone to encourage him to do things for himself. A friend may open new possibilities to him or provide opportunities for his initiative to operate. Solving his problems for him may be masked domination. Similarly, an environment which is conducive to the expression of the individual's talents and motivation may be a deep source of development and self-realization. An extracurricular pursuit, a hobby, dramatics, debating, sports, creative writing, drawing, or a developed talent—all are sources of self-expression and self-realization. Appealing activities and exciting interests are motivating and inspiring. They produce zest. Some individuals have said that when they are around people and events which express their interests they feel like different persons.

Free expression through abilities and interests. Through the sponsorship of a friend, coach, or counselor, and by the use of

a stimulating environment, the student should be able to explore freely a field of interest or a talent. He may try his hand at writing, dramatics, art, athletics, community work, or group activity. He may discover those avenues through which he can best develop, those which release tensions for him and bring him recognition and success. In counseling he can freely talk about or around his problem and inadequacies. He can "blow off steam," "get it off his chest." In an activity like athletics he releases energy through muscular activity. This is an avenue for the expression of repressed aggressions for adventure. In dramatic activities he can become emotional, play a repressed or thwarted role. Through creative writing he can face his anxieties through the characters he creates or through the poetry he writes. Artistic production may express the inner life of the individual satisfyingly.

Achievement of self-acceptance and self-confidence. Permissive human relationships, if they provide an avenue for the expression of real interest and talent, and particularly if this is appreciated by others, produce an increase in the evaluation that the individual places on himself. He comes to feel that he is not entirely a failure or is not inadequate in all realms of endeavor; that he has some intelligence, writing ability, or athletic skill. Others give him recognition for this and sometimes warmth and friendships grow out of it. Inwardly he develops an acceptance of himself—not only of his positive traits, but also of his negative features. If he is not a "complete flop," he can more readily accept the failures he experiences. This is a definite kind of inner and outer growth.

Discoveries about oneself—insight. Abilities become a reality when given an opportunity for expression and development. The specific nature of these talents becomes clear. Undesirable traits may also be discovered, but if the project he plunges into is a pleasant and successful one the negative traits are not so disturbing. As the individual faces these inadequacies instead of suppressing them, their origins are understood. They can be handled without so much anxiety, and the student begins to make generalizations about how he came to be the person he is and what he may do about it in the future. He sees "what has been the trouble," why he has behaved in certain ways. Many different aspects of his behavior now make sense.

Morris, for example, understands now after several conferences why he has been the clown. He could make others laugh when inwardly he was sad. He sees why he always had to be in the center of attention. Sitting still, listening to a lecture, or studying made him restless. It was all a pattern of escape, from himself, from his inadequacies, by constantly getting the approving laugh or smile of others. Emotionally he was still the little 10-year-old boy seeking the attention of those around him. He felt inadequate but he could never face the fact. It was too depressing. Being with others made him forget. His family life "had been a mess." His parents fought, his mother was too wrapped up in him. He was ashamed of his home and wanted to get away but was emotionally tied to it in order to keep his parents together. He started out late socially and was very backward as a small child and felt inferior. He had some insight into the fact that his present behavior is compensatory. He is the bluffer, the big front. He shows little responsibility, cuts classes, gambles away his GI benefits. He is the high-pressure-salesman type. If he weren't so extreme he might make a fair adjustment because he is an excellent comedian.

Many of the processes and factors related in Chapters 5 and 6 are here seen as they occur in the individual's own life. Insights occur during successful participation in projects, activities, and discussions with others, or even while writing a short story in which he loses himself—while painting, doing handicraft, or listening to music or attending a good movie. Here are some examples of such student insights from four different persons:

A co-ed said, "I don't understand why, but when I take a trip after a hard season's work, ideas just come to me. As the telephone poles whiz by, I see myself more clearly. I understand what I am and what I am not."

"I made a discovery one day while in the midst of writing an English theme that was coming right along after several weeks of procrastination. I said to myself, 'Dub, you old fool, don't you realize that running away from things you've got to do is much worse than doing them?' It is the idea you're fighting, not the work. Sit down and start to work next time, and if you can't work, do what Dr. X. suggested: start writing what's on your mind. This will probably bring to light your defenses, the unpleasantnesses connected with the task. Once they're out of the way you can carry the mail.'"

"I'm beginning to see the light. I can see now that it pays to expect to make errors, and when I make them say, 'Well, this is one on today's account.' That's better than freezing up in such

situations, fearing that I'm doing something wrong. Furthermore, I'm going to expect kidding. They can't dislike me and yet spend so much time riding me."

"I find it helps to settle matters instead of stewing over them. Now take the matter of losing my cigarettes. I've spent several precious minutes brooding over that until finally I said, 'What the hell—twenty cents! I'll just charge that up to profit and loss.' Then the idea struck me. I'm going to take out mental insurance. I'm going to expect trouble; that's the premium I'll pay when the trouble comes. Then it won't bother me. I've been saving up for it—really toughening myself—facing my problems instead of running."

It has been observed frequently that insights are not of great value unless the individual discovers them himself (26, 33).

Putting ideas into use—experimenting with events in one's life. As this process of emotional release, frankness, self-discovery continues, the individual is more likely to try new ventures in daily living. New zest and motivation are more likely to arise. He seeks new methods of growth, changes in his environment. He makes new plans, branches out into new areas, and tries different schemes. Suggestions and ideas for self-development which he did not have the drive to use before become a new reality to him. It is at this point that plans and suggestions like those given in various later chapters of this book are accepted and tried with verve. He wants to know how to build habits and change traits. The swimmer, for example, who was discouraged by the coach's outline of efficient methods when he was so inefficient begins to show new interest in them when he is able to stay afloat for a while and knows he is not a complete failure as a swimmer. Now he can experiment with greater confidence and gain new habits.

CASES ILLUSTRATING EFFECTIVE ADJUSTMENT

Each of these aspects of adjustment may be seen in the cases which follow.

Lawrence G. came along as the third child of a family. His advent, which occurred during an economic depression, was a surprise to his family. His father was frustrated by the heavy mortgage on his farm and by the poor crops and was outwardly hostile to the child's arrival. His mother was overworked and had little

time for him except for the routine care. Lawrence grew up as a shy, self-contained boy with few playmates, and the rejection at home was followed by awkwardness and failure to develop into an interesting playmate at school. He felt backward and inadequate all during his grade school days. He had a good mind and a vivid imagination from which he developed imaginary playmates and extensive daydreams.

School was a source of compensation. He made good marks and was complimented by one of his teachers on his ability to write well, even in the grades. When he transferred to the consolidated high school he was impressed with the student paper and wished that he could take part in its production. He frequently passed the office to look in at the students who were there, and he longed to be one of them. It did not occur to him that his talents would help him to become a member of the group. In his daydreams he imagined himself writing. He actually wrote several contributions which he secretly filed away.

One day he mustered enough courage to ask another student, whom he had seen around the office, about the paper. The other student encouraged him to join the staff. He was so enthusiastic at this suggestion that his friend took him into the office and saw that he was given a minor assignment. He continually wrote more than he turned in, and it was not until his second year in high school that he began to publish a good percentage of what he wrote. His success was meteoric because he undoubtedly had the greatest talent that this small high school had seen. He entered several contests, and as the result of success in these experiences his confidence in himself grew, at least in this area. Some of his stories contained flashes of his own experience and subjective life. It was through this means that he began to face those aspects of himself which he considered undesirable. This opportunity and environment did more to help him understand and accept himself than anything that had occurred to him before. It was the start of a long program of self-realization, self-acceptance, and growth toward a journalistic career.

Irwin M., an 18-year-old, slightly built, well-dressed freshman, who looked more like 15 years of age, referred himself for "psychoanalysis," as he called it. When he came into the office, he seemed shy and awkward, but talked quite readily. He said that at first he makes a very good impression on people, but later they seem to prefer others to him. This pattern has duplicated itself on a number of occasions. It happened when he went to camp. In the fraternity he was elected to an office the first few weeks; now he thinks none of the fellows respects him. He told this with considerable concern and emotion.

No doubt many of his fraternity brothers treat him more as

a kid brother than a contemporary. He is a likeable, conscientious fellow with good facial features and complexion. Having been the only child of a large, wealthy, successful family, he admittedly received great attention from both parents and relatives early in life and was sheltered, so that going to camp and coming to college are really the first experiences that he has had in making decisions for himself. It is difficult for him to profit from the typical trial-and-error experience that grows from the necessity to direct one's own affairs. He broods over his errors rather than using them for future guidance. Furthermore, he was in the lowest quarter in ability in terms of an entrance test (ACE scores: total 25, Q 19, L 15).

His parents apparently have reared him in a very idealistic manner. He has a high regard for them and for their reputation and feels that he should, in view of this, be preferred by some of the most popular boys in the fraternity, rather than taken casually by them. He feels particularly inferior to some of the older fellows who are veterans of World War II and who are very poised and socially capable. He observes these older men in their effective banter with each other and in their easy relationship with girls and feels that he can never achieve that. He is self-conscious, regards them as critical of him, has difficulty maintaining conversation with them. He worries about his reluctance "to look the fellows straight in the eye," his desire to get away from them and go up to his room alone, and his inability to carry out many of the plans he envisages. He thinks about dating a girl, then feels that she will not enjoy his companionship.

He said that at first he thought the attitude of others toward him was anti-Semitic, but his experience at camp and in his fraternity has convinced him that the difficulty lies within himself. He always remembers being less well received by his contemporaries than by elders. Much of this dates back to his first attendance at school. The other children seemed to pick on him.

When told that his reaction should be expected in view of his *background of overprotection*, his sudden contact with older, experienced men, and his physical and emotional immaturity, he stated that he realized this but he thought there was something more serious the matter with him.

Many of the boys in the fraternity had a very materialistic and cold attitude toward life, and this philosophy conflicted with his early training and sentimental views. He said that he became jealous of his friends, wanted to possess them, was analytical of the motives of others, realized that he was pretty much of a "baby" at heart and self-centered. He complained about vacillating between friendliness and withdrawal and irritability. He said that he thought that hard knocks would be good for him.

After the conference he had a talk with his father, who apparently choked off his discussion of emotional and subjective symptoms by telling him that there was nothing the matter with him; that he was better than most of the boys in the fraternity; and that self-analysis is a bad idea. This was helpful for a brief period, as were the conferences with the counselor. For a while he constantly imitated the older fellows, took advice from them, and tried to follow it but stated that inwardly he felt inadequate. From his standpoint he was failing in everything—school work, relations with fellows, dating—and he felt that, because he did not have to work, was in one of the “best” fraternities, and had so many opportunities, he should be distinguishing himself.

He told the counselor that he needed advice and needed it badly. He admitted that he looked forward to the conference periods and felt better for a while, but needed to be told just what to do because his own efforts were so fruitless. He was told that he had received plenty of advice from a number of people and what he needed more than advice was to play the sort of role he could play best. It was suggested that, if he could be just the sort of person the fellows thought him to be rather than try to change drastically and suddenly, his adjustment would be easier. This impressed him, but the disturbing feeling of inadequacy that he experienced many times a day was overpowering. He was extremely sensitive to any slight, and one of the more critical boys accentuated this feeling of *rejection by the group*.

As time went on and the conferences continued, the negative statements about himself decreased, and he showed a greater tendency to be realistic about his traits and possibilities. When he saw the movie, “The Razor’s Edge,” he felt that the central player had many of his traits but showed much more character and assurance. He, on the other hand, felt that he was a coward, afraid to face the world. He decided to see this movie again and came out with a number of insights. This is what he wrote to the counselor:

“I saw the picture again, and I have come to some definite ideas. I think if you will straighten out these ideas for me I will hit upon something. The *first* thing that I have surmised is that I am divided into three parts: First, the part that makes me so anxious to make friends that I leave myself open (to criticism). I don’t act natural. I think that everything I do offends someone. I am afraid that I will do the wrong thing. The *second* part is the bad part—the deep cowardice—the part in which I think that a person is my friend only because of what he can get from me. This is the suspicious part of me—judging things for their money value—the cheap part. This is the part that will not allow me to love anybody, to be true to anybody, because I think that this will lower my status; that people won’t like the persons I go with,

either boy or girl—the part that looks at people's faults instead of their good qualities and affects my conversation and feelings. Then there is the *third* part—the part that feels that I can't get enough knowledge, the initiative part of me—the part that I hope some day will be natural—the part that wants me to do things but is conquered by the other parts, the good intention side of me, the part that judges a man by what he is, the part that is not like the second part that judges a man by what other people think. The problem then is to determine what I should do to eliminate the first two parts and strengthen the third. The way to do this is to find a cause of the two parts and try to eliminate them. That is where I need your help."

The counselor suggested that possibly in order to develop according to his plan he would have to be himself and make some mistakes, that he would be strengthened by acting when in doubt rather than vacillating, even though what he did resulted in mistakes. He would have to start at a certain level even though that level was not totally acceptable to him. This impressed him a great deal.

At one of the interviews he became hostile to the counselor and said that the counselor was being too nice to him and because of this he went out of the conference feeling that his problems were not so great as they really are. This ability to express aggression without penalty seemed to improve later relationships. On the whole, as the result of five months of counseling he felt that his attitudes had improved a great deal, that whereas he had not changed a great deal he was not so upset by his own behavior. He stated that he realized now that he could change some things about himself and other things he could not, and he would just have to learn to put up with them.

He saw the role his early life played in his development and the pressure that the fraternity was exerting upon him. He was initiated and, the pledgeship ended, he won an office. This occurrence helped his confidence somewhat. Apparently he was rather well liked by the boys in his fraternity, but most of his difficulties grew out of his *high level of aspiration*, his *lack of well-established social habits*, which brought about a very disturbing feeling of inadequacy. In addition there were earlier childhood experiences of being *rejected* by the group after the contrasting warm relationship that he had within his family. He was an individual who had been given inordinate attention by relatives and by teachers at a small private school. This was *overprotecting*, and it prevented him from developing on his own initiative the habits he needed in order to get along with his contemporaries. When he did not receive the affection he got at home, he felt *rejected when in fact* many of his fellows liked him.

This student's case shows very well the processes that occur in counseling: Release of tension, facing oneself as one really is, making discoveries and accepting aspects of oneself which previously caused one to run away, and, finally, planning a course for future action.

Steve D. was known to the counselor through his parents and sisters. His father was a faculty member; his sisters were all very successful. Steve was always a very poor student, even in grade school, and had caused great concern to his mother. He also was smaller than most of the boys and preferred to play alone. His experience in the Army took him out of the home and relieved him of the ignominy of poor grades in school and of his previous overprotection. While in the Army he received an injury which incapacitated him. When he returned home he was told to rest. He said he was beginning to like this rest, but he realized that it would result in invalidism. The rest probably satisfied his previously built non-aggressive habits. Yet he wanted to mature and become self-sufficient. This conflict resulted in guilt, depression, and suicidal tendencies. He said that he has always been good at mechanics, but he didn't think he could hold a job because of his physical condition.

The counselor asked him if one of his difficulties wasn't that he felt inferior to his sisters and his parents; that, although he could be successful in mechanical pursuits, he felt that they were not in keeping with his parents' status. Furthermore, he constantly thought of how successful his sisters have been in school and all throughout life in their relationship to other people and in their professional fields. Their success was a great contrast to his career. He replied: "You've hit the nail right on the head."

The counselor went on and attempted to verbalize the effect of the recent "crisis" on him. "Now this recent trouble, namely that of having your girl's mother tell you that you shouldn't see the girl so much, may have caused you to feel even more inferior. Possibly you felt that she realized that you would not be able to support the girl; that you were a failure." He said, "That's exactly what I thought." His whole attitude changed with these prompted realizations. The counselor went further, since the student seemed to take such a passive, defeated attitude. "Why don't you find out from a physician just what you can do and what you can't do, what kind of job you can take, and what kind you can't? Then talk with the Veterans Administration about some on-the-job training. Go some place else to get this training and spend a reasonable amount of time in activities that you enjoy. You have to live your life, and it should be a good one. Don't compare yourself with anybody else. Instead of seeing how many negative traits you have, as compared with some imaginary

ideal, remember what a good mechanic you are, the success you have had in the Army, and build on it."

He was definitely encouraged by this advice. He took out a notebook, jotted down suggestions that the counselor gave him, and left the office saying, "You've given me new hope."

The follow-up showed that he had made use of these suggestions, and that he was moving to a larger city and would have contact with an out-patient V.A. psychiatric unit.

This student came in somewhat helpless in attitude and not disposed to face his problem himself, nor did he have the ingenuity to plunge into some pursuit. He had to be *directed*. The counselor fortunately knew a great deal about him and his background and could direct the interview without stirring up too much anxiety.

Betty N. is an extremely bright, well-groomed, dynamic, and rather attractive girl. She grew up in a small town. She was the eldest of three children. Her father became very ill about ten years before her entrance into college, and he developed deafness as a result. He was unable to do anything but putter around the house. This was extremely frustrating to him since he was an honor graduate himself and had been an outstanding leader when in college. He became extremely critical of the children. Betty's mother, who was a teacher, undertook the support of the family and spent a good deal of time out of the home.

Betty noticed her feeling of insecurity when she went to high school, when the family was most insecure financially. There seemed to be a close relationship between her and her younger brother and sister. She felt that her father was too critical of her and that her mother was too busy to give her much attention. She complained a great deal because she had to wear braces on her teeth. She said many people treated her as a "child of the braces age." She had a poor complexion at this time. Trying to keep up with the other children in high school in clothes and other social necessities was a disturbing experience. She dated very little. Much of her relationships with boys were platonic.

A very close chum of hers died after a brief illness when she was in high school, and this death upset her greatly. She feels that she has never had as close a friend since then.

She came to the counselor first after one of the girls living in the same house had berated her, saying that she was selfish, egotistical, overaggressive, and needed to be taken down a notch or two. This threw her into a panic, and she had a talk with some of the other girls. Then she came in to see the counselor. The counselor listened as she related some of her earlier experiences, and when she had finished he reassured her frankly and sincerely, as he could well do in view of her aptitude and previous accom-

plishments, her grooming and ingenuity. The counselor realized that her problem was not due to any objective deficiencies because she had many assets, but were due to the many family conflicts during her growing period and probably to some rejection both at home and at school.

Her next visit concerned vocational advice. She felt that she had to have a career and she had to be important in something. She complained of being very unhappy, not having much purpose, and not getting along too well with her fellow students of either sex. She still worried about her complexion, although it was not noticeably poor to the counselor, and was sensitive about her mistakes and her unpopularity.

She said she had tried everything—being a mouse, a loud-mouth, a social climber, a hostess, and a pal, but none had overcome her feeling of inferiority about her social status. She said, "I don't really seem to have any special person to be near to or to care what happens in my life. I want someone or something definite to work for . . . I don't mind doing the dirty work but I like a little recognition. Perhaps that is what my heart is crying out for—recognition. Just for someone to be aware of me." Much of this attitude persisted throughout several semesters, despite the fact that she was busy with a job, was taking a full load, and was studying long hours.

Toward the end of her college career she met a boy who was probably more emotionally upset than she. He was an only child who had seen the counselor at the suggestion of his fraternity brothers because he was such a "stinker." He did not react well to the hazing, went to pieces once, and began sobbing. He wanted to be around the fellows but was constantly bragging, and when they called his bluff he was hurt. He and Betty seemed to have a great deal in common. They were both interested in music and creative writing. He was not so good a student as she, but they studied together a great deal and apparently confided in each other.

She consulted the counselor one more time, not about herself, as she thought she had straightened out pretty well in the course of her college years, but about this boy who now became her charge. He had been "in the dumps" for several days, had gotten some poor grades, and wasn't getting along too well with other people. She wanted to know what she could do to help him. As she talked, she answered her own questions. Although she was quite aggressive for a girl, she was wise enough to realize that any help she would give him would have to be indirect; that she would have to be merely on the scene as he helped himself. But it was clear that she had now found someone who cared, who was interested in her as a person, in whom she could confide, and who really needed her. They married. They seemed to complement

each other. A follow-up after several years indicated that they had been through his Army hitch together. She had been working while he served his enlistment. Now she was again working to help him get an advanced degree through the GI Bill. She seemed much happier than before. Their marriage seemed to be a successful one.

Madelyn R. was valedictorian of her high school class and won a scholarship to college. She was talented in art, and many of the posters seen about the campus had been made by her. She was active as a Girl Scout leader and belonged to several other organizations. In addition to all this activity she worked 50 hours a week and felt that she must do this in order not to burden her parents. She was a tall, shy, naturally attractive girl who never used make-up or in any way made herself interesting to boys. She was immature in interests, never had attended a dance, and had very few friends. She came from a frugal, hard-working, successful middle-class family who were all quite shy. Her two brothers were very much like her in temperament.

She came to the attention of the counselor through a Mrs. Green, a mature woman who was interested in Scouting and to whom the girl was greatly attached. Madelyn lived in a town near the university and commuted. She called upon Mrs. Green almost every night and wrote her long letters which Madelyn would not let her read while she was present. She tried to do many things to please Mrs. Green. The Girl Scout leader recognized this behavior as a mild crush and had learned from the girl's family that she had had several other crushes on older women. Attempts had been made by the parents and by Mrs. Green to interest Madelyn in girls and boys of her own age, but her one interest was her work. She was indefatigable in that, spending almost every moment of her waking hours industriously. She listened to all the advice that her older friend gave her about dating and going out more often, but she made it clear that she just could not put it into practice and that she did not want to.

Madelyn seemed to be very popular with younger groups, and older people liked her. She was very successful in her work, and received several raises in pay. After she had worked in one office for a while, major responsibilities were given her which she assumed very well.

Besides extreme shyness, the symptom which seemed to worry the Girl Scout executive was Madelyn's great sensitiveness. She had to know the grades in all of her courses by a certain time in order to be re-employed for the next semester; therefore it was necessary that she approach her teachers. Two were rather sharp with her over the telephone. She brooded over this and cried for several hours. She also tended to worry. After taking the required freshman physical examination she said that the doctor men-

tioned something about a rupture. She kept this information to herself and brooded over it; finally she wrote about it to Mrs. Green.

The counselor advised Mrs. Green to keep the contact, not to worry too much about the relationship, but to allow the girl to write her letters and to talk out as many of her problems as she could verbalize, even though she was unable to discuss them directly. Even hinting at them would be helpful. Furthermore he predicted that, since she was so successful in her extracurricular activities, working through her art talents, with time she would get closer to some of the people with whom she worked. If she could be persuaded to assume fewer responsibilities, it would be well, particularly since she had too much on her mind now.

With time Madelyn did become less tense, came to know more people, did even better on the jobs than before. Since she is still getting along well with young people, she probably will not be a poor teacher, even though she may not be sociable with her contemporaries. Her art interests and her older friend have been great sources of stability to her.

COUNSELING

Nature of counseling. It is extremely difficult for one to gain perspective when thinking alone about one's problems or plans. Problems often become magnified when one considers them alone and the "thinking" or "self-analysis" becomes brooding and worry. The "success-in-three-lessons" articles speak of developing by self-determination and by mottoes and platitudes. Real personal growth usually involves some means of *losing oneself* through a social venture—a counseling situation or a group or a creative activity.

Counseling is a professional source of contact with another person. It involves seeking one who is understanding, who can be trusted, and who is usually regarded with respect and warm feelings. With time, under this relationship, *problems can be ventilated, tensions can be released, anxieties can be gradually discussed, morale can be developed, and, sometimes, interpretations of behavior can be offered, insights can be experienced, discoveries can be made, perspective and objectivity can be gained. Impulses for action usually result* which provide a basis for personal growth.

Reluctance to discuss personal problems. It is a paradox that those who need most to discuss their problems are often least

willing to do so. It is the shy, self-centered, shut-in sort of person who is most taciturn. He guards his mental life carefully and shares it with no one. When a problem arises, he has no outlet. His own consciousness is his major interest, and he becomes even more absorbed in it when difficulty arises. Since he magnifies his problem, becomes highly emotional over it, has little else to distract his attention, his difficulties grow. The more serious they become, the less willing he is to admit to anyone that he is disturbed. It is only when he feels that he can no longer carry the burden of conflict that he finally, in desperation, discusses the matter with someone. It should appear clear from the material below that the best thing he can do is to select a trusted, competent counselor with whom he may discuss his problem. A major step in personal adjustment is that of admitting that we have a problem and then seeking to do something about it (26, 34).

Discussion provides an emotional outlet. Discussion of one's emotional problems has been referred to as the "talking cure." It has long been known that, if we talk over with an understanding listener those matters which disturb us, we are greatly relieved. This procedure is known as *emotional catharsis*. The discussion of the problem, whether or not it is accompanied by weeping, tremor, or some other overt expression of emotion, results in *released tension* (35). Many a man in service learned the importance of talking over anxieties rather than brooding over them (36). The individual as well as the counselor is aware of the relief which follows after the story is told. This relief, however, is rarely permanent. Students should not feel satisfied with this temporary relief but should return for further discussion.

Discussion desensitizes the individual to his problem. When the individual discusses his problem with an able, experienced counselor of any kind, the counselor assumes a *calm attitude*. He is acquainted with similar cases; he has heard this story in another form before. To the counselee the matter is very serious and unique; the thing that has happened is overwhelming. He sometimes does not see how life or the world can go on. To the counselor this is only one case in many, and the disturbing episode is only one event in the lifetime of this particular individual.

The student who is relating his problem cannot help being impressed by this calm. He is *associating his difficulties* for the first time *with a cool, composed attitude*. At all times during the interview the counselor is sympathetic and understanding, but his sympathy is more intellectual than emotional. He sees the student's problem. He knows how the student feels, but he goes further; he sees it *in relation to the student's environment* as a whole and his lifelong experience. To him there are ways out. The disturbing event is not an insurmountable block. It is a problem that may be met in one of many ways.

After the student has discussed his problem several times with the counselor, has made some discoveries about himself and decided to "do something," the problem will be *stripped of its strong emotions*. He will begin to have an *objective attitude* toward it.

Discussion changes attitudes. Discussion also causes other changes in attitude. When one broods over a problem, he usually recalls it and all its unpleasantness time after time. He sheds very little new light on it. When he worries he relives the predicament without any solution in mind. In order for his story to carry over to an audience he must be *objective*. Immediately he realizes that there are other people in the world; that what seemed to him to be all-important might appear trivial or perhaps foolish to someone else. He may even say to the counselor, "This might seem foolish to you, but it is important to me." This admission is worth much to him. He has already made a *fresh, different association* with the problem (37).

Furthermore, the discussion of the problem *encourages new ideas* and feelings to emerge, new possible causes for the difficulty to present themselves, and *new solutions* to appear. The student may say to the counselor, "This doesn't seem as bad now as it did before." He has changed his attitude.

In telling his problems to someone else he must be *logical*; he need not be logical when he runs over his difficulties in his own mind. He makes wholesome associations rather than disturbing ones. It is interesting that when the counselor does nothing but nod his head every now and then, utter a few "Oh's" and "Is that so's?" the student is nearer the solution of the problem for having discussed it with him. He has *new insights, new associations, and new attitudes* toward it.

Discussion allows the discovery of repressed material. There is evidence that, from early childhood on, human beings repress experiences that are shameful, punished, and not acceptable to them. We do this, as we saw in Chapter 5, in order to prevent anxiety. But this repressed material does not remain repressed. Events in life re-arouse it. If it is associated with emotion, the stirred-up bodily state associated with emotions can continue even though we banish the ideas from consciousness. The psychoanalysts have pointed out that repressed experiences may be a source of motivation and may explain much of our behavior, peculiar and otherwise.

The understanding, warm counselor makes it possible for the individual to face some of these repressed experiences. He may come to see in the interview that a person may be on the whole a fine person and yet have had some shameful experiences. As the individual *integrates* the repressed material with the rest of his personality, he can better deal with this repressed material. It does not represent a segment of himself, so to speak, walled off from the rest of his personality and operating independently.

It is not difficult to see that if dominant motives are repressed under some conditions, when inhibitions are removed they may seek expression, and the individual may behave noticeably out of character. These repressed reactions are functioning without the benefit of the morals, standards, and guiding force of that person's total self. His conscious, organized self represents one personality; the repressed, unacceptable motives and experiences represent another side. He is not an integrated, well-organized person. In fact, there is civil war within him. In the conference, over a period of time, these two aspects of the self may be brought together, so to speak, and organized. Then the force of his whole personality can act to inhibit and guide those aspects which he previously repressed and would not acknowledge as part of himself.

Discussion helps to organize the personality. Not only does one integrate repressed material with that part of himself that he respects and shows to his friends, but, as he talks over his traits and experiences and has insights into his previous behavior, he is in effect reorganizing the various aspects of his personality. What he says about himself and the insights into

the development of his traits permit him to guide his behavior in the future.

Discussion provides self-acceptance and motivation. Try as he may, the counselor cannot avoid responding either in expression or in words during the reporting of a problem. As he responds sympathetically and understandingly to the story, the person who has brought the problem to him seems to gain *new strength*, increased *morale*, and more active *motivation to find a solution*. The counselor provides an atmosphere somewhat rare in our culture, one in which the individual consulting him may accept himself, may see his negative and positive traits as a part of this total personality. He can dare to see himself as having certain "bad," undesirable, previously unmentionable traits, but also good traits. As he discusses himself more he comes to see how these "bad" traits were developed quite understandably. He assumes less the attitude "this can't have happened to me" and more the attitude "this is indigenous to some human development. If it is a part of predictable development, it can't be so bad. If it developed originally maybe it can be eliminated."

Discussion provides information and interpretation. The counselor also inadvertently and casually supplies *information* with an interpolated "I think you're right," "That may not be true," or "Do you *think* so?" Problems frequently arise because of erroneous ideas, false information, and lack of perspective (38). The counselor's off-hand *assurance* that the matter that worries the student has occurred in the lives of 70 per cent of the persons of his sex and age certainly gives perspective. Without interrupting needlessly the on-going process of self-discovery, the counselor might, during a lull, hand the counselee a book, state some interesting facts, mention a service available to all students, or indicate the extent to which a given problem is prevalent. Now and then, when it is appropriate, the counselor will interpret a certain form of behavior for the student or remind him that an experience illustrates something that he has learned in one of his courses.

The student is to assume the initiative. The good counselor will not interrupt too much the student's own initiative in finding himself through the counseling experience. He will not go off on a tangent and give a lecture. He will not indulge too

much in technical terms or in some other fashion leave the impression that solving the problem presented is his responsibility rather than the student's. His main purpose is to *provide an atmosphere* for the counselee to make discoveries, gain perspective and objectivity toward his problem, release tensions, and experience growth.

Does counseling make one too analytical? Some emotionally tough individuals, in reading case histories, may have the attitude expressed by the father of Irwin M., as related in the case illustrating effective adjustment. They may say,

"It is bad for an individual to think about himself. Seeing a psychiatrist or a clinical psychologist makes one create problems that were not there originally. It aggravates emotional disturbance. All that junk that they talk about can have no good result. One should be discouraged from being so analytical."

So we raise the question: "Can one be too analytical?" Most individuals who are preoccupied with mental symptoms are not analytical in the psychological meaning of that word. It is true that they may be *too introspective* and are undoubtedly *ego-centric*. Discussion of these matters with someone else should not have the effect of increasing their egocentricity and subjectivity. As they relieve tensions, become less sensitive to matters by exposing them, and relate their problems to a social world by discussing them with someone else, they should gain *objectivity*, if, of course, they have consulted a trained, competent counselor. Many an individual has become emotionally free and more capable of dealing with problems in the external world after such a conference. On the whole, courses in Psychology have the same effect. There may be individuals who are stirred up by taking courses in Abnormal Psychology or by reading psychological books prematurely, but it must be remembered that they had problems before they took the courses or read the books. The fact that they are upset by them indicates that they need counseling and professional assistance rather than additional repression.

ACTIVITIES IN ADJUSTMENT

Some effects of social and special interest activities. Sometimes entering into group relations, becoming a member of a

club or an organization or activity such as a team or drama group provides a means of *releasing tensions, projecting one's inner life outward, seeing oneself in a new light, and obtaining the human support one needs*. With the success that such a venture brings, the individual is more able to accept his negative traits. He may see that after all he is not too different from others. The social situation, in the form of a congenial group, club, extracurricular activity, or even informal bull sessions, is usually required for development. The program, formal or informal, afforded by these groups together with the social stimulation and commitments made by the individual entering them usually furnishes the needed persistent stimulation (motivation) to development. The development becomes a dynamic, spontaneous acquisition of new habits, attitudes, and traits built in a social *milieu*, usually accompanied by a sense of satisfaction.

Every college counselor has seen the effect on some students, over a period of several years, of being on their own, living and working with others, taking responsibilities, participating in group ventures, having contact with lectures and the Humanities, and growing generally in knowledge and perspective. Sometimes a student will gravitate over a period of time toward situations which will be conducive to building habits. One student may take a job in the college cafeteria if he feels that he needs to have experience in dealing with other people. Another may arrange an athletic program for himself or a summer manual labor job that will build him physically. A third may go out for debating or dramatics with the purpose of building traits. Others may select writing, art, and crafts. Extracurricular activities, jobs, hobbies, lecture programs, or art exhibits and informal social groups like bull sessions all have sometimes the value of helping the individual *project his inner life outward* and of *building new attitudes and habits*. Availing oneself of organized activities of this sort gives greater assurance that the process will be continued. These avenues of adventure have been discussed in Chapter 4, page 108, in connection with budgeting time, and also in Chapter 8, page 317, in connection with avocations, and in Chapter 10, page 411, on social adjustment. These stimulating events, which differ in specific character with the individual, tap numerous individual motives, keep the participant close to real living events, give him satisfactions, and

yield success to many motives. The individual is sublimating usually when absorbed in these activities and in so doing is usually adjusting to his conflict in one of the more effective ways (12).

There are times when a solitary project or responsibility will have many of the above effects. Even then, however, the social element is frequently present. One decides to write a book, develop a career, invent a gadget, pursue a hobby. Invariably the individual is dependent upon the writings or products of others, and there is the anticipation of the response from others as he works on it and when his project is completed. In short, he is behaving in terms of a real rather than an imaginary world.

Project as a training program. In the most effective kinds of social activities the individual becomes deeply absorbed in the venture. It is not a rigid, mechanical training program but rather a dynamic, interesting adventure in some activity. The rigid training program is often too mechanical and for that reason frequently loses its interest for the individual. The activity has more of the play spirit.

It is a fact that many of the traits the individual wishes to acquire consist of specific habits, but these habits are best acquired indirectly through a stimulating project. For example, grooming involves an attractive arrangement of hair, frequent effective cleansing of the face, shined shoes, pressed suit, clean apparel. Harmonizing colors and patterns must be chosen. Good grooming can be achieved more successfully by associating with others who are well groomed and by trial-and-error observation of people and pictures than by making a serious training program out of it.

There are times when the training program yields good results, as for example in athletics and dancing. In those cases there is usually a structured course with a trained inspirational leader or teacher. On the other hand, many individuals acquire most of their skills in a trial-and-error manner. For example, no one can tell us exactly how to roller-skate. We put on skates, go to a large, smooth surface like a sidewalk or rink, and *try*. We might move into it gradually by trying the skates on a lawn so that we do not fall too frequently and get hurt too badly. We learn to balance by balancing. This is true of such activities as swimming, cycling, and similar skills. The expert will



Creative adjustment involves losing ourselves in an adventure which holds our interests and thereby helps us develop personally through some medium. Finding expression of the inner self through creative and expressive activities is effective with people at all levels of adjustment—college students, workers, or mentally ill persons. These pictures show the facilities of the modern hospital for the mentally ill where anxious, tense, and unrealistic persons may gain a better adjustment. These pictures were posed by the personnel of The Neuropsychiatric Institute of Living, Hartford, Connecticut.





Counselors are often impressed with the facial expressions, tension, and bodily distress of students when they first come into the office to discuss what they believe is a serious emotional problem. After a period of free, open, frank discussion of their difficulty, they are often relieved and show it in their facial expression and whole behavioral reaction. In the photograph above the girl speaking to the counselor is dramatizing how she felt as she began talking to a counselor about the most disturbing problem she had ever experienced. In the photograph below she is dramatizing her feeling after she saw a way out of the dark and after she had experienced some of the by-products of the counseling process discussed on pages 236 to 239. Although these scenes are dramatized, counselors recognize similar changes in facial expression in the real process of counseling.



fuse the strongly aroused interest with readings on the subject, diagrams, and advice from coaches. Fusion of the planned program and the adventure or game is most effective.

Extracurricular activities and the Humanities as free expression. *Dramatics* is one example of a social outlet. It enables the participant or the observer to live different roles and at times to give vent to aspects of his personality that were previously repressed. It brings him in contact with others of similar interests. It allows him to satisfy such motives as social recognition and adventure (39). It has been said that this fantastic type of play, like talking about one's problems, enables the individual to face his anxieties in a safe manner (12). He can play a new role.

A psychiatrist dealing with children discovers that he can learn quite a bit about the child's problem and, too, the child can relieve some of his repressions and experience overtly some of his anxieties, if he is allowed to play freely with various toys. The boy or girl is encouraged to play as constructively and destructively as he wishes. If he desires he is allowed to squash the dolls, take them apart, and even discuss his aggression. With consecutive periods of *play therapy*, the child makes a better adjustment to the disturbing situation (40). Play therapy is becoming more extensively used among children and somewhat among adults (41-47). It has a counterpart in stories, poetry, art, crafts, athletics, and free writing and might well be used among youths and adults as a means of projecting outward their feelings and tensions.

Kurt L. is a tall, well-built, fair-skinned fellow with light red hair. His striking appearance wins for him much secret admiration from members of the opposite sex. He appears to have dignity and reserve, but when one talks with him one is struck with the fact that he is extremely shy and ill at ease except when with a group similar to his drinking buddies in the Army. Practically no one except a few teachers realizes that he has unusual creative ability. He has developed it to an appreciable extent by his strong need to unburden his frustrations and repressions.

His parents separated when he was young. His mother is apparently a poorly adjusted woman who has turned to fanatical religion for solace, has taught him repression of all his feelings. All his life he has yearned for an older brother or the companionship of his father, whom he has idealized in perspective. He went out for sports but was awkward and, despite his splendid physical

build, was not too successful, yet he persisted. It was in high school that he received the encouragement to write, and he has been doing so ever since. Now as a college junior he has turned out numerous short stories and one novel which compares quite well with published material. He is very reluctant to submit his writings to a publisher because so much of it reflects his inner life.

His greatest anxiety and disturbance is his social maladroitness. He feels that he makes a fool of himself every time he meets persons whom he wishes to impress. He cannot say what he thinks is expected of him and what he feels. Therefore he thinks he is not up to par as a man. Some of this is due to the complex emotional thinking associated with his father. His grandparents pointed out to him all his father's shortcomings, yet as a child he idealized him in his daydreams. On real contact with this parent, however, Kurt always seemed to fail in what was expected of him.

Another frustration was in his relationship with girls. The only time he could impress them was when he had been drinking, and then he became sexually aggressive to the point of frightening even himself.

The counselor encouraged him to continue writing and asked to see some of his products. Kurt was willing to bring most of them. One or two he thought he could not show anyone. He wrote these stories under compulsion in a single sitting. Sometimes he did not want to read them after he had finished them. When he completed them he felt greatly relieved. It was through his conferences that he began to use them as a means of understanding himself better, as well as a release.

One of his stories dealt with a man who secretly admired a girl who worked in a Chicago office near his and who went to lunch at the same time he did. The story described quite realistically the introspections and the mental ruminations this man experienced as he admired the girl from afar and planned to meet her. The story is climaxed when he has collected enough courage to talk to her and has bought some tickets for the opera which he plans as a surprise for their second meeting. Since they had not planned to meet, she did not appear either that day or subsequently. The story beautifully depicts Kurt's own problems in this area and ends as his experiences usually end, in frustration and disappointment. Yet projecting this experience outward into a creation of his imagination had great psychological value for him.

Psychodrama is the use of play by youth and adults in a dramatic setting in which tensions are released and the individual is prepared for real situations (48). Sometimes individuals are aided by watching others perform (49). The possibility of constructing films for individuals with problems, so that they might

see actions on the screen similar to their own about which they are anxious, has been discussed and used to some extent (50, 51).

Group therapy, as it has been called, has been used extensively in the service and among civilians. Carefully arranged sessions are planned for individuals with similar difficulties so that they may listen to each other discuss aspects of their personality and growth (51-54). Experiences are shared, and the psychiatrist in charge acts as leader in integrating the contributions made during the meeting (51, 55, 14).

Athletics has advantages similar to dramatics. It is a socially approved outlet for aggression and adventure. Some individuals who do not receive recognition or achieve success in school work or social activities may do so through this avenue (56-58). The other activities, such as debating, special interest clubs, hobby groups, professional fraternities, have the same values.

Success in these activities gives the individual confidence and allows him to face more readily the negative aspects of his personality and to tolerate them at least temporarily as part of himself. This is a natural growth under the circumstances, particularly as he sees similar traits in some of the other members of the group for whom he has high regard. Assuredly, the opposite tendency to fight a vital part of oneself, to disown it, despise it, and think of it as shameful or worse is inimical to personal unity and self-respect. It defeats integration, a major goal in personality development. Activity groups are realistic and provide real adventure rather than fantasy in which erroneous impressions of oneself and others remain uncorrected. In fantasy an individual himself or others may appear all good or all bad; in real contacts the fusion of good and bad traits can become more apparent.

The fine arts are a good source of self-discovery. The individual, through writing fiction, may *project his own feelings and attitudes* into the persons he creates on paper or the persons others have created in literature or art. He can experience vicariously through them adventures and emotions which he does not allow himself in reality. He can meet his anxieties in a similar way, in a safe manner. He experiences accomplishment and release, and possibly some emotional freedom which may allow him to get away from his own problems into the real world outside himself. Music and novels also act as a back-

ground upon which an individual may engage in reverie, project himself outward, identify himself with others, and often get relief and possibly some insight. As a result music is customarily associated with pleasantness and repose (59, 60).

A full program of the above-mentioned activities including jobs, reading, music, and recreation has been of help to individuals with emotional difficulties (61).

In counseling, the client is often encouraged to *write* in whatever manner seems appropriate to him. Some students, like Sam who is described below, find relief in writing down all thoughts as they come to them, very much as in an interview. Others who are interested in creative writing write short stories, projecting themselves into them. Painting and etching may be used in a similar manner.

Sam N. is the son of a high school principal in a small city. He has on several occasions started to college and then has left in the middle of the semester, remaining out of communication with his parents. He has always been an enigma to those who know him. Though attractive physically, he seems to be poorly groomed purposely. Whenever there is a chance that he will succeed in any venture, he spoils it, seemingly deliberately. When he reluctantly came to the counselor, he admitted emotional upset and inability to discover the nature of his difficulty. He admitted being cynical, disliking everything on which society puts a premium, having been judged a juvenile delinquent despite his father's attempts to shield him.

He talked freely during the entire interview. He was encouraged by the counselor to try to write out his thoughts and feelings for relief and possibly to gain some understanding of himself. The following are free explorations of his feelings. They indicate how a college student may use this technique for emotional release and self-discovery.

"I resent the fact that my father would not let me play football in high school and thereby let me be a part of the group. I resented his asking me bluntly if I loved him. I thought he was a good father to me, so what could I do but say 'Yes'? . . . I resent his saying as he whipped me violently that it was hurting him more than it was me. I hate that falsity in his character—something which I can never really tell him and make him understand. I hate his insensitivity to his wife. I despise his childishness, his fits of violent aggression and anger. . . . This process of analyzing my past is leaving me *bare*; it is freeing me by leaving me utterly devoid of everything except a feeling of new potential, new

possibilities, new horizons. . . . I am afraid that the very persons and processes that are attempting to help me will fail—will let me have a vision, then dumbly, unconsciously let me again suffer from frustration. . . . I remember one time, when I decided impetuously to leave home, Dad said to me, 'Please, Sam, don't leave tonight. Wait until morning, anyway.' He said this in a pleading, almost crying tone. Why—why did I cry then? Was it because I felt myself caught, imprisoned in the sentimentality, the possessive love of my parents? The fact that I would never be able to express myself freely as long as they lived? I know I have wished that they were dead so that I might smoke and drink and be an atheist and act without their false, puritanical values imprisoning me. But would I escape then, even if they were dead? I am caught in a trap. I have run away from religion, from them, from all convention because I thought distance would separate me from these horrible, inconsistent values. I wanted to be bad. I wanted to suffer. I forced myself to suffer. I wanted to know the pains of life. I want still to know life. My dad could not understand why I threw away all the good things of life, friends, college, warm clothing, etc., to place myself consciously in a position where I must suffer and fight and feel the pains of hunger. He did not realize that I wished to come to a life of maturity myself, not being assisted all the way. . . . In many ways my father kept me from being a part of the group. He used to visit me when I was in grade school. This was a source of tremendous embarrassment to me. I like the badness in me. It was my adventure, my expression, but my expression was thwarted, repressed, because of lack of understanding. I want to be accepted and loved by the group or maybe by a select group of people interested in ideas and basic real feelings—but I don't want social position, that prison, that slavery for the sake of power. I want to be loved, yes, but I want more to love and love with all my heart and soul some real object. I will never be able to release this terrible pent-up emotion on a compromise or falsity. . . . Since I could not have free expression of my impulses in my own environment, I had to run away to seek this expression, but even when I was away from my parents I could not escape their puritanical indoctrination."

Through these writings Sam not only got relief but came to understand himself for the first time. He realized he hated social standards because social standards were represented by his father. He further realized that in hating his father he also hated himself because underneath he loved as well as hated his father. Many of his own traits were those of his father. In one conference he said with considerable insight: "I know now why I am so hard on myself, why I love pain and hunger and failing. It is because I am trying to punish both my father and myself, particularly that part of myself which is my father."

Autobiographies are a source of emotional release and of knowledge about oneself (62). Even fragmentary material like "An Evaluation of My Semester in College," or "The People Who Have Interested Me Most," or "My Philosophy of Life" has value in self-discovery and self-acceptance.

Counseling and group activities are interrelated. You have undoubtedly noted in this discussion that there are many similarities in the effects of counseling and of activities such as hobbies and interest projects. Both are sources of knowing oneself better and of building a better attitude toward oneself. Both furnish means of projecting one's inner life and relieving tensions. They can well be integrated. Group activities may implement counseling by furnishing a field of activity in which the individual may test his hunches about himself and try out sources of skill and interest that he has discovered to be basic to his personality. Counseling is a more direct means of discovering one's inner tendencies. Group activities, on the other hand, have the characteristic of being more life-like. There is no reason why the individual who wants to know himself better and is desirous of developing an effective adjustment cannot use both. In counseling, the individual discovers his basic motives and personality trends. Group activities can furnish him an outlet for these strivings as well as successes. Furthermore, group activities are a means by which he may convert the discoveries about himself into the daily social habits of which life is essentially built.

In both of these processes—counseling and free expression through creative activities—there is an opportunity for *imprisoned emotions connected with repressed and sometimes forgotten disturbing experiences to be released* (33). The individual faces rather than denies certain impulses and feelings and comes to accept them as part of himself. The process of freely talking about oneself or freely writing whatever comes to mind is known as *free association*.

CHANGING BEHAVIOR

The question of changing behavior. A fact that we must realize at the outset is that our behavior is changing somewhat all the time, regardless of what we do. There is a continuity to

personality which forms the central core. Nevertheless, modifications in the form of learned behavior constantly occur. In the early years parents reward or punish behavior in order to eliminate or perpetuate it. An individual will imitate and introject the behavior and attitudes of some person he idealizes. He will join a group, adopt its standards, be criticized or praised for desirable or undesirable behavior. All of this may occur inadvertently as part of everyday events.

As adulthood approaches we desire to assume more initiative in this process of maturing and of developing the traits which we believe to be ideal. Essentially, as brought out in the early part of this chapter, this will occur by the same process found in childhood development, except that the groups to which we belong will be more adult and there will be more verbalization of our traits informally or in counseling. As youths or adults we seek principles and methods; we want to take ourselves in hand and change ourselves.

Urge to change behavior may be a symptom. This discussion of changing behavior has been delayed until after the topic of counseling has been treated, because frequently the great compulsion to change behavior consists of a blind attack on a problem. The individual centers his attention on a symptom without having much insight into his entire personality. He feels that the symptom—shyness, feeling of inferiority, impulsiveness, inability to make people like him—is his difficulty rather than some underlying processes. The mature individual will do well to attempt to get insight into his personality through some of the methods suggested above before trying drastic changes. He may find after several conferences that understanding himself may remove some of his great verve to change, or on the other hand that seeing himself as a whole and feeling that he is less objectionable as an individual may make the whole process of acquiring new traits and habits easier and more dynamic.

John N. came to a consulting psychologist stating that he wanted a book or instructions which would make him a public speaker. He knew that there were courses which made speakers out of men, but he did not know how to avail himself of them. Without using the exact words, John made it clear that he thought that once he became a public speaker most of his problems would be solved. To him a man who was not a public speaker was a weakling, had

the kind of personality which people do not respect, and he felt that if he could "just learn those principles which transformed one into the kind of person who made a good public speaker," he would be a much more effective individual. John really was not so naive as his words might indicate. He was emotionally upset over his inability to speak in a group, and in his emotionalized thinking he viewed it as causal to his ineffectual personality.

In the course of a series of conferences, John began to discover why public speaking was so important for him. He began to feel that his learning to speak in public was not a life-or-death matter, that the great urge to acquire this skill grew out of his inner relationship to his father. His father was an extremely dominant person, unkind and at times brutal to John's mother, a charming, cultured, intelligent person who succeeded in finding a social outlet outside of her home. John learned early in life to knuckle under, keep his mouth closed, read, and daydream, and although he grew to be over 6 feet in height, with massive shoulders, he was extremely introverted, and all his initiative revolved around obtaining good grades. Speech had literally been choked off in him as a child. Without his realizing it, the ability to be an outstanding public speaker had become a symbol of regaining extroverted initiative and individuality which he felt had been taken from him by his father. As the source of this inferiority was laid open and examined frankly in the presence of the counselor, he discovered that he was not such a flop, that he had achieved scholastically, had won an assistantship which he was thoroughly capable of fulfilling, that he had gained in a quiet way many skills and a number of staunch friends and admirers. Fantasy of himself as a great public speaker did not have to become a reality within a week. He could experiment with speaking and improve through the course of time. The desire to change himself so that he could become a public speaker led to something far more valuable than skill in public speaking—a better understanding of himself plus a steady, progressive, non-miraculous growth in his ability to perform in public.

The essence of changing behavior. Changing or developing traits, attitudes, or habits involves the basic principles emphasized in Chapter 1, namely (1) the existence of motives, either conscious purposes or unconscious drives, and (2) satisfaction of this motivation through variable behavior (trial and error) which results in (3) fixation of responses that are satisfying to the motives and (4) the elimination of responses that fail to satisfy motives. The development or learning of the social behavior which the socially adept person shows at a tea, for example, is learned through trial and error just as one learns to skate and to speak.

It involves muscular and verbal habits. It consists of numerous minor activities like smiling graciously, remembering names, recalling events that are of interest to this or that guest. All the postures and gestures involved in social speaking represent this learned behavior.

This behavior is learned, as we said, by losing oneself in the social group or some social project. It grows out of the motivation of enjoying being with others, playing games, carrying on conversations, securing a certain prestige through one's social affiliations. Sometimes, as indicated previously, it is aided by losing some of one's subjectivity by projecting in some way one's inner life either through a conference or through something written or created by oneself or another.

Motivation. The primary factor, then, in learning and developing new behavior or changing old behavior is motivation. We have seen previously, in Chapter 2, in connection with motives for study and, in Chapter 5, in a discussion of the nature and development of motives that motives are *individual*, that they are frequently *unconscious*, that they are the greatest factor in explaining the individual's zest and the direction his behavior takes. It has been shown that all of us are motivated in some direction and that even the thwarting of a motive may be stimulating or it may lead to excessive motivation in some direction. Therefore, it is not so important to build new motives to begin with as to recognize what our present motivation really is.

Whereas all of us, as has been previously indicated, are striving to satisfy needs, such as those for success, social recognition, affection, adventure, and security, it is necessary to know, of any given individual, what specific form this motivation takes. Some of this motivation is expressed in our strong interests, our personal ambition and life purpose, our hobbies, and in the people and situations toward which we gravitate as well as those toward which we have strong aversions. For this reason our previous discussion showed that *self-understanding consists in knowing our general motivation*. What are we striving for? What role do we seek to play? What is our style of life? What do we want out of life? The building of traits and habits consists in finding those acts which satisfy this total motivation, which includes, of course, discovering what society expects of us. The reason why certain of our traits are distasteful to us usually

is that they satisfy certain motivations and not others. Let us illustrate this statement.

Mike has never enjoyed much affection. He anticipates hostility from his associates. He withdraws from them. He does not participate in their activities. Mike, like all persons, is motivated toward getting affection, possibly even more strongly than the average individual, but from past experience he has found that bids for affection merely result in his feeling that he is unwanted, and so he must withdraw again within himself. Most of his day-dreams involve getting recognition from others, winning the love of a desirable girl, and similar themes. Mike needs to discover, either through a conference with a competent counselor or through the exploration of some talent or interest which will lead to success, that people are not hostile to him, but that his behavior has grown out of insufficient affection from his family and rejection in early life. Further contact with individuals in situations that will produce positive responses are desirable for him. Discussion with a counselor of those minor experiences that loom so important to him, of being excluded by others, will reveal that their strong flavor results from early experiences. When Mike makes these discoveries and sees them operating in everyday life, he has a basis for learning to guide his behavior. His urge to be important can be directed into productive channels rather than up blind alleys. He will learn those situations which, because of his particular make-up, lead to affection and recognition and those which he should abandon.

Understanding oneself, then, means knowing one's motivations and discovering the events in life that will satisfy them, the behavior that helps to achieve goals, and the behavior that is thwarting.

Conditions motivating to individuals. Let us review a list of conditions which have been suggested by one psychologist as motivating to the individual (63). In terms of the discussion earlier in the chapter you will readily recognize that the counseling process and participation in group activities are fundamentally motivating processes. Many of the suggestions below are part of counseling and group activity. We do "make a game of group activities and hobbies." We do "get someone to help" us. We "plan to see daily success." In counseling we use "affection for some person" and imitate his attitudes. We "clearly state (our) new goals." We think through our new plan, which is itemized below.

1. Clearly state your new goal—get an image of it.
2. Realize that the time will pass whether you are building new habits or not. Why not build the new habit?
3. Try to make a game of it. See that it will be fun.
4. Challenge yourself.
5. See that your plan is similar to that which has been successful in dealing with other problems in your life and in others'.
6. Plunge into the plan of reconstruction immediately.
7. Get somebody to help you or to build the habit with you.
8. Use your dislike for someone else as a spur to acquire habits different from that person's.
9. Use your affection for some person to urge you to imitate him.
10. Plan to see daily success.
11. Refuse to be a quitter.
12. Challenge yourself in the name of some group or organization to which you belong as, "I must remember I am a real man," or, "I must remember that I am a member of the Jones family," or, "I must remember that I am an Alpha Alpha Alpha."
13. See how the new plan fits in with your tastes, attitudes, interests, and hobbies. See that the new plan does not conflict greatly with your daily habits. See that it is just as easy to build an act once you "get into the swing of it" as not.
14. Realize that repetition reduces any unpleasantness that is present at the beginning.
15. See the novelty in the plan. Look at it as an interesting experiment.
16. Get the opinions of others, particularly those who will encourage you.
17. Make your program a long-time program, and do not stack the cards against yourself. Do only what is humanly possible.
18. See that you are doing a little bit each day without great effort, and at the end of the month you will experience the accumulated effect.
19. Answer all the arguments against your new plan with vehemence, and repeat these answers whenever doubt rises in your mind.
20. See all the unpleasant aspects of *not* carrying through your program.
21. During your program punish yourself for all the failures and reward yourself for all the successes in meeting your daily schedule.
22. During the course of the experiment evaluate your progress. Contrast "then" and "now."
23. Use all these suggestions not once but many times throughout your program.
24. Try to learn about other persons, particularly great persons, who have gone through the same experience that you have.

This plan reveals that in addition to our cardinal purposes in life there are many little things that stimulate us strongly—minor sources of motivation. These factors stimulate morale, increase efficiency, are basic to happiness. They seem to be minor matters, but if they could be traced we should find that they are indirectly associated with the basic motives that we have mentioned often, such as affection, adventure, success, recognition, and security. In planning our lives it is important to recognize these boosters in addition to our major goals. The final chapter of this book discusses the conditions which lead to heightened morale, a hygienic or well-adjusted personality.

The role of motivation in emotional and social problems.

We shall discuss emotional and social problems in later chapters; motivation is highly relevant to the question of dealing with these problems. If we want to eliminate undesirable symptoms, habits, or attitudes, we should not focus on the symptom, habit, or attitude but rather on the *conditions that are motivating it*. The specific annoying behavior is part of our personality because it has come to satisfy some motive. It behooves us to discover why it has satisfied the motive. We may be able to eliminate the disturbing behavior, but if the motivation remains some other disturbing behavior may appear. An individual may be arrogant, shy, withdrawn from others, or overperfectionistic because he feels rejected and unwanted. The rejection trend and its history should take our attention. The arrogance, withdrawal behavior, or perfectionism is merely a means of adjusting to feeling rejected and unwanted. The individual is defending himself or escaping from it by this behavior. When he discovers the real cause of his behavior, realizes that it is not eliminating the feeling of being unwanted, seeks to find the basis for his attitude, accepts it as a reality that is not a major tragedy, and turns his attention toward wholesome ways of expressing himself and developing his talents, then the symptomatic behavior may disappear.

Sometimes the symptomatic behavior, the escapes or defenses, are so strong that they persist even after the individual gets some understanding and achieves some peace within himself (64). When this occurs the behavior is said to be *functionally autonomous* (65). It is independent of the behavior which caused it originally and has become established as an auto-

mous habit. It will be eliminated if it produces consequences that in no way satisfy motives.

The Alcoholics Anonymous program of changing behavior. We chose as an example of a program of changing behavior a lay approach on the part of alcoholics to cure their fellows and themselves of excessive drinking behavior. This program illustrates a change in motivation (14).

The alcoholic changes his whole attack. Instead of egotistically saying, "I can take it or leave it," and usually taking it, or instead of suppressing the whole matter or fixating his attention on the drinking habit alone, he now does this: He admits that he is allergic to the stuff, that he is powerless to deal with it. He may show insight to the point of realizing that he has an immature personality, that for him alcohol is an escape. However, as he attends A. A. meetings, sees and hears former alcoholics who tell of having been wet for years during which they lost everything they had, he believes that "a Power greater than ourselves could restore us to sanity," and he turns to religion—*the kind that will be meaningful to him*. He has faith in the Deity. He feels that he can associate himself with something bigger than himself. This process is highly motivating to him, particularly as he meets others who understand him, who have faced the same problems. We can see that this process so far is a form of group therapy. Similar to other group therapy, the alcoholics "made a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves," "admitted to God, to ourselves, and to another human being the exact nature of our wrongs." However, the program goes further than *understanding* and *accepting oneself* as one who differs from others in being unable to drink moderately, and that is why it interests us in this section. They "made a list of all persons we had harmed, and became willing to make amends to them all." This whole program is kept alive by the members constantly finding new alcoholics to whom they may tell their story and to whom they may make the idea and program of A. A. available.

The Alcoholics Anonymous program emphasizes, in addition to understanding and accepting oneself, the building of new traits and experimenting with events in the environment for positive development. To this aspect of adjustment we will now turn our attention.

Elimination of undesirable behavior. *Of what does the elimination of a habit or attitude consist?* A frequently used method for eliminating habits is to allow them to fall into disuse or to suppress them. We can best eliminate an undesirable

habit or attitude, however, by allowing or planning for *unsatisfactory consequences* to follow this habit or attitude. These consequences may be unpleasant, painful, embarrassing, silly, pointless, or in some other way inadequate for the satisfaction of the motive. This is known as the "law of effect." We shall see a number of examples of its operation presently (66, 67). Finally, we may build new habits which involve some acts of the old habit and which tend to dissolve them (68). In fact, one excellent method of eliminating a habit is to build a better one in its stead.

Elimination of behavior by disuse. Some habits have been minimized by allowing them to fall into disuse. It is very difficult for strongly motivated habits to be eliminated by this means, however, unless there is a change in motivation. Many persons of "strong character" believe that forced disuse or "will power" is the one means of eliminating habits. These people observe their fellows who are unwilling to break habits of smoking, overeating, finger-nail biting, and temper display, and conclude that their lack of "will power" is the culprit.

This method of forced disuse, or "will power" as some designate it, is not so effective psychologically when used alone as is often claimed. Forced disuse of some strong habits may create more problems than it solves. The individual may become nervous, emotional, and irritable, and thereby begin a new series of bad habits. Try for example *not* to think of food for five minutes, and you will notice that you think of it more than you would otherwise. On the other hand, become absorbed in some interest for five minutes and you are unaware that time has passed, and the thought of food has probably not entered your mind. Voluntary control of behavior is important, but it does not consist in inhibiting a strongly motivated act, putting attention on the act, and ignoring the underlying motivation. Understanding the motivation and trying to find a new avenue for it makes much more sense, psychologically. This new source of satisfaction affords opportunity for the previous undesirable habit to fall into disuse.

Renunciation of an act is another method we should consider. All of us must renounce certain behavior. This is not a repression of these acts. Instead the individual considers the behavior, its consequences, the factors leading to the behavior, and ways

to control it and other substitute means of satisfying basic needs and desires. The members of Alcoholics Anonymous renounce drinking. They don't repress their alcoholic tendencies; they continually talk about them and their means of controlling themselves. They accept wholeheartedly their conclusion that they cannot drink, and they seek new ways to spend their time and energy. They continue to enter bars, but now they look for alcoholics instead of alcohol, and for comradeship based on common problems rather than on common escapes. The renunciation is part of a new orientation.

It is a commonplace that individuals who are seriously handicapped, as through blindness or loss of a limb, seem to adjust better than those who have minor defects. One factor in this better adjustment is renunciation and clarification of motivation. The seriously handicapped know what they can do and what they cannot. They have frankly faced their problems and the adjustments to them (69).

Elimination of acts by planning unpleasant events to follow them. Punishment is one of the best examples of this method of eliminating acts through undesirable consequences. Chagrin, shame, and censure may be used as unpleasant events planned to follow undesired acts. Mere realization that an act is an undesirable one will tend to eliminate it (70, 71).

Many students have found that if they keep an accurate record of the time they have wasted each day and show it to the counselor each week they tend to eliminate the time-wasting habit. The chagrin that results from admitting even to themselves that they waste time deters them.

The *reported-record* method may be used in the elimination of any habit, such as nail biting, extreme tension, fear, disturbing mannerisms, and some attitudes such as worry or brooding, provided of course that the motivation for them has also been altered.

One student tried to check his temper by forcing himself to apologize for his behavior immediately after each explosion. He hated to do it, of course, but he felt that it helped eliminate an impulsive, undesirable habit.

A girl found it quite effective to write out the mistakes that she made, thereby facing frankly the causes which gave rise to them, and to point out to herself how they might be averted in a similar

situation in the future. This had the effect of keeping her from brooding. She found that when she went through this process she not only got the matter off her mind and felt better, but she also thought that it had the effect of eliminating this kind of error. She remarked that, although it was unpleasant to face the error, it was less unpleasant than to let the matter bob up now and then.

Elimination of acts with undesirable consequences by allowing them to run their courses. It may be possible that the habit which we wish to eradicate has unpleasant consequences that are intrinsic to it and need not be planned. Under these circumstances it may be well to let the act run its course. We all dodge intrinsically unpleasant situations, sometimes unwisely.

It is a very clever person who utilizes these unpleasant experiences. Such a person regards social errors, chagrin, and the like as a means of knowing *what not to do* next time. Instead of being depressed for days on account of the error he says, "Well, it was worth the experience; I'll not do that again under these circumstances." Then he drops the matter. If the memory recurs he labels the event as "sad but fortunate," reaffirms the intention to use the knowledge gained, and turns to more interesting pursuits.

Sometimes an undesirable act is followed immediately by pleasure and only later by unpleasant consequences. These may consist of remorse, disgust, feelings of guilt or sinfulness. It is to be remembered that the act was originally impelled by some strong motivation and the satisfaction of this motivation resulted in pleasantness. The unpleasantness that followed indicates that the act also violated some other motivation. This is what we have referred to previously as a conflict, and it needs to be resolved. The resolution of such a conflict has been previously discussed, and it involves counseling and understanding the personality structure that gave rise to it.

Elimination of behavior by discussion of it. Discussion of an act forces us to associate it with the events which led to it, and with the consequences. We have discussed this in detail under Counseling.

Frank is a student who ranks in the upper quarter of college students in respect to college aptitude, yet he found that he was unable to study. He exerted all the will power he could, but this usually resulted in disgust with himself and constant daydreams

about his girl. He had just about decided to leave school despite the fact that he was strongly ambitious to go into law and liked the subjects that are preparatory to it.

He came to see the counselor. After talking around the subject for twenty minutes, he came to the real point. He said that he found out that his fiancée had had previous intimacies. One of the boys concerned was a very good friend and a fraternity brother. This relationship occurred before he went with the girl. She was assaulted sexually at puberty. He admitted that she seemed to love him very much, was very frank with him and loyal to him. All of this he understood, yet his doubt of her persisted. His own standards emphasized continence until marriage. His preoccupation with this problem kept him from studying or from doing anything well.

He continued to talk and again came to a subject which he had evidently been trying to avoid. He said, "There is another matter which may be related to this, but I am reluctant to talk about it. I have discussed it with only one person, my father. I don't want to bring it up again with him." He continued, telling the counselor that he is an adopted son; his birth was illegitimate. His parents were of good stock, however. Apparently at the back of his mind there was an association of his girl's behavior with that of his mother. He did not realize this before he began to discuss the matter, but, after he had talked about it, he saw that his own origin was the source of his disturbance over his girl rather than her actual behavior.

The counselor listened as Frank related the story and then asked him if he sometimes felt insecure because of his illegitimacy, even though he knew no one was aware of it except his foster parents, who had a very sensible attitude toward it. He had, it seems, suppressed the matter in his thinking. The counselor suggested that he say to himself frankly that his origin is not the conventional one, but certainly there have been many fine people with similar backgrounds. The conditions of his birth should not in any way affect his future, particularly since he has talked it over with his girl and she is not at all disturbed by it. The counselor told him of several cases of outstanding individuals with unconventional origins and suggested that Frank face this fact of his biography and realize that, although some people regard his origin with prejudice, there are others who are much more intelligent about it. The matter should never come up except in his own mind. If he makes an adjustment to it, that is the only adjustment necessary.

Discussing this whole matter with someone else seemed to help Frank greatly. He left, and returned for another appointment a week later. He said that seeing the cause of his confusion and inability to study was what he needed. His whole manner at the second interview was much freer. He was much more cheerful and

was much better able to study. He was told to come in again if he had any more difficulties, but he has not returned. Other aspects of his adjustment seemed good. He enjoyed the men with whom he was living. His foster parents had made a good adjustment and loved him deeply. He had had a history of success as an officer in the Army.

Fears, recurrent and unpleasant ideas, and impulses to act in an undesirable manner are all dealt with by the professional counselor by allowing the individual to face the problem and his feelings toward it.

Laboratory methods of eliminating habits. Another method for the elimination of a habit has been suggested. Stuttering and finger-nail biting in children have been dealt with by asking them to come into the laboratory to practice these acts while they are surrounded with negative and unpleasant consequences. The child is told to stutter, even encouraged to attend to his stuttering, and notice how it sounds. He is told to attend to the biting of his finger nails and the consequences thereof. He is encouraged to practice nail biting or speaking errors at intervals (72). At certain points in the training period new habits are built, habits of curbing the act (73). This method has also been used with chronic alcoholics. It is called the conditioned reflex method. It consists in giving the individual emetic with the alcohol four to eight times. He becomes nauseated and develops an aversion to the sight, odor, taste, and thought of alcoholic beverages. Of over 1000 patients 74 per cent who had treatments were abstinent within two years of the report (74). It is possible therefore to eliminate a habit in a *laboratory situation*. This method requires professional direction.

Summary. Thus far we have discussed five methods of eliminating habits. (1) Eliminate the habit by disuse or voluntarily halting the habit in its course. (2) Plan events so that the habit will be followed by *unpleasant consequences* which will help to eliminate it. At the same time it might be well to allow pleasant and encouraging consequences to follow a counterhabit that is being built in the place of the undesirable habit. (3) Allow the habit to *run its course*, particularly if its natural consequences will be undesirable. Under such conditions the habit will tend to eliminate itself. (4) *Talk over the consequences* of the habit with someone else, and thereby establish in your own

mind an association between the early aspects of the habit and its consequences. (5) *Repeat undesirable habits in the laboratory* systematically so that the act and the consequences may be definitely established and related.

Building positive behavior. Our behavior the whole day long can be classified into *traits*, such as friendliness, nervousness, or leadership, *attitudes*, such as one's attitude toward Englishmen, gambling, or concerts, and *habits*, such as swimming, church going, or smoking.

Traits probably describe our individuality more than the other two classifications. They may be viewed as generalized habits, but they are more generalized than habits and less focalized. A habit is an organized series of acts that is rather specific. The trait, although it does not pervade our personality, applies to much more of our behavior than the habit. Speed is a trait. A person may speak, walk, and eat relatively fast, yet he may think and work relatively slowly and deliberately. Speed is generalized in terms of some of his behavior but not in terms of others.

Many of the principles discussed below apply to the acquisition of habits, traits, and attitudes. Traits, however, since they are more complex and more pervasive, have a longer history of acquisition and are not built through simple exercises. A given trait will represent the results of experience in an area over a lifetime. If one is desirous of changing a trait, one would have to know first the motivation for that trait in terms of his past history as well as the extensiveness of the trait. He may find that he does not want to change the trait completely but rather the focus of that trait in certain segments of his behavior. For example: A person may regard himself as a fearful individual and think of fear as universally undesirable. Further reflection will reveal to him that fear of danger is desirable. Fear of those events over which he has no control may be undesirable. It is this expression of the trait that he wants to change.

An attitude may be acquired easily as the result of a single experience, or it, too, may be the result of a lifetime of impressions, depending upon how widespread it is. If a person has had no contact with a given nationality or racial group, for example, and sees a movie about them, the picture may be the source of his attitude.

Use the principle of effect and repetition. It should be noticed that this principle is the same one presented in the discussion of learning and study habits in Chapters 2 and 3. Only the examples, which deal with personality here, differ. We have discussed the principle of effect in the elimination of habit. The same conditions operate in building habits. Satisfying consequences must follow acts we desire to perpetuate.

Mannerisms that are complimented are repeated. Success at bridge tends to make the game a regular practice. If we feel that we have made a good after-dinner talk, we shall accept with less hesitancy another invitation to speak. Attitudes and modes of behavior at social gatherings that do not seem to irritate others tend to become part of our social front. Other examples of essentially positive effects are: a smile, pleasantness, satisfaction, self-esteem, improvement, response from others, rewards, praise, money, publicity, and attention. In addition to incidental *repetitions*, it is well to plan and to repeat consciously.

Use principles of transfer and recency. The principle of *transfer* is important. In building new behavior it is well to make use of past behavior which is well established. "Learn the new through the old" is a simpler way of putting this. The girl who has been active in extracurricular activities in high school may use the skill learned there to further her success in extracurricular activities in college. Transfer of learning or experience is most effective when there is a great similarity between the old and the new situation (69).

Recent experiences can be more effectively used in the present learning situation than experiences and habits of the distant past. College students who try to build a habit for a week, give up, and then a month later begin with another short spurt are inferior in accomplishment to those who allow last week's experience to reinforce this week's efforts. For this reason it is well to launch projects for development in connection with some established organization. Joining a team, however inconsequential, is a better way to get regular exercise than to depend upon a self-imposed schedule.

Avoid distractions; space learning. It is important in a learning situation to have as few *inhibitions* (conditions which lead to negative responses) as possible. For example, if a student is to learn how to become an effective public speaker, it would

probably be best to start his training by assigning him a speech to be given before a friendly audience. This is particularly necessary if he is the type of individual whose spirits are easily dampened by failure. Enemies act as an inhibiting condition and friends as a stimulating one. Difficulties should be introduced in the learning process only when the habit is fairly well established. *Spaced learning* has been found more effective than extreme cramming. This, too, argues for a consistent habit program properly spaced over a long period.

Build behavior in natural situations. One warning must be sounded. Whenever such a program is planned and diagrammed it naturally assumes an artificial nature. A successful behavior-building and personality-training program must not be too artificial. It must be built up in *natural* daily events. This has been suggested throughout this discussion, but probably it has not been emphasized enough. All the principles given above are important, but they cannot be applied mechanically. They must be applied in natural situations which are part of everyday existence. They must also involve other people. A good suggestion is to build your habits in terms of people similar to your usual associates. It is well to surround yourself with persons who have the habits you desire. There is evidence of an unconscious imitation of our associates (75).

Use principle of wholeness. The principle of wholeness is illustrated by many of the studies of behavior which indicate that individuals have a "style" of behaving, a general manner of behaving. For instance, the individual who paints leaves his individual touch on the canvas, or one who writes has a typical style. Even the way a person sleeps represents a consistent personal characteristic (76). Those acts which are not artificial or fragmentary but compose a whole unit are learned and performed better. Some writers have called this the principle of "pattern," some the principle of "belongingness" (77, 78). The more we can see meaning in the behavior that we need to learn, the more we can see relationships between the various acts that make up the habit. The more the habit makes a total pattern to us, the easier the learning will be. Most of the experiments that have been carried on have been in simple laboratory situations, and it is dangerous to generalize too widely from these. Common experience, however, with more complex habits suggests

that we try to develop the sort of behavior that makes us gracious in a social situation, such as a dance, tea, or social gathering. In learning good grooming, it is well to begin with natural meaningful acts which are part of our style and which can be performed with sincerity rather than to adopt behavior which is completely foreign to us or suggested by someone else. Usually we rebel against behavior that does not ring true to our natural way of behaving. If these must be incorporated, they can be incorporated gradually and assimilated into our more typical behavior.

Surround yourself with facilitating conditions. It is well to have as many facilitating influences as possible. In learning a new activity or habit the individual should surround himself with those conditions which foster the act and make it more easily performed. A number of these were suggested in the section above. A carefully planned learning or re-education program consists of numerous secondary factors, all of which enhance the learning of the activity at hand. These secondary facilitating factors are illustrated in the following case.

Martha S. realized that she was very unsociable and planned a program of change. She asked her mother and father to give her at Christmas an electric grill and coffee pot for her room at college. Then she invited a group of girls into her room several nights a week for a late snack. She tried to be the perfect hostess, was gracious, complimentary, and genial. She controlled tendencies to be loud or excited. She took special care to make her room more colorful and bright. She tried in all ways to make her parties real occasions. She found it easier to be friendly with the same girls on other occasions when she was not acting as hostess to them.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

PERSONAL ORIENTATION

What am I really like inwardly? What do I want from life? Why am I not like this or that person? What do I believe? What can I attain in terms of success? The answers to these questions assist in guiding our future behavior. As we approach the answers, we are becoming personally oriented. We are moving toward the formulation of purposes and a philosophy of life.

From one standpoint this chapter might have appeared first in the book. From another standpoint, it is a culmination of all our thinking about adjustment and should therefore conclude the book. The placing of it here is a compromise. In the introduction to Chapter 1, we raised questions regarding the purpose of college education and the nature of adjustment. At the end of the book we shall discuss the nature of the mature individual and a wholesome society. We shall offer suggestions there for a mentally and physically hygienic way of life. These suggestions may be considered an extension of the material in this chapter on personal orientation. They are presented after several intervening chapters which deal with adjustments to specific emotional problems. It is quite timely, therefore, to raise the question of personal orientation here after we have discussed the matters of understanding ourselves, the basis of our personal development, and the resources for creative adjustment. With these general questions we are ready to ask specifically: What is my personal philosophy? A student can hardly think in terms of his vocational or avocational purposes without considering and inventorying his total way of life. It is highly appropriate at this point for the college student to search for the meaning of life, of history, and of his personal relationship to them—in short, to search for a cause or a master purpose. The collegian is too responsible an individual to evade the

meanings of our era and to escape from the bigger problems by plunging into a specific job or into the pursuit of pleasure.

PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

A philosophy of life as means to adjustment. William James thought that a person's life is definitely influenced by his attitude toward living. If one believes life is futile he does not possess the zest required for a full life (1).

However, one's philosophy of life is also a symptom of his adjustment and background. Very often the drifter who lacks a philosophy and the person whose thinking is confused or conflictory reflect some basic immaturities or insecurities which they are not facing. Clinical and educational impressions lead us to the hypothesis that those students who have perspective concerning what they believe, who have some understanding of themselves, of human nature, and of the course of events, are better able to cope with the problems which confront them. They seem better able to face realistically the problems of contemporary society. The most important insights are those about the student's inner life and their implications regarding his adjustment to society. A personal philosophy encompasses one's values, morals, and the roles that one plays in different situations. An individual with this personal orientation should adjust better to the crises of life such as death, illness, loss of possessions or prestige, war, and political change, provided, of course, that emotional insecurity is not too great. Personal philosophy is a means of unifying one's knowledge about oneself and the world. It is usually more than a view—it is an attitude, a feeling, perhaps even a faith, concerning man and the universe.

Predominant values of contemporary college students. You and your fellow students differ greatly in the degree to which you have *found yourselves*, discovered your interests, values, insecurities, and goals. Some of you plan to devote yourselves to a segment of our contemporary life, such as law, medicine, engineering, science, or journalism. Others are cognizant of the social problems of our day and feel they can play a role in their solution. Such students are often highly critical of existing institutions, are constantly reading in terms of world affairs, and

are sometimes pledged with a religious fervor to the construction of a new world.

Most of those who knew pre-war collegians have the impression that the majority held as a major purpose self-gratification in terms of wealth, cars, clothes, country-club membership, school grades, athletics, health, and the like, and that they regarded social problems as someone else's affair. Their world was bounded by the real objects with which they came in contact in their daily activities (1, 2). There is some evidence that students in the post-war period, at least those who are veterans of the conflict, are somewhat more mature in their values and are more concerned with political and social issues than their predecessors (3). However, even in 1941 students in an urban night high school ranked philosophy of life as first in interest, and second among major problems which were listed, such as health, sex adjustment, and money (4). In the course of reading this section you will no doubt approach the answer to: What values are most forceful in my life?

Contemporary philosophies. No one should formulate a credo for a thinking college student. Older or more mature friends and advisers can be of assistance and inspiration. The thinking of experts and distinguished persons may supply some of the content, but the student must organize his philosophy in terms of his own personality and experiences if it is to be realistic. We shall include examples of credos of great men, and of youths and students, and maxims from the beliefs of the average man.

Below are some quotations taken from the personal philosophies or credos of outstanding men, which express their views on many of the questions that come to the minds of college students. An attempt has been made to include varying views on a wide range of questions. The men quoted below represent various nationalities, religions, races, and professions. They are presented not necessarily as models or as ideals to be accepted, but rather as stimulants for thinking on the topics raised.

Great men. Albert Einstein (5), regarded by many as one of the world's most distinguished living scientists, gives strong personal beliefs regarding *his fellow men*.

... From the standpoint of daily life, however, there is one thing we do know: that man is here for the sake of other men—

above all for those upon whose smile and well-being our own happiness depends, and also for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected by a bond of sympathy. Many times a day I realize how much my own outer and inner life is built upon the labors of my fellowmen, both living and dead, and how earnestly I must exert myself in order to give in return as much as I have received. My peace of mind is often troubled by the depressing sense that I have borrowed too heavily from the work of other men.*

Sir Arthur Keith (5), a former president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, professor in the Royal College of Surgeons, views men's desire for *immortality* as a sin. Below is also his view of *God*:

... The natural span of man's existence contains enough to make this life a prize worth living. I have within me—as have all living beings—a greed of life, an urgent craving for immortality. That longing, which lies at the very root of the Christian religion, I look upon as a sin of the flesh—one to be conquered and suppressed. It is a vice akin to avarice. With its suppression comes a peace which only those who have felt it can realize.

The human brain is a poor instrument to solve such ultimate problems. We have to recognize its limitations. Yet it perceives how well-ordered all things are and how wonderful are the inventions of nature. Design is manifest everywhere. Whether we are laymen or scientists, we must postulate a Lord of the Universe—give Him what shape we will. But it is certain that the anthropomorphic God of the Hebrews cannot meet our modern needs.

I cannot help feeling that the darkness in which the final secret of the universe lies hid is part of the Great Design. This world of ours has been constructed like a superbly written novel: we pursue the tale with avidity, hoping to discover the plot. The elusiveness of the chase heightens our ardor, until the search becomes part of our religion. For the secret of secrets recedes as we run. The ultimate reason for man's existence is the only fruit in the garden of life which he can never hope to pluck.

Clearly, then, my creed is imperfect. It is not final. No creed is final. Such a creed as mine must grow and change as knowledge grows and changes.

* These credos of Einstein, Keith, Mencken, Hu, and Mumford were published in 1931. About ten years later the editors of *The Forum* asked them for a statement of their current philosophies. All these writers maintained that their beliefs had not changed, but made interesting additions reflecting world conditions. It is recommended that these excerpts be read in context and that the second volume, *I Believe*, be read for the reaction of these men to the world crises which were then impending (6).

H. L. Mencken (5), known for his criticism of American life and his writings on the American language, summarizes his credo that *truth*, *freedom*, and *knowledge* are all-important:

. . . But the whole thing, after all, may be put very simply. I believe that it is better to tell the truth than to lie.

I believe that it is better to be free than to be a slave. And I believe that it is better to know than to be ignorant.

The following ten statements are known as Hu Shih's (5) New Decalogue and embody the opinion of the great Chinese writer on the *nature of the universe and the human beings* living within it. He emphasizes that all fields of knowledge have bearing upon one's credo:

1. On the basis of our knowledge of astronomy and physics, we should recognize that the world of space is infinitely large.

2. On the basis of our geological and paleontological knowledge, we should recognize that the universe extends over infinite time.

3. On the basis of all our verifiable scientific knowledge, we should recognize that the universe and everything in it follow natural laws of movement and change—"natural" in the Chinese sense of "being so of themselves"—and that there is no need for the concept of a supernatural Ruler or Creator.

4. On the basis of the biological sciences, we should recognize the terrific wastefulness and brutality in the struggle for existence in the biological world, and consequently the untenability of the hypothesis of a benevolent Ruler.

5. On the basis of the biological, physiological, and psychological sciences, we should recognize that man is only one species in the animal kingdom and differs from the other species only in degree, but not in kind.

6. On the basis of the knowledge derived from anthropology, sociology, and the biological sciences, we should understand the history and causes of the evolution of living organisms and of human society.

7. On the basis of the biological and psychological sciences, we should recognize that all psychological phenomena are explainable through the law of causality.

8. On the basis of biological and historical knowledge, we should recognize that morality and religion are subject to change, and that the causes of such change can be scientifically studied.

9. On the basis of our newer knowledge of physics and chemistry, we should recognize that matter is full of motion and not static.

10. On the basis of biological, sociological, and historical knowledge, we should recognize that the individual self is subject to death and decay, but the sum total of individual achievement, for better or for worse, lives on in the immortality of the Larger Self; that to live for the sake of the species and posterity is religion of the highest kind; and that those religions which seek a future life either in Heaven or in the Pure Land, are selfish religions.

Lewis Mumford (5) is an American critic and is known as a social historian and student of architecture. Below is a quotation emphasizing certain *spiritual values* in life in contrast to present-day *materialistic* emphases.

. . . Like arsenic, evil is a tonic in grains and a poison in ounces. The real problem of evil, the problem that justifies every assault upon war and poverty and disease, is to reduce it to amounts that can be spiritually assimilated.

This doctrine is just the opposite of certain "optimistic" life-denying attitudes and habits of mind that have become popular during the last three centuries; particularly, the notion that comfort, safety, the absence of physical disease are the greatest blessings of civilization, and that as they increase evil will be automatically abolished. The fallacy of this view lies in the fact that comfort and safety are not absolute qualities, but are capable of defeating life quite as thoroughly as hardship and disease and uncertainty; and the notion that every other human interest, religion, art, friendship, love, must be subordinated to the production of increasing amounts of comforts and luxuries is merely one of the dark superstitions of our money-bent utilitarian society. By accepting this superstition as an essential modern creed, the utilitarian has turned an elementary condition of existence, the necessity for providing for the physical basis of life, into an end. Avaricious of power and riches and goods, he has summoned to his aid the resources of modern science and technology. As a result, we are oriented to "things," and have every sort of possession except self-possession. By putting business before every other manifestation of life, our mechanical and financial civilization has forgotten the chief business of life, namely, growth, reproduction, development. It pays infinite attention to the incubator—and it forgets the egg.

Jacques Maritain (6), formerly professor of philosophy at the Institut Catholique at Paris, is now professor of philosophy at Princeton University. He has written widely in the field of philosophy, and many of his books have been translated into English.

. . . One of the gravest lessons we receive from the experience of life is that, in the practical behavior of most of us, all those things which are in themselves good—science, technical progress, culture, etc., the knowledge of moral laws too, and even religious faith itself, faith in the living God (during the civil war in Spain, the inhuman feelings which have swept over both “crusaders” and “reds” have demonstrated what we are saying)—all these things, *without love and good will*, only serve, in fact, to make men more wicked and more unhappy. This is because, without love and charity, man turns into evil the best that is in him.

Once we have understood this, we no longer put our hope here on earth save in that good will of which the Gospel speaks, in that obscure strength of a bit of real goodness which brings forth life and brings it forth without cease in the most hidden recesses of things. Nothing is more destitute, nothing is more secret, nothing is nearer to the weakness of childhood. And there is no more fundamental, no more effective wisdom than that simple and tenacious confidence—not in the weapons of force and cleverness and malice, which though they always triumph at the outset, a grain of sand suffices to ruin, but in the resources of personal courage and good will. Through this kind of lightness of heart flows the force of nature and of the Author of nature.

David Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, one of the ablest public servants in America and long associated with the administration of the Tennessee Valley Authority, is known for his book which presents TVA as an expression of democracy. The following expression of his belief was made spontaneously before a Senate committee, under exceptionally trying circumstances (7).

. . . One of the tenets of democracy that grow out of this central core of a belief that the individual comes first, that all men are the children of God, and their personalities are therefore sacred, carries with it a great belief in civil liberties and their protection, and a repugnance to any one who would steal from a human being that which is most precious to him, his good name, either by impugning things to him by innuendo, or insinuation. And it especially is an unhappy circumstance that occasionally that is done in the name of democracy. This I think is something that can tear our country apart and destroy it—if we carry it further.

I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any trials that may lie ahead, provided only we practice it in our daily lives. And among the things we must practice is that while we seek fervently to ferret out the subversive and anti-democratic forces in the country, we do not at the same time, by hysteria, by resort to innuendo, and smears, and other unfortunate tactics, to

besmire the very cause that we believe in and cause a separation among our people, cause one group and one individual to hate another, based upon mere attacks, merely unsubstantiated attacks upon their loyalty. . . . That I deeply believe.

Woodrow Wilson said that a man has surely come to himself only when he has *found the best that is in him*, and when he has satisfied himself with the highest achievement for which he is fit.

It is recommended that you reread slowly and thoughtfully each of these fragments taken from the credos of men who have established themselves as thinkers in our contemporary civilization. On the margin of the page as you read, you may find it a stimulating exercise to note your endorsement or rejection of each item in each credo and to add new thoughts when they occur. When you have finished, you may wish to write a similar formulation of your own personal philosophy of life. In addition to agreement and disagreement with the various views presented here, you will find that other views have emerged. You may also find it necessary to include in your notes topics which are important to you as a means of further clarification of your thinking. Remember this is a very small sample of thinking on these matters. Your courses in the Humanities should offer fertile additions to these credos. You will find some of the better magazines stimulating.*

Students. The following quotations are taken from the personal philosophies of students. They are chosen because they are the best in a group of several hundred contributions.

Isabel T. is a brilliant, hard-working, purposive student who seems to care little for the external values which many college students emphasize, such as clothes, dates, pins, and keys. She makes arresting contributions to every class and raises stimulating questions. Whereas her philosophy of life is unorthodox in some areas, it reflects the serious, sincere, idealistic thoughts of a more mature student.

"My philosophy of life cannot be definitely stated. A 'philosophy of life' is synonymous with 'perspective,' and my perspective

* Some of the established better magazines are: *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, *Fortune Magazine*, *Harper's*, *The National Geographic Magazine*, *The Nation*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, *The New Republic*, *The Saturday Review of Literature*, *Survey Graphic*.

is constantly expanding. The only definite belief I hold is that this dynamic state is good.

"I do not think that a personal God exists. I do not accept any causal hypothesis as a palliative of my future, definite death.

"I think man is the order presently supreme on earth and that, as other orders were once supreme, it is possible that others may in the future be so.

"I think that, as individuals, we die completely, and our only means of immortality (while the species retains its present position) are through the germ plasm and through the transmission of and addition to our cultural heritage.

"Since life is short and is had but once by a particular combination, I think that personal happiness is the most desirable state and the only reason for continuance of existence.

"I think that happiness is the state of self-willed absorption and expression of a capacity expanded to the fullest extent possible.

"To achieve this, I think absolute freedom of thought is necessary; thought is 'free' only when there is access to every source of knowledge which can be acquired. Also necessary is freedom of action; this cannot be absolute for anyone, however, as it would then limit action of another. Freedom of action of the individual should be curtailed to the extent that the freedom of the group demands.

"I think that each individual, in order to enhance and safeguard his personality as an individual, must enhance and safeguard the personality of the group, for only the group aware of its responsibilities and potentialities can enhance and safeguard the individual.

"I acknowledge no standard of 'right and wrong' as intrinsically true, but as commanding observance only to the extent that group welfare demands. Individual action is conditioned by cultural commandments colored by emotion and experience; I see no reason why the standard of any individual should be applied to the action of another as a basis for judgment. By this I do not mean mere 'tolerance,' but an acceptance of people as they are with the realization that as I am, and wish to be, myself within the confines of group welfare, so others are.

"I think that in order to bring all the above to the level of practicality, it is necessary to have a strong labor movement, a strong cooperative movement, and a strong educational program; and as I consider my personal happiness inextricably bound up with these, I enhance my happiness by helping in any way in which I am capable to bring them about."

Martin N. is a tall, well-built, mild-mannered, mature student. He served in World War II and is married. He has a small group of mature friends. His well-written philosophy carries added punch because of its humor.

"I believe in leading a full life. That is my entire philosophy of life in the proverbial nutshell. Put in such brief manner, it is not very enlightening or edifying, so the question arises—What in God's little green acres is my definition of a full life and why is it a philosophy of life?

"There are three phases of life—the physical, the mental, and the spiritual. As to which phase should predominate or whether all three should be developed equally in one's design for living is up to the particular individual. But no one phase should be left entirely dormant in the leading of a full life. Of course Fate plays a large role in our lives, and we can't always mold Fate to suit ourselves. In so far as we can mold ourselves I believe:

"A strong and healthy body is essential for a proper zest and exuberance for living. The body with which we have been endowed was meant to be taken care of. Of course, a strong back and a weak mind is frowned upon by the intelligentsia and rightly so, but the powerful intellect and the neglected tissue should be equally frowned upon.

"Proper education and development of brain power is a must. It is a means of intelligent guidance through life, appreciation of beauty even in the commonplace, and the ability to distinguish between the lasting, wholesome pleasures and the superficial. Ignorance is not bliss but slap-happiness, the kind of happiness which can rear up and kick one when his back is turned.

"The spiritual side of life cannot be neglected either. By the spiritual life I do not mean going to church on Sundays and dropping two-bits in the collection box while the fingers itch to filch sixty cents in change. I do mean that, in one's daily boundings about the horizon, an adherence to the Christian principles and faith in some higher power is conducive to the full life. It takes faith in something besides one's self to safely weather the crises of adverse circumstance.

"I do not believe that any one certain religion is the true road to God. I do not believe that everything in the Bible is the truth simply because it is in the Bible. I do not believe it is necessary to live up to the dogmas of any chosen sect to live a Christian life. I do not believe that it is necessary to be a church-goer to have a spiritual life.

"I consider the complete spiritual anarchist whose philosophy is, 'The King can do no wrong, and I'm King,' as a drifting soul; but I also consider it a fallacy to develop one's spiritual life to the point of neglecting the physical and the mental, to substitute blind faith for any constructive thinking, to forgo all physical pleasure in the belief that one's reward will come in the after-life. An after-life may or may not be true. If it is, it is still no excuse for not living the present life which God has given us for the purpose of living.

"There are two methods of leading our lives down the highways and byways of destiny: the active and the passive. I believe the best method of leading one's life is to oscillate between the two with emphasis on the active. The fellow who said, 'The world is a circus and I've got a box seat with a cushion,' had something there, if he didn't have glue on the seat of his pants. It is nice to sit on the sidelines occasionally and survey the follies of mankind, but it's more fun to be in there contributing some of one's own folly. The joker who gets all his pleasures, including the pleasures of life, vicariously is going to wake up some day to find the other fellow had all the fun.

"In summing it all up, I believe that by keeping the muscle, the brain, and the spirit from atrophying; by taking an active part in life and deriving fun out of doing so; by taking an occasional gander at it objectively; and all the while keeping a healthy outlook, I can lead the abundant life and automatically have a philosophy of that life.

"If this dithyrambic rambling seems a little vague or incoherent and you do not agree with anything in it, that is because a philosophy of life is a very personal possession, and this one isn't supposed to fit anyone but me. You write your own *?/!!* philosophy."

Professional men. The following paragraphs represent the condensed philosophy of life of a young college instructor.

I think I can best represent what I believe is most valuable to me as a human by means of single abstract nouns: creativeness, cooperation, frugality, optimism, balance, patience, serenity, reality. These words themselves will have little meaning to the casual reader, but to me they summarize hours of thought and experience.

I am convinced that the most substantial success and personal pleasure results from the creation of something through one's own efforts. This creation may be a poem or a neatly stacked pile of cordwood. I am convinced that happiness grows from simple living and a profound appreciation of nature.

I believe in the banal statement, "The best way to earn is to save." It makes little difference how much I earn. The important thing is, how well do I use it?

I believe that everyone has many assets and many liabilities. Daily work and social experience usually point out to a man his liabilities, therefore I can serve him best by emphasizing his assets first and then, if I feel he needs it, tactfully point out his liabilities. I think I can best help myself enjoy life by helping others. One of the greatest lifts I can give another consists in helping him to help himself. I do not believe that I can really help anyone. I can merely help him to help himself.

I regard balance as an ideal in developing personality. I believe compromise is the answer to most controversies. I suspect all

extremists but see the world's need for them. I subscribe to the trite "moderation in all things."

I am convinced that I can achieve almost any personal ambition that I have considered logically and accepted. I do believe, however, that planning is necessary. One's program for personal improvement should extend over a period of five or ten years. One should not expect quick changes. I believe the increment covered and not the end achieved is the most important result of hard work. I respect a farmer who has profitably developed ten rocky acres more than the son of a banker who later becomes president of a bank. I believe a man is as great as the social ideals and movements he promotes. Men only become great when they fuse their lives with a movement which serves mankind as a group.

I think every person should have some time each day in which he can relax completely and enjoy the beauties of the world. During this time he can collect his thoughts and gain perspective.

I do not think one should ever go to bed with a disturbing problem. There are tentative solutions to every problem. Arrive at them. I think it is unwise to allow emotional states to hang fire. The problem should be faced and outlets determined.

I believe that one should have numerous hobbies, interests, and sources of joy. None of these should be stressed too much.

Although I appreciate the perfect, I have seen so much of the unhappiness that it has caused that I have come to glorify the mediocre. I find that when I contemplate the mediocre it is no longer dull but has a beauty of its own. After all, sunsets, birds, trees, flowers, rock formations, and the like are all commonplace. The colorful southern Negro, with his pleasant, easy attitude toward existence and his pleasing smile, is mediocre, yet there are few who have endured what he has experienced and have emerged so victorious on the emotional side.

This brings me to the importance of reality. Legitimate ideals color our view of the world. False and unattainable ideals are a curse. Many of the dips in the growth curve of history are the result of well-meaning people defending bloated ideals. Reality tempered with a few practical goals is less visionary. I admonish myself thus: "Live in the present-day world. Utilize your capacities and interests to meet its needs. Try to get a glimpse of the course civilization is taking and do all in your power to hold to that course."

I think that one of the ideals that is fundamental and axiomatic is: the enrichment and edification of the life of the average man, the elimination of gross insecurity, morbid unhappiness, and excruciating suffering.

Following are excerpts from Bill Mauldin's book, *Back Home* (8). In presenting a prose background for his drawings he re-

veals vividly, sincerely, and frankly, without pretense or exhibition, his strong beliefs. They are chosen because of their concreteness and objectivity. He reacts to current issues in the kind of language one might hear in a college bull session. Mr. Mauldin says what he believes despite cancelled contracts and threat of disfavor by persons in authority. He epitomizes an important element of his generation.

"... Although I am not qualified to speak with authority on *political matters*,* politics and the people who are mixed up in them interest me very much. I have many political opinions, although few of them are hardened to the point where I can see no sense in the arguments of a man who opposes my views. I suppose my attitudes placed me on the left side of American politics from the moment I was discharged from the army. Somewhere in my early childhood and in the army I developed a rather suspicious and rebellious attitude toward stuffed shirts, and since it has been my experience that more stuffed shirts are to be found in the higher ranks of wealth and position than anywhere else, I find myself more often in sympathy with the people who oppose the 'elite' than not. Also I have strong feelings about racial *prejudice*, which is probably more widespread in this country than anywhere else in the world. I know that opposition to racial bigotry is not confined entirely to the left. A number of quite conservative organizations and newspapers in America have crusaded long and hard on this score, and it is also a fact that many left-wing organizations use the racial issues in America solely as a vehicle for their own interests. I have been aware as well that some labor unions and other organizations devoted to 'the advancement of the workingman' can boast the possession of some of the most intolerably pompous and dictatorial little Caesars in creation. . . .

"... I wish I were capable of writing brilliant and witty things about *suppression*. It has been one of my favorite cartoon subjects, and I have covered everything from the Dies Committee to the Boston book-banning people, whom I once portrayed clustered around a risqué volume with their eyes popping out, obviously intending to read every single page of the evil thing before declaring it unfit for public consumption. . . .

"... It has sickened me somewhat to hear Franco's setup called the last stronghold between Western Christianity and the Great Red Menace. . . . Christianity can't be defended by force and brutality any more than communism can be defeated by it. . . . Try as I will, I somehow can't see rhyme or reason in his system—which is gaining in popularity around the world—of imprisoning, deluding, and horsewhipping citizens to protect them from com-

* Italics mine (F. McK.).

munism. It smacks somewhat of *paternalism*, and very rugged paternalism at that. The kind that tells a man what he shall read, whom he shall talk to, and what he shall hear, allows him no say-so in his own affairs, takes away most of his money to pay an army to push him around, and kicks his teeth in if he talks back. Communism may be a pretty awful thing, but it would have to work hard to be any worse than the systems set up to fight it. . . .

"... *People with new ideas*, or those who step out of the popular line of thought, have always been lambasted as crackpots and radicals. Sometimes they have been exactly that, but quite often they have accomplished great things, and certainly none of the advances made in civilization has been due to counterrevolutionaries and advocates of the status quo. . . .

"... I don't want to see Russia win if there is another war, because that country has proved it is capable only of replacing one kind of tyranny with another. I want my bumbling side to win, because where there is a chance for *free speech* and honest thinking there is always hope that something decent will eventually come out of the chaos which would result from that war. I hope it doesn't ever come to that, but so long as the UN is hamstrung by the selfish interests of its members, I feel pretty grim about the future. . . ."

Student goals in life. Following is a list of students' general goals in life, assembled from papers written by students and teachers (9). A wide range of viewpoints is presented, and the student can obtain an objective score, indicating the general nature of his philosophy, by ranking these goals. These ranks are obtained by his comparing each goal with every other goal and selecting one of the pair as descriptive of his personal philosophy. The numbers given below reflect the philosophy of one girl. It will be noted that she emphasized pleasures for herself and others, self-development, and placed relatively minimal value on security, changing society, duty, and self-discipline.

Inventory of General Goals of Life

"Score"

- 18 Getting as many deep and lasting pleasures out of life as I can.
- 17 Promoting the most deep and lasting pleasures for the greatest number of people.
- 17 Self-development—becoming a real, genuine person.
- 16 Fine relations with other persons.
- 15 Making a place for myself in the world; getting ahead.
- 14 Handling the specific problems of life as they arise.
- 13 Peace of mind, contentment, stillness of spirit.
- 11 Power; control over people and things.

- 10 Serving the community of which I am a part.
- 9 Self-sacrifice for the sake of a better world.
- 9 Living for the pleasure of the moment.
- 7 Serving God; doing God's will.
- 7 Achieving personal immortality in heaven.
- 6 Self-discipline—overcoming my irrational emotions and sensuous desires.
- 6 Doing my duty.
- 6 Survival, continued existence.
- 4 Being able to "take it"; brave and uncomplaining acceptance of what circumstances bring.
- 3 Finding my place in life and accepting it.
- 2 Realizing that I cannot change the bad features of the world and doing the best I can for myself and those dear to me.
- 1 Security—protecting my way of life against adverse changes.

Maxims which guide behavior. An investigation was made among persons of above-average educational and socio-economic status to learn their guiding maxims. Over 600 people were questioned, and about a hundred maxims were considered. Below are the fifteen maxims which received the highest preference (10).

1. Do unto others as you would that they would do unto you.
2. Know thyself.
3. Anything that is worth doing at all is worth doing well.
4. If at first you don't succeed, try, try again.
5. The great essentials of happiness are something to do, something to love, and something to hope for.
6. The only way to have a friend is to be one.
7. As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.
8. Knowledge is power.
9. Actions speak louder than words.
10. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.
11. If you can't say good about people, say nothing.
12. Life is what you make it.
13. It is important to act, it is more important to think, but the most important thing of all is to think and act.
14. Be calm and self-possessed, know what you are about, be sure you are right, then go ahead and don't be afraid.
15. This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

Maxims such as these no doubt represent in many cases the individual's insights and his verbalizations of accumulated experience. Sometimes they are mere rationalizations and empty

mouthings, but often they are true expressions of his fundamental attitudes and are the best tags he has for these attitudes.

Student attitudes. Numerous studies have been made of the attitudes of college students and the factors which produce them. Space does not permit a complete inventory of these studies, but, since attitudes constitute a major portion of one's philosophy of life, we shall discuss the results of some of the surveys. There has been great interest in ascertaining the extent to which the college student is reactionary, conservative, liberal, or radical, conservatism meaning "attachment to things as they are, perpetuation of the *status quo*," and liberalism meaning "preference for some degree of modification." Seniors, on the whole, were found to be more liberal in their views than freshmen (11-13), and there was a persistence in this trend for several years after they leave college (13, 14). Certain courses were found to be liberalizing agents during a given semester (15-19). It has been found in connection with political attitudes that a high degree of prejudice and conservatism and a low degree of information tend to be associated; also a low degree of prejudice and radicalism and a low degree of misinformation seem to be related (20). There is evidence that liberalism and conservatism are related to certain religious preference, to parents' attitudes and vocations, and slightly to intelligence (21-28).

There is greater emphasis in America on ascertaining the attitudes of the people than ever before (24, 29). Opinion pollsters constantly interrogate people of all classes. The college student is not the only one who is asked his reaction to issues. One author, in evaluating the attitudes of the American people, defends the thesis that they are generally right in their thinking about public issues and show more common sense than their leaders in Washington. He indicates that in recent issues the people have been the leaders and argues that with more objective information their judgments would improve (24). The college student, like the general population, reflects change in attitudes over the years toward greater liberalism (29-32).

Religion and college students. An investigation has been made of the religion of the post-war college student, which may be summarized as follows: About 70 per cent feel that they require "some form of religious orientation or belief in order to achieve a fully mature philosophy of life." About 25 per cent

are essentially orthodox in their adherence to Christian dogma. The majority are dissatisfied with institutional religion as it exists. When students shift their religious preference, it is practically always in a liberal direction or out of the field of religion entirely. Present-day college students are less concerned about apparent conflicts between religion and science than were their predecessors, and more disturbed about "the failure of institutional religion to prevent war or lessen human misery." Only 12 per cent subscribe to the Marxian doctrine that religion is the opiate of the people and should be actively contested. The majority believe that the denominational distinctions between Protestant churches are outworn and should be abolished. Ethics, humanitarianism, and social reform are endorsed more frequently than traditional theology. Apparently youth tends to return to the church after marriage and upon encountering the responsibilities of parenthood. Veterans do not differ dramatically from non-veterans. Modern college instruction offers the student little in the philosophical aspects of religious doctrine. If the present-day student achieves a mature system of rational theology, it is not through college instruction (33).

It has been said that religion assists one in his adjustment to life by offering inner security. But when religion creates anxieties by too great repression of human urges, it may have a disorganizing effect (34).

Nature of personal philosophy. *Difference between philosophy and way of life.* Your philosophy of life is your deliberate effort to make sensible your beliefs, morals, and behavior and to unify them so that you may have a basis for action when you are confronted with problems.

A personal philosophy probably should be differentiated at the start from the *less conscious* forces in an individual's behavior. For example, most persons reach maturity without having raised or answered very many questions concerning behavior, and yet they consistently act in definite directions. Habits and attitudes, although not clearly formulated and rarely stated by them or their acquaintances, guide their actions. Their behavior toward their fellow man, their sincerity, and their dependability suggest certain attitudes. These attitudes, traits, and daily habits are responsible for their consistency and stability as persons.

Let us call these directive motives, traits, habits, and attitudes

your *way of life* because of the undefined element which is present, and reserve the term *personal philosophy* for your conscious statement of your credo and the attitudes which are formed and re-formed in an attempt to unify your thinking in a total pattern.

Personal philosophy should be realistic. Let us examine that body of attitudes, values, and standards which has been called a "personal philosophy" to ascertain some of its characteristics.

The attitudes which comprise your personal philosophy may cover *most* of the experiences you encounter in everyday life, or *very few* of them. You may have formulated only some principles for dealing with other people and may not have attempted to answer for yourself the nature of the universe or of immortality. It is possible for a personal philosophy to enable an individual to live an *asocial* life. This is true of the delinquent who has been reared in a criminal environment. Others in his environment have justified his asocial tendencies and have exalted his fellow offenders. He justifies and rationalizes his behavior similarly. A sound personal philosophy is of necessity incomplete. The real thinker reformulates his views and modifies his opinions until death. His views, however, at all times give him some basis for daily action. They may be incomplete or tentative, but they do not result in a behavioral deadlock.

Organized personal views may be so complex and so fascinating to their author that they become top-heavy and abstract and assume an existence which is *independent of everyday life*. Some of you may become more interested in your principles than in their application to life. Without the guidance of everyday practical existence to test the validity of your principles, they may multiply too freely. They may become more alluring than life itself because of the ease with which they can be formulated and exercised in an artificial world of ideas. We have all seen the person who is so absorbed with pencil-and-paper morals that he has never entered real life situations. He has never put his morals to a test.

There is also the person who keeps his morals in a logic-tight compartment, whose standards remain intact and unexamined from childhood to adulthood. When crises arise, moral standards do not operate in them. His standards are idealistic and relatively unmodifiable. Any behavior that violates them is to

be disowned. Such individuals vacillate between saint and devil. The case of Horace below is illustrative.

Horace N. is a member of a family of good, solid reputation, known for their sincerity and their adherence to conventions. He is the youngest child and the only boy in the family and was quite close to his mother. He found early in life that it was not difficult to win her favor and at times to receive special attention and privileges. She was prone to excuse his failures and very solicitous of his health. Horace accepted all his mother's standards without question. Following his mother's wishes he accepted warmly the religious instruction and practice of the family's church, and his religious experiences in childhood and adolescence when in a religious environment or in the home were genuine.

Despite his overprotection and position as favorite in the home, he became a hanger-on of the neighborhood gang. He developed the habits and attitudes of the group, which were extremely incompatible with some of his religious training, but were learned in a different context and set. The two patterns of behavior were never compared. When he was with the gang, he lost himself in the group's pranks but, when with his mother, he was a "perfectly good boy." It was not until he reached college that he became clearly conscious of how strong were his tendencies to violate his mother's standards for sex behavior and how weak he seemed to be in his efforts to live up to what he thought was right. It was puzzling to him that moral standards could be so vivid when he considered them at home or in the church and yet so ineffectual when he was with people whom he considered immoral.

At no time did Horace think through the whole problem. He thought that if you pay allegiance to morals and ethics they should function at all times. Religion to him was like a rabbit's foot or talisman which works automatically if you hold it. He did not realize that, in order for a code to function, it must pervade one's personality. He suffered many depressions, particularly when he was unable to repress his derelictions.

Horace had certainly never worked out a personal philosophy. He had accepted a code of standards and, because he had always been sheltered and allowed to follow his own pleasure in the family, he had carried this pattern of behavior outside. His moral standards were principally verbal, or at least confined to a pious setting, and were never associated in thought or action with his daily life. He grew up without sex education. Sex to him apparently was a compulsive outlet, involving little consideration for the other person as an individual. He strongly despised his misbehavior and everyone who behaved similarly. After a breach, he plunged fervently into his moralistic rituals, obviously as an escape from his guilt. There was no attempt on his part to discover and

understand the source of his behavior or accept it as a vital part of his personality with which he must deal. Rather, he thought that, if he rigorously denied it and suppressed it, it would cease to exist. He certainly did not question the standards his mother had passed on to him or his ability to live up to them. Horace was an island of insecurity surrounded by his mother's perfectionistic, inviolable standards and his own violent passions. He had not discovered how little there was to Horace as a personality, that there was not much he could call his own self.

The case of Horace indicates the importance of a close relationship between one's standards and behavior. Virtue in a vacuum is an interesting museum piece, but virtuous behavior in order to be stable must be integrated in the total personality of the individual. It must be the sort of behavior that is selected because it entails consequences which are satisfying to the individual. It is the result of the same learning principles that govern any other behavior and becomes a trait as it functions in daily experience. The importance of allowing one to choose freely between right and wrong is emphasized here. The individual experiences some of the consequences of each, so that the right behavior is learned as the kind of behavior that is most deeply satisfying and wrong behavior as productive of far-reaching, undesirable consequences. This does not deny, however, the importance of building positive and negative attitudes, sentiments and emotional reactions in the child.

In short, a personal philosophy should be realistic in order to function in one's life. A group of principles is not a substitute for well-developed traits and inner security. The principles must represent the individual's inner demands and the pressures of his environment as well as a code of values. A set of verbal standards assumed without reference to the rest of the personality is dangerously fragile.

Some of the pessimistic philosophers who build up a system of thought which gains recognition for them as thinkers but which fails to adapt them to the world in which they live may also be given as examples. A philosophical writer who commits suicide developed a philosophy of life which obviously did not aid in personal adjustment. His system may have been sound logically, but it was inadequate practically to meet his own problems, or it may have served as compensation for his inner insecurity. A verbal code or system of ideas should be of such

a nature as to assist one to gain security and adjustment to a real world, not a substitute for it.

Development of personal philosophy. *The process.* Again let us conjecture about the growth of systems of values or morals: They appear to grow like other human products, in a random manner through *trial and error*. We try to *solve problems* which confront us. If the solution is of a motor nature, so that we do not think in terms of ideas and do not verbalize our solution, it probably does not become a part of our philosophy of life. Much of this philosophy may be taken from a writer, from the Bible, or from proverbs of an unknown source. If these ideas are to function as ideas in life, we must experience real satisfaction as we see their roles in our behavior. They must have the vividness of insights or discoveries, discussed in Chapter 7. As hackneyed proverbs repeated without meaning, they are of questionable value. The admonition, "Do unto others as you would that they would do unto you," means little until the individual has found through experience the meaning and value of it.

Rarely does a personal philosophy come from single experiences. Single books or essays may sum up one's attitude and the reaction tendencies that have grown from numerous previous personal experiences. The philosophy in this case verbalizes attitudes that have a previous history. It is doubtful whether anyone's philosophy of life grows out of a single attempt to build one. He may delude himself into the belief that he is building a philosophy of life during one week-end in which he writes a term paper, but as a matter of fact he is bringing to consciousness attitudes that have had a long previous existence.

Personality factors in building a personal philosophy. An individual's personal philosophy, like all such complex patterns of experience, is influenced in growth by the many *other aspects of his personality*. His intelligence, his temperament, his physique, his physiological urges, his emotional experiences, his contacts with other people, with books, with plays, with sermons, and with lectures, his friends, enemies, and teachers all play a part. No doubt the compatibility of his philosophy and behavior is dependent upon the extent to which *his philosophy has taken into account his basic constitution and important past experiences*. The degree of *inner security* one experiences also

influences one's philosophy. Comparison of the systematized attitudes of a college student with those of a previously admired teacher or friend will reveal many similarities.

Personal problems and philosophy. Problems and effective solutions, as has been brought out before, play a large part in the molding of a view of life. It is reasonable to believe that, within limits, those individuals who have the most *problems* tend more often to develop a philosophy of life.

In high school the student's horizon broadens. He sees a wider range of standards, interpretation of right and wrong, his courses raise questions about social standards and practices (35, 36). To many the problems of drinking, smoking, late hours, luxuries and extravagances, popularity, undesirable associates, petting, and class distinctions become very real. With conflicting views apparent among their associates, they search for their own beliefs. The student who comes to college from a restricted environment may note more liberal trends in organized religion, meet cynicism and skepticism about established practices, see incompatibilities between ideals and institutions. With greater freedom among students he notes what appears on the surface to be gross violations of moral, ethical, and social standards he has cherished.

Although he does not realize it, frequently his own anxieties and suppressions exaggerate his observations. One of the discoveries he may make is that he is really dealing with his own problems when he thinks he is concerned with the standards of others. The more mature student will find concepts he has regarded as established being examined critically, as, for example, authoritarian religion, capitalism, the profit motive, and ideas which he previously regarded as radical given open consideration, as race equality, socialistic legislation, divorce, and subsidized housing. These and many other problems and unsolved questions press him toward verbal solutions and make the formulation of a personal philosophy important.

Value of personal philosophy. What should a system of beliefs do for the individual? There are various functions which a philosophy of life should serve. Different persons are aided in different ways by a formulation of their views regarding themselves and life as a whole. Below are some of the possible advantages of such a systematic organization of one's attitudes.

Some of these have been discovered in the autobiographies of students. Others have grown from conjecture.

A philosophy of life should *guide* behavior. It should allow one to act on the basis of rational principles, rather than through fear, selfishness, and external force, such as parental or social pressure. As indicated previously, however, it cannot ignore inner tendencies as anxiety or outer forces such as social standards. These should be realized in developing one's philosophy. If the philosophy helps self-understanding and involves a certain amount of acceptance of oneself as one is, it can be a real source of direction. It can then provide *perspective* and allow us to see ourselves in retrospect and to *project ambitions* realistically into the future. It can *organize* or *integrate* our derived values so that they will form a "united front" when a conflict arises and a decision must be made.

For example, a girl has an opportunity to gain considerable publicity by posing in scant clothing for a national magazine. The possibilities for her to secure subsequently a screen test or to receive an offer from commercial photographers and artists is most tempting. However, she decides finally, after consultation with confidants, that she will not take advantage of the opportunity. Her decision is reached after she has organized her values and has realized that what she thinks most worth while is her reputation, the regard of her friends, and a personality that cannot be bought or cheapened by commercial ventures that make no contribution to society but are selfish enterprises. These are her strong personal values with which she reckoned.

Values, then, can reinforce one another and aid a student to meet conflicts. They can give him a *strength of conviction* which will encourage him to act in a manner which is compatible with the decisions of his saner and more reflective moments. They make a forceful and stable character. A personal philosophy brings relative *serenity* to most people (37). The belief in an organized universe which has continued through the ages and which evidences a plan affords stability in one's view of the future. Holding a view regarding the nature of man's history and destiny and the nature of one's self *molds the goals and purposes* of the individual. If he is able to link his own purposes with those he sees in man's future, he has availed himself of boundless directed energy. History shows that those men who have received the gratitude of society espoused a worthy move-

ment, spent their lives magnifying it, and so lost their own personalities in the movement that they and the movement became indistinguishable. When one has a goal of such an extensive scope, he cannot fail to grow intellectually. A student who formulates his beliefs finds that this formulation offers him a basis for *further personal growth* and stimulates his intellectual curiosity. It may raise more problems than it answers, but it supplies the individual with an active attitude with which to attack them.

Some students have no choice but to formulate their views into a system. Their past training and their systematic mode of thinking make them unhappy unless they see order in their beliefs. They may consider themselves fortunate, for they experience more of the universe in the abstract.

In short, a realistic personal philosophy can assist those who are in difficulties, should *give perspective* of one's self and of the world, *foster personal integration and growth*, *aid adjustment*, and *increase creativeness*.

A strong character. A discussion of persons who have formed a philosophy of life is not complete unless it calls attention to men known to be of strong character. It is significant that individual men have had the force of thousands in the history of man's adventure with life. Examine these forceful men and what do you find? They are men who *know where they stand*. They espouse certain attitudes and standards with their whole being. They understand themselves and have mapped their future. They are well-anchored rocks that are able to maintain their stand in severest storms. A person who knows his views knows also his potentialities and weaknesses and can deal with them. He can stand alone against many other single individuals who are unguided. When he is supported by others who believe as he does, his strength is prodigious.

An individual who knows his position on important matters, recognizes his ability to maintain it, and has planned his future has laid the groundwork for self-control. Self-control consists of a realistic *plan* and the *forcefulness* to carry it through. It is made up of a rich background of previously acquired attitudes. It has grown from many experiences of choice in which certain selections have led to failure and unpleasantness and have thereby been discarded, and in which other selections have been

rewarded. It is what is called in some circles "will power." From this discussion it can be seen that those individuals who lack "will power" fail to have it because their plans are visionary. They have not based their plans upon knowledge of themselves or developed motivation, attitudes, and strong desires toward the goal. On the contrary, they have some strong feelings and tendencies in the reverse direction. Personal control is not a mysterious matter. It consists in having or acquiring motivation in a given area of behavior through vivid experience. One may or may not possess it at a given time, but his status at that moment does not seal his destiny for life. It might be well to review at this point the discussion under "Changing Behavior," on page 256. There it was shown that the elimination of undesirable behavior involves, first, a clear understanding of what that behavior consists in practical applications, second, a marshaling of all of one's attitudes toward that behavior, and, finally, planning a course of events which will strengthen the desired behavior and weaken the contrary activity. Such a process is not developed overnight. It is a substantial progression of motivation and a selection of practical situations and associates which enhance certain types of behavior and weaken others.

It has been found that attitudes, for example, may be changed through vivid experiences—experiences that are novel, emotionally charged, and realistic, and that occur in the absence of counter influences. These attitudes will blossom through contact with other individuals, groups, or institutions which have prestige value and which are satisfying to our other motives. Speeches, pamphlets, knowledge of the majority and expert opinion, debates, radio programs, moving pictures, courses, social gatherings—all have been found to change attitudes. When these attitudes are organized and given force, they have influence in helping us to carry through our decisions. A strong organization of attitudes, feelings, and beliefs around our ego or personality constitutes that force which we think of as self-control.

Standards and bases for personal philosophy. In order that a personal philosophy of life will not be merely a justification of existing personal biases, prejudices, pessimism, or asocial conduct, there should be some standards for its formulation. Granted that this philosophy must grow naturally out of your

own attitudes, thinking, and behavior, a rigid set of standards would defeat the purpose of the formulation and make it artificial. Your present realistic philosophy must reflect your own personality traits and your own level of maturity. You will want to include the possibilities that you see for future realization of your greatest potentialities. You will want to be true to your greater self. Then you may turn to consider some of the solutions to eternal problems that have concerned men through the ages. Moralists are agreed on the importance of considering one's fellow man in our behavior. If you accept this principle you should be motivated to organize your views regarding the world and mankind from a *humanistic* standpoint which exalts the dignity of man, regardless of race, station, or geography. Other guiding principles in a personal philosophy around which you might organize your views are *truth, beauty, utility, security, authority, the Deity*, and *open-mindedness* (38). The manner in which you organize your thoughts should follow the recognized standards for valid thinking, as discussed in the section dealing with the subject in Chapter 3. The material in all your college courses will contribute to the formulation of your personal philosophy.

Secondly, upon what *source* of knowledge should we *base* our beliefs? Many of the questions that arise regarding the nature of matter, life, and the natural processes can be answered through a knowledge of science. The more abstruse problems have been attacked by philosophers throughout history. Consultation of contemporary introductory philosophy textbooks or the writings of present-day philosophers will be helpful. Below are specific reading suggestions for students who have not had courses in philosophy.

READINGS IN PHILOSOPHY FOR BEGINNERS *

Introductions to Philosophy

- George R. Geiger, *Philosophy and the Social Order*, Houghton Mifflin, 1947.
 J. H. Randall, Jr., and Justus Buchler, *Philosophy: An Introduction*, Barnes & Noble, 1942.
 G. T. W. Patrick and F. M. Chapman, *Introduction to Philosophy* (rev. ed.), Houghton Mifflin, 1935.

* Compiled by Lewis E. Hahn, Department of Philosophy, Washington University.

- W. E. Hocking, Brand Blanshard, C. W. Hendel, and J. H. Randall, Jr.,
Preface to Philosophy: Textbook, Macmillan, 1946.
Harold H. Titus, *Living Issues in Philosophy*, American Book Co., 1946.
Hunter Mead, *Types and Problems of Philosophy*, Holt, 1946.

Histories of Philosophy

- A. K. Rogers, *A Student's History of Philosophy* (3rd ed.), Macmillan, 1932.
Joseph B. Burgess, *Introduction to the History of Philosophy*, McGraw-Hill,
1939.
B. A. G. Fuller, *A History of Philosophy* (rev. ed.), Holt, 1945.

Ethics

- Harold H. Titus, *Ethics for Today* (2nd ed.), American Book Co., 1947.
J. A. Leighton, *The Individual and the Social Order*, Appleton-Century,
1926.
Wilbur M. Urban, *Fundamentals of Ethics*, Holt, 1930.
R. C. Cabot, *The Meaning of Right and Wrong* (rev. ed.), Macmillan, 1936.
J. W. Hudson, *The Truths We Live By*, Appleton-Century, 1932.

Stability and fluctuation of standards. *Expect change and controversy.* In formulating your philosophy you must expect change. A permanent system of views which deals with such complex matters as the nature of the universe and the nature of life cannot be formulated perfectly by anyone at present. New facts are constantly being discovered, and it is necessary for you to realize that all knowledge is tentative. After you accept the system of one philosopher, you may find upon further reading that there are contradictory views. You should expect controversy, too. You may have to discard some parts of a philosopher's views while you retain others. This process involves change in your system of thought.

Consider your level of maturity. Students differ in maturity. Some feel so insecure that they gravitate toward a paternalistic government or an authoritarian religion. Others want to assume more responsibility for thought and regulation of their behavior. They appreciate an opportunity to solve their own problems and to direct their own lives. The latter are prone to examine the bases for authority in their standards and in society. At a higher level there are those who are willing to assume responsibility not only for themselves but for the leadership of others. You should seek to adjust at the highest level of maturity within your capacity. You should realize that as you increase in ma-

turity you assume greater *responsibility*, possibly sacrifice some *security*, but achieve in return greater *freedom*.

Hold to your most stable beliefs while adjusting to new standards. Although you must expect change, you will need a stable core of beliefs to help you in guiding your behavior. The reason why conflicting standards are so troublesome to the average developing person is that you very often throw overboard all your old beliefs while in conflict. The student who feels a religious conflict, who finds newly acquired allegiances conflicting with his childhood teachings, tends to scrap all his early standards. He then finds himself at a loss about what to believe. Remember that your values represent the rudder which determines your course. Without them you are tossed here and there by the waves of circumstance. You cannot discard suddenly everything you have heretofore believed in a given realm. It is necessary that you cling to those values and ideals which you feel are most basic, and slowly substitute new values.

Friends and older advisers will serve as a sounding board while you discover for yourself which of your strong tendencies are most basic and most valuable. Determine them, and hold fast to them while you gradually discard those which fail to meet the test of living.

Search for similarities between incompatible standards. The person whose beliefs are undergoing a transition is prone to regard all new ideas as totally foreign to his former beliefs. If he searches for similarities between the two he will find them. The new belief may be only a different interpretation or statement of an old one. This situation is seen in the alleged conflict between religion and science. If a religion is the search for that which is good in the world and science is the statement of natural laws, then there can be no basic widespread incompatibility. It is true that a backwoods, primitive religion may have certain elements in its ritual that are incompatible with science as interpreted by a dogmatic graduate student. Further search into both religion and science will reveal many similarities. The bewildered student will find indisputable common grounds which he may accept while his beliefs undergo a gradual adjustment. Search for these indisputable common grounds in your conflicting standards. When you choose between standards, questions like these may be helpful: Which set of standards

will serve me best over the greatest length of time? Which set is more compatible with my total personality? Which enables me to adjust to the group with which I have chosen to spend most of my life?

Issues in a personal philosophy. In purposefully working out a philosophy of life, the student will have completeness as an aim. For this reason we give below a list of factors to be considered in building a personal concept of the nature of the world and man. The student will recognize that much of the material discussed in other chapters bears upon these issues. Whereas the issues below are stated in general terms, the student's philosophy will bear upon specific as well as general problems. Current issues must be dealt with in terms of general viewpoint. The student usually wants to know what his position is on specific questions such as race prejudice, sex patterns, the meaning versus the practice of free enterprise, legislation against special privilege in a democracy, social legislation in areas such as housing and medical aid, military conscription in an idealistic framework of world peace.

View of one's life work and its relationship to society's present and future structure.

Nature of one's basic personality traits, one's security, extroversion or introversion, one's frustrations, expressions, compensations and escapes, and the meaning of these for present and future adjustment.

Attitude toward members of the opposite sex; one's relationship to them in general and in particular.

Principles regarding the conduct of daily living, such as wholesome mental health precepts, maturity, and principles regulating relationship with individuals, like cooperation, competition, domination, or service.

Establishment of fundamental goals in life, such as appreciation of beauty, happiness, service to others, creativeness, achievement of security.

Establishment of concepts regarding the nature, the creation, the control, and the destiny of the universe gained from current views on geology, physics, astronomy, and zoology.

Concepts of God, integration of universe, immortality, and the relationship existing between man and God, prayer and forgiveness.

Concept of the role of individuals in the universe.

Concepts of right, wrong, truth, and error.

Concept of the destiny of mankind—the future course of development as, for example, toward world fellowship and international

understanding or self-destruction; the individual's place in this development.

Determination of the extent to which such ideals as service to society, improvement of the condition of the average man, promotion of international understanding, creation and maintenance of beauty direct our lives.

Relative merits and weaknesses of various political philosophies such as fascism, communism, democracy, and the various principles found in the great religions of mankind.

PLANNING FOR A CAREER

The discovery of the kind of work which will provide the greatest opportunity for personal growth is intimately related to our beliefs and our values. Coordinate with this, it is important to learn the avocational pursuits which are most satisfying to us and which can best provide an avenue for personal growth.

Careers. Cutting the lawn is a job, landscape architecture is a career; wall papering is a job, interior decoration is a career; bookkeeping is a job, accounting is a career; and so on through the 30,000 to 35,000 different occupations known to investigators (39). Work for many people is just a job; it is drudgery, synonymous with slavery, punishment, and debasement. For others, work is the mainspring of their very existence. It is romance; from it they derive their greatest pleasures. Work offers to them adventure, thrills, and new experiences. Stories of the indefatigability of such men as Pasteur, Napoleon, Steinmetz, and Edison are legion. These differences in point of view are due to fundamental divergences in the organization of experiences. Often the whole vocational horizon of the individual can take a different form through orientation.

An employed youth who planned for a career. The following is a case of orientation accomplished by the work of a vocational counselor (40).

Donald S. was a clerk in a shoe store in a small Kentucky town. He had taken the job two years previously at the end of his formal education. He showed his dissatisfaction with it by interviewing a traveling vocational counselor. He confided that he was in a line of work which did not interest him. He had liked the job when he first took it, but was tired of fitting people's feet for \$20 a week (a good salary at that time). When asked if there were other

occupations which interested him, he said "No." He went on to say that he knew one should be working in a stimulating calling, so he knew the shoe business was not for him.

The counselor explained that interests are not present at birth and do not necessarily appear spontaneously, but rather are the result of experience. In order to become interested in a field one must obtain information about it. It was recommended that he start a course of self-education, a veritable university course in shoes. First, he was to study the history of shoes; learn from books in the library or from an encyclopedia that shoes probably started as a crude sort of sandal and evolved through many variations to shoes of mail worn by knights of the Middle Ages, to pointed shoes affected by the dandies of the eighteenth century, to wooden sabots worn by the French peasants, to shoes made like stilts, worn by Chinese ladies.

He was told to examine one of the shoes he showed customers daily and see cropping out the features that have been carried over or evolved from the styles of other centuries and other peoples. This information should be fascinating to a salesman of shoes as well as practical and useful. It should make him style-conscious and alert to niceties in design. He was also told to learn that the cow, the calf, the elk, the deer, and the antelope, to mention just a few, all contribute to the manufacture of shoes. Tracing the manufacture of shoes from the artisan shoemaker to the present-day factory process would offer enjoyment, and a visit to a modern gigantic bootery on his next vacation would allow him to point out the intricacies of manufacture to his customers. By this time the zest of discovery would lead him on to new aspects of the study of shoes.

These suggestions were readily accepted by the energetic youth. He became a constant reader in the library, quizzed the traveling men from the wholesale shoe houses on styles and construction. One of these sales representatives who visited the store happened to be the sales manager of a large manufacturing company. He was struck by the fund of solid information that the boy possessed, as well as his urge to learn more. He offered Donald a position with a salary double that which he was receiving. Donald has since been promoted to the position of assistant sales manager of this company.

Such a case, which is a paradigm of growth in any field, illustrates how a job may become a career, as the terms are used here. Furthermore, it shows how knowledge makes an individual indispensable in any sphere. The man who commands one of the greatest funds of knowledge in a given line can hardly fail in it. Suppose, for example, there were a position open in

the advertising department of a large shoe house. Who would be better qualified, so far as being informed regarding shoes, than Donald S. whose vocational history is sketched above? In addition, consider the personal satisfaction derived from being such a source of knowledge, virtually an authority in a field.

A student who planned for a career. Other descriptions of the processes through which specific students have gone in order to learn and to increase their interests and capacities, so that they might serve as a foundation for a career, could be given here if space permitted. But we must be satisfied with one more case and then proceed with the discussion.

Alfred L. was a sophomore, superior in academic standing, about average in athletic ability, and of good physique. He was a well-mannered, neat, alert 19-year-old college student. He had worked as a salesman for a summer, and in addition had held several odd jobs as waiter, yard boy, furnace boy, and errand boy. Although he came originally from a town of 12,000, he had also lived for several months in a large city. His acquaintance with industry and commerce in American cities was very superficial, however.

As a sophomore he began to realize, with some trepidation, that he must find a vocation. He had thought casually of several vocations: selling, the ministry, teaching, law, and medicine. His consideration and elimination of these vocations as possibilities for his lifework had been very superficial, although he did not realize this until he had talked with a vocational counselor. The counselor suggested that he make an inventory of the aptitudes that had shown themselves either in the schoolroom, on the playground, in hobbies, in Scout work, or in odd jobs. He was told to consider every possible aptitude, whether it be manual, intellectual, or social. After he had made this inventory he was to bring it to his counselor for a critical evaluation and check, lest his evaluation be inaccurate and superficial. Should he find, through his frank survey of his past experiences, that certain aptitudes seemed to be promising, he was to test them by securing summer employment. He was to do the same in connection with his interests. While considering some of his abilities and tendencies, he was to survey all possible vocations and not restrict his attention to six or seven.

His efforts produced encouraging results. He considered his ability in athletics, which, although never leading him to stardom, had supplied him with a general interest and knowledge of athletic games. He had been greatly interested in biology in high school. He was interested in hygiene and public health and had read several articles concerning the need for general improvement of public health. He kept in his room several catalogues of athletic

equipment. He had concluded from his reflection that he was at least average in his ability to deal with people, and probably above average. His teachers had told him that he wrote well.

These were the vocations he considered in view of his interests and accomplishments: director of physical education in high school, Y.M.C.A., men's clubs, or church; teacher and author in the recreational field of public health; recreational director in the municipal park system; research work in recreation; dealer in, and promoter of, athletic equipment; private instructor in sports in a wealthy community. He was convinced that his future lay in recreation, athletics, and public health. He built up a bibliography in this field; acquired college catalogues, catalogues of equipment, books on hygiene, athletics, etc. He is at present writing an article to be published in a boys' magazine on the construction of a homemade tennis court.

Characteristics of a career. The individual who arrives at a decision regarding his life work after realizing the great untouched possibilities in the field can come to view work in his father's stationery business, or box manufacturing company, or coal enterprise, with new enthusiasm. He may learn to derive as much satisfaction and interest from such pursuits as the artist or scholar does from his work. A course in geology, which previously had little to offer, now relates to his life. Similarly, his courses in English, history, chemistry, and statistics undergo a metamorphosis from "dry as dust" to extremely stimulating courses which prepare for his future work.

A career suggests (1) working with *purpose*; (2) *growth* in a vocational field, planning, and using imagination; (3) making a *game* out of work; (4) having a *creative* aspect. It is not merely work, but work directed toward fulfillment, and it involves interesting experimentation and exploration.

A man or woman may teach English in a high school or do bookkeeping for a firm and be forced to go through the same prescribed duties year after year. Such a person may get in a rut and need to turn elsewhere for the satisfaction of dominant human motives, even if it be toward excessive drinking or other dubious means of "pepping up life." Another may teach English in a high school and see promise of larger satisfactions within the limits of the position. He may write; he may see the young personalities before him as characters in a novel; he may experiment in methods of teaching and publish the experiments in pedagogical journals; he may be interested in devising a

textbook which suits the needs of his students, or he may furnish professional leadership on the staff or in organizations of teachers. In short, he can grow and create in his vocation. Similarly, the accountant may escape the bounds of his immediate job. He may see the figures on his ledgers as having meaning, as an index to trends in the behavior of the customers of the firm, and as signs of future events. They might be used as a basis for changing policies in the firm. He, too, may make his work creative, and make a game of it. Briefly, a career is more than a job or hard work—it is a means for growth and for the satisfaction of the human need for creation. As such it entails planning.

Present dearth of planning. *Vocational planning is often scantier than that for daily events.* It has been said that the two most important decisions a man makes in his life are in connection with his vocation and his marriage. Vocational choice, at least, is inevitable for most people. Yet in spite of the future significance of his decision in this matter, it is somewhat rare to find an individual who has entered his vocation as the result of any extensive, systematic, valid planning. It is curious that one may make detailed and extensive preparation for many comparatively unimportant daily events, and so little in anticipation of this decision which affects years of life. Businessmen precede sales interviews by rehearsing their proposition; public performances are the results of hours of previous labor; even our first public appearance each morning follows many minutes of dressing-room activity. College students plan in detail for their dates, but an impulsive acceptance of a lucrative position may represent the sum total of the planning for their life pursuit.

The majority of students select as their vocation the one remaining out of the six or seven which they have considered and eliminated. The train of thought is something like this:

"Now, I don't think I would like medicine. I never did care to be near hospitals, or to visit the offices of physicians. Law doesn't interest me. I am not a good speaker, and a lawyer should be able to sway a jury. I am not mechanically inclined, so that eliminates engineering. I know I would never make a good minister, and I would not want to be a teacher all my life. I cannot write, although journalism ought to be interesting. Well, what is left to choose from? Business. Yes, business—I'll enter the business school at the university."

This man thinks he has *selected* a vocation! Of 61 students in a pre-war applied psychology class, 24 who had selected a vocation confessed that the process through which they had made their choice resembled the one above. Only 8 of these 61 students could say that they had planned for a specific vocation; rather, they had stumbled upon an occupational choice by a superficial consideration of the six or seven vocations of which they had heard.

Studies show little systematic planning prior to college. The generality of the absence of vocational planning is impressively shown in a few statistical studies. A writer in this field reports that in one school in which the vocational intentions of the pupils were studied, 66 per cent of the boys confined their choices to only five occupations, and 83 per cent of the girls to the same number of occupations (40). No doubt students merely selected popular vocations by name without knowing anything about them (41).

An attempt was made to learn how the vocational desires of 528 Iowa high school seniors compared with the demand for workers in the vocations they selected. Since about 50 per cent of the general population of high-school-senior age were in school at this time, the percentages of 1056 individuals (twice the number studied), expected from the census to be gainfully employed in these various vocations, were computed. These were compared with the percentages of students who chose the vocation, and a ratio of *actual demand* in a vocation was compared with *student supply*. The supply greatly surpassed the demand in aviation. There were 130 times as many boys contemplating entrance into this field than gainful workers already employed. There was also a great disparity in engineering, journalism, stenography, and art. The only fields in which the demand was slightly greater than the supply were retailing, agriculture, mechanical fields, and selling (42).

This *disparity* is shown in another study in which the choices of the high school students were compared with the percentage of the total population gainfully employed in these fields. In this study the vocational choices of 930 students in eight different high schools were secured. Whereas 61.7 per cent of this group expressed ambition to enter professional work, only 4.4 per cent of our population are supported in such fields. Al-

though 29.7 per cent of these students aspired to enter business or secure clerical employment, statistics show that only 14.1 per cent earn a living from positions in business. Although this large discrepancy exists between the desires of students and the demands of the work-a-day world in professional and business endeavors, we find on the other hand that only 8.8 per cent of the students think in terms of mechanical and industrial vocations, while 61.1 per cent of the population are engaged in this type of work (43).

A follow-up of these students after 13 years showed that about half of the students who sought the highest vocational bracket reached it. Many who did not reach this bracket found employment in the second highest of four brackets. About 60 per cent of all the students reached occupations of a rank similar to their high school aspirations (44).

The follow-up shows, as do other studies of later dates (45-47), that the actual disparity is not quite so great as it might have seemed at first. The percentage of people in the various occupations, which was used in early comparisons, is based on a census of the entire population rather than on the population of high school graduates (44). It is obvious, however, that there does exist a disparity between students' aspirations and the probability of their fulfillment (48). This disparity presents one of the most convincing arguments for the use of forethought.

There is little systematic planning in college. It might be assumed that college students have more definite vocational aims than these high school students, both by reason of their slightly more advanced age and of their interest in continuing their education. They make, however, only a slightly greater effort to mark out a course for their future life roles. Counselors who interview college men and women who are endeavoring to elect a vocation find it unusual for a student to mention a vocation other than the conventional *general* fields such as law, medicine, journalism, teaching, engineering, or business. A decision which goes no further than to point to the entrance to one of these general fields does not deserve to be considered as a plan. Of the individuals who have no specific goal but who mention a general sphere, few know the requirements and duties of their chosen vocations, and still fewer have planned individual college course elections in terms of these vocations. Furthermore,

they are ignorant of the extent of agreement between their personal traits and the requirements of their chosen vocations (49).

An investigation of approximately 900 university students in relation to their vocational choice concluded ". . . that in spite of the religious and racial prejudice that will surely be used against them, and in spite of the economic, cultural, and social handicaps which they have, 70 per cent [of these students] are endeavoring to gain entrance to three of the most *overcrowded* vocations in the United States and 95 per cent are desiring to enter four of the most overcrowded vocations in the metropolitan area" (50).

A specific illustration of these facts is shown in the responses to a brief questionnaire given to a pre-war class of 66 students in applied psychology. These students, it is believed, were well above the average of the student body in seriousness of purpose. Twenty-two persons, or 33 per cent of the group, had not definitely chosen a vocation, and most of the 66 per cent who had made a choice merely recorded the name of the course which had been elected rather than a specific goal in the field. It was the rare individual who stated a *definite* vocation, such as cultural anthropologist, probation worker, dietitian, psychology instructor, psychiatric social worker, or packing-house executive. Of this class, 30 per cent admitted that they had done *no planning* at all; only 8 per cent had read as many as five books concerning their vocation; 46 per cent had neither *read* books dealing with their vocations in general or books concerning their particular preferences; less than 50 per cent had *consulted* or interviewed anyone regarding their vocational life. In another similar class of the same course only 14 per cent of the students had selected and read one book concerning their future vocations, and only 31 per cent had made appointments for interviews with someone in their anticipated vocation.

Reports from five other colleges and universities in various parts of the country show consistently that 28 to 37 per cent of the students are *uncertain about future vocations*. There were, however, several significant reports that deviated from these trends. At one school in which there is a good personnel division, 87.8 per cent of the students had made a vocational choice. At a girls' college as many as 57.8 per cent had not chosen a

vocation, and at one co-educational university the percentage was 47.2 (50).

Importance of planning. The reaction of some individuals to these statistics is: "Well, I am no worse off than many of my fellow students. Statistics show that it is unusual to find a student who has planned for a vocation." This reaction is legitimate. However, there is a strong assumption, made by professional workers in this field, that those who plan intelligently for careers will make a better personal adjustment and achieve more profound success in their vocations. Impulsive planning or indifference to planning may be signs of *emotional immaturity*. This is treated briefly in the introduction to Chapter 2 and more fully in Chapter 16. Concern about a vocation and plans toward reaching it should help to mature the college student, particularly if they represent more widespread individual purpose.

The specific risks incurred in the absence of purposeful planning will be listed and treated separately.

A chosen field may be filled. Certainly a tremendous number of pupils in the study previously cited, who declared their intention to enter some of the professions listed, are doomed to disappointment, since only a limited number of workers is supported by such careers. If the student who plans to enter a profession has not considered the relationship of demand to supply in that line of endeavor, how can he be sure that he will be placed after his years of preparation?

Another economic and social aspect of vocations which makes necessary some forethought in choosing one's work is the matter of the *changes in supply and demand* caused by social and industrial movements. It may be seen from the United States Census that the number gainfully employed in specific vocations varies from decade to decade (51). Sometimes the supply of workers is limited by the requirements of the labor unions. In some lines the number increases from year to year, whereas in others the opposite is true (52). Wars and economic depressions particularly influence occupational trends (39). There was a time when all theaters and moving picture houses employed at least one professional musician and large theaters employed a whole orchestra. With the advent of sound films this demand was severely curtailed, and many a musician who was preparing for such a position found the supply tremendously outnumbering

the small demand. Other such shifts are found in the skills which machines and group methods have replaced. We may expect air transportation, television, and the manufacture of pre-fabricated buildings to cause more drastic changes in the future. A college student would do well to estimate from the evidence he can secure the nature and extent of these trends in the fields which interest him.

The individual may not be able to reach his goal. 1. Lack of intelligence and special aptitudes limits vocational attainments. There are students who have high aspirations but who do not approach the requirements of these fields in terms of abilities and aptitudes (53). A student who desires to be a doctor may not have the intelligence necessary to complete the pre-medical courses with satisfactory grades. An individual who aims for a goal beyond his capacity will surely suffer bitter disappointment in the future. Studies show that college students are guilty of this sort of non-realistic thinking (54, 55). Such unhappiness may be prevented by a judiciously planned diversion of the interests, plans, and daydreams of the student into channels through which he may be certain of attaining success, happiness, and the respect of his community. The store manager is not unhappy because he is not a lawyer, if he has never had a serious desire to be a lawyer; and he is happy if he sees a future in his business, and a distinct goal which he approaches daily by his hard work.

2. Incompatibility of vocational requirements and personal traits limits achievement. If the young person has not considered the requisites of a vocation in the light of his own attributes, how can he be sure that he will enjoy success and advancement in that field? It would be interesting to know how many students never become lawyers, although they have the ability to attain the degree, because of lack of interest and motivation; or how many start preparing for, but never reach, their goals as writers, statesmen, or leaders in other chosen fields of endeavor because of personality traits that militate against success.

The following conclusions were reached after an exhaustive comparison of personality factors and vocational requirements of approximately 900 university students: "The majority of the students expect to enter a vocation in which they will have an

intelligence handicap. Thirty-seven per cent are preparing to enter vocations involving subjects in which their grades are low. Serious *discrepancies* exist between the types of work the student likes to do and the types required by the chosen vocation. . . . Less than five per cent of the students have parents who have attained the vocational heights of social desirability to which the student aspires" (50).

Impulsive choice gives rise to vocational maladjustment. Not only does incompatibility of personality traits and vocational requisites arrest advancement and success, but it may often contribute to personal maladjustment which assumes different forms, such as unhappiness, inefficiency on the job, labor turnover, and major social problems (56). It must be recognized that *sometimes vocational maladjustment is a symptom of a deeper personality disturbance*, discussed in later chapters. The personal maladjustments mentioned in this section may be reflections of these more profound conditions in vocational adjustments.

Unhappiness.

Paul P. had completed two years of college work. He was an honor student, was interested in cultural pursuits, and was active in student affairs, although he earned his entire expenses. He was quite popular and well-known for his pleasant manner and high standards. He dated frequently but had a tendency to limit his dates to one girl and become "serious." At the end of his sophomore year he decided to marry and did so without planning definitely for his vocational future or anticipating the problems that might arise. He accepted a job only as a means of livelihood and took a few courses on the side. His wife also worked. Four years later he had a child two years old, was living with his wife's parents, had practically no personal possessions, held a position as a retail clerk, and was deeply dissatisfied with married life. He wanted at this time to enter research in anthropology but could not finance his education.

He feels he has made a mess of his life and, even with counsel, is doubtful whether he will be able to support his family's needs while he is achieving his goal. He believes his lack of foresight and vocational orientation is responsible for his present predicament.

Labor turnover. The cost of turnover to corporations runs into millions of dollars annually. The *cost to the individual* is incalculable in terms of dollars and cents. Statistics on 245,000 boys between 16 and 18 years of age in New York State show

that only 50 per cent of them hold one job 7.5 months, and the other 50 per cent remain at a job a shorter time (49). Much of this turnover represents a loss to the individual in terms of future promotion with a single firm.

Major social problems. There have been individuals who have suffered major conflicts over vocational maladjustment and failure, which have been, at least partially, the cause of excessive drinking, suicide, mental disorder, and crime. How numerous these cases are, and the role that lack of planning plays in them, is a matter for conjecture at present. Sociologists have called attention to the "misery drinking" of the dissatisfied employee who finds in it an outlet for his frustrations (57). A comparison of penitentiary inmates and working employees of a large Chicago industrial plant shows that the prisoners had not remained on jobs as long as free industrial workers of the same age, sex, and educational status (58).

PRINCIPLES OF VOCATIONAL PLANNING

Generalizations concerning vocational planning. *Capable professional assistance can improve vocational selection.* No one should select a vocation for you, but you can secure professional assistance. Vocational planning consists in furnishing the student with a source of *information* and a method of *procedure*. He may investigate vocations which are open or inadvisable for him in view of the facts discovered by valid tests about his capacities and propensities (59, 60).

Some schools and colleges employ a counselor trained in psychology and related subjects to aid students in obtaining facts about their abilities, interests, and personality traits. Other institutions have set up testing and counseling bureaus. These counselors are in a position to help the student obtain perspective by reviewing the facts about their interests, aptitudes, and personality traits in the light of certain occupational information.

Parents are known to have projected their unrealized vocational desires upon their children quite often. The youth should seek to understand the parent's point of view but remember withal that it is he, himself, who must later meet the demands of the field. A frank, unreserved talk with the parent, pointing out cogent reasons for the vocational selection, and possibly

suggesting that an arbitrator be consulted who will consider both the offspring's and the parent's viewpoints, will be effective. This arbitrator may be a professional man, a teacher, a clergyman, or a friend of the family.

Effects of purposeless choice are more disastrous now than formerly. A hundred years ago the choice of a vocation was a simple matter. The minor apprenticed himself to a master and worked with him until he had learned a skill. Under present economic conditions and the complications of industrial life, specific vocations have become more numerous. Qualifications for positions involving skill or executive capacity entail the comprehension of technical matters. Systematic planning is imperative for optimal adjustment.

An individual is not "cut out" for a specific vocation at birth. Personality is the result of hereditary capacities and predispositions and of the many influential experiences which occur during development. A man usually has capacities and inclinations which equip him for success in a number of vocations. The best course is to select one field for a vocation and use other abilities as gratifying avocations. Among our great leaders have been men of many diverse accomplishments. Vocational selection, even for the extremely gifted person, involves preparation and cultivation of interests and appreciations—all of which generate ambition and drive.

Vocational choice and planning requires exploration. Just as we must banish the popular idea that one is "cut out" for a vocation at birth, has certain innate interests, and can be told by some modern soothsayer, such as a physiognomist, phrenologist, or other clever fortune teller, what fields hold a future for one's talents, we must likewise face the fact that vocational decision requires exploration. The following program, which should aid the student to arrive at a satisfactory decision, involves *reading, interviews, reflection, self-study, and experiences* in offices and industrial plants. This chapter offers to those who cannot obtain advice from a consulting psychologist several outlines and specific references. You have the assurance that these have aided others in their search for a vocation.

It is not true that certain fields are fascinating in themselves and others are drudgery. Casual observation will convince one that in the same type of work one person may be content while

another is disgruntled. The student has but to look at his instructors to find variations of attitudes toward a vocation. Some mount the rostrum with enthusiasm and interest in their subject matter. Others, it is obvious, approach their teaching merely as a means of earning a subsistence after obtaining all the college degrees they can. The worker believes the executive has a sinecure, but frequently the executive watches the employee leaving for the day free from such cares as a budget to balance, a sales quota to meet, or a loan to float. All the worker has to do is come to work, take orders, and earn a living, and the executive feels that an exchange, if feasible, would have its merits. The satisfactions that a field affords to the worker are not intrinsic to that field but are resident in the suitability of the individual for the field. There are disagreeable aspects to all positions.

One vocational counselor advises students not to expect to find a "perfect niche," or to be naively deluded by the "attractiveness of the remote" or by the "glorification of the unusual." Nor should the student believe that *any* position can be reached by *any* person who merely works hard and lives properly; this is the "fallacy of perfectibility." One must learn to regard the practical, occupational world realistically (61).

Preparation does not begin or end at some definite time. Preparation does not begin at some one point in time. The pre-law course is just as much a preparation for law practice as the course in contracts or evidence. An advertising writer once confessed that the course most practical in fertilizing ideas in his daily work was one in classical mythology. The man who can best qualify as a lawyer for a manufacturer of mechanical devices is one who has had a year of certain courses in the engineering school before entering the law school. There are hundreds of lawyers in every large city, but how many of these have had three or four years of chemistry as pre-law students to prepare them to handle effectively cases involving such chemical processes as those used in the manufacture of dyes, foods, or explosives. Just as all pre-professional school work is preparatory for a profession, so are early practical experiences preparatory for later success.

Nowadays, in many universities, *previous records* are used as a basis for admission to certain professional schools. One exam-

ination of records of students who intended to enter a school of medicine showed that 50 per cent did not have grades high enough to admit them to any medical school in the United States. Of those who planned to become teachers 75 per cent had grades below 80 in subjects which they intended to teach. Of students who had chosen dentistry, 50 per cent would not have been able, with their undergraduate grades, to gain entrance to dental schools in New York City (50).

Man can elevate careers as well as careers can elevate man. Suggest to a college student that the position of a detective is open to him, and he will reply that one does not need a college education for such a position. No, neither does one need a degree to preach or to practice law, but how many great ministers are there without college training, or how many successful lawyers without college backgrounds? There was a time when the profession which we know today as medicine could be entered without a college degree. As the number of men who had been formally trained in reputable institutions increased, those who lacked such training found themselves of inferior standing in their profession. There are pursuits traditionally devoid of college men which may be elevated to the status of a profession by superior preparation. A few definite examples are companions, governesses, private secretaries of executives, camp directors, fine gift merchants, and managers of employment bureaus.

Early valid planning may serve as motivation and allow a longer period of preparation. Some students with specific appropriate ambitions enjoy each step which places them closer to their goal, assimilate more avidly the material which concerns their vocation, earn better grades, and are more earnest and tenacious in general. One study of over 1000 students shows that those who have selected a vocation have significantly higher grades and do significantly less reading for recreational purposes (50). Some studies have further demonstrated this; others have not (50, 62, 63). Studies at the University of Minnesota indicate, however, that only those students who were professionally guided received significantly higher grades (64). Furthermore, among students not professionally advised, those who were undecided in two institutions were not significantly lower than the rest of the group in scholarship or aptitude (65). At

another Midwestern state university little relationship existed between vocational choice and grades if intelligence and age were held constant (66). It must be realized that those students grouped together as having made a vocational decision are heterogeneous and that sometimes the decision which is made, particularly without advice, is a faulty one (67). Other interesting facts brought out by investigation are that students who have used vocational planning are also somewhat above those who have not chosen a vocation in: *age*, number in *fraternities*, amount of work *experience*, extent of participation in *athletics*, *intelligence*, extent of *parental education*, and number of *mothers* who pursue the vocation of *homemaking* (50).

One of the objections to early choice of a vocation is immaturity. Maturity in respect to an occupational selection, however, is a matter of experience and personality and not of age. There are students who are quite variable from year to year in vocational choice (68). However, a boy of 15 who is *well acquainted with his own attributes*, has made an extensive *study of vocations* in general, and has conducted an exhaustive study of a few specific vocations (including *interviews* with successful men and *trial work and readings*) may be more mature from this point of view than a 30-year-old man who has held few positions and has neglected these other sources of vocational information. A follow-up of college men shows that early vocational decisions made in line with family tradition and boyhood hobbies tend to be stable (69).

Another objection to early choice is the resultant early specialization (70). Vocationalism has been criticized because it precludes a broad liberal background as a basis for higher education. However, it is not so easy to specialize in the average university as some academicians claim. All the first courses are general courses and, furthermore, present college and university regulation tends to prevent such specialization. The *mature student* who has a strong interest in his courses and current events, and who may be particularly interested in some general area of knowledge, probably *need not be too concerned over the fact that he cannot reach a choice early in his college career*. He is obtaining for himself a good general education which can be the basis for leadership status in a number of occupations. Studies of college students indicate that there is a goodly per-

centage of individuals who do not enter fields closely related to their college work, yet they consider their college training valuable (71, 72).

Belated choices, however, may preclude possibilities which could have been realized had the individual made the choice a few years previously. A senior cannot start anew as a freshman and elect the courses that would prepare him for a vocation upon which he has recently decided.

As many authors have insisted, there is too marked a tendency today to prolong the dependence and infantile attitudes of the child. The early search for a vocation under competent guidance is an opportunity for the youth to assume responsibility. Too many young men 18 to 23 years of age are as naive as children concerning the need and means of supporting themselves and planning their lives.

No one will criticize the youth of college age for inability to make conclusive choice. In some respects a tentative choice or a choice of a general vocational area is preferred to an established decision, particularly if the decision was not preceded by a valid selection process. Excellent vocational decisions have been reached after several tentative decisions have been discarded as results of reading, interviews, and try-out work in the field. Criticism may be lodged, however, against one who waits for events to make the decision for him, or one who has arbitrarily chosen a vocational field without deliberation.

Vocational adjustment, like other forms of adjustment, is an art based on scientific knowledge. In recent years ability, interest, and personality tests have been helpful in evaluating an individual for a given vocational situation. Adjustment to the vocational world, however, is so complex a process that no *single* test or battery of tests or guidance technique has been devised which can serve alone as a basis for a valid prediction of later success and satisfaction. A vocation cannot be prescribed in a mechanical fashion by weighing and computing the averages of a number of mental and personality tests. In the first place, some of the guidance techniques are in experimental stages. Secondly, even if they were entirely valid, vocational adjustment is so complex that individual test results must be evaluated in terms of the entire personality and the environment in which the personality functions. Tests are developed through scien-

tific research, but their interpretation and evaluation for individuals planning to live in a certain practical situation is an art. In previous sections, tests were referred to as aids to personality analysis, but they alone cannot give a complete portrayal of the personality or predict success in a field which requires a complex pattern of abilities.

Studies on the effectiveness of vocational testing and guidance. Evidence of the inadequacy of tests used alone as a basis for vocational guidance is shown by a follow-up of over 1000 New York school children who had been given, at the age of 14, intelligence, clerical aptitude, and mechanical adroitness tests (73). These test scores were correlated with such criteria of occupational success as average yearly *earnings*, average *satisfaction* on the job, and the average occupational *level* of the job. These measures of success are not absolute, and they depend upon many variable factors in the complex nexus of worker and position (74). They represent one approach, however, to a study of success on the job. The correlations obtained between tests and success are quite low for mechanical work (0.00 to 0.25).^{*} They are slightly higher for clerical work but still too low to allow much prediction on the basis of them (0.05 to 0.26) (75). Similar results are reported by another investigator (76).

In contrast to the low correlations between tests and success there is a substantial relationship (0.60) between scores on the clerical test and the future possession of abilities required for clerical work. Also, the various tests, together with certain items of school record, including the age until which the family plans to keep the child in school, correlate highly (0.90) with the grade the individual will reach at a later age. This correlation gives us a clue to the reason for low relationships between ability tests and vocational success, namely, that in the work-a-day world success is not measured in terms of ability alone (75).

^{*} One common method of computing relationships is the *correlation* technique. A "correlation coefficient" may vary from 0, indicating no relationship, to 1.00, meaning complete correspondence between the two variables. Correlation coefficients vary from +1.00 to -1.00; the *positive* correlations indicate direct relationship; the *negative* inverse relationship. If two traits are related negatively, a high score in one indicates a tendency for individuals to obtain a low score in the other. Correlations between 0.80 and 0.99 show substantial relationship. Correlations below 0.30 do not allow us to predict from one variable to another.

Tests, then, have predictive value in educational guidance. For the higher brackets of vocation considerable education is necessary. Therefore tests are valuable in a basic form of vocational guidance, namely, the guidance of education.

It is difficult to test the effectiveness of a well-conducted vocational guidance *program*, but several attempts have been made in this direction (77, 78). As one writer in the field has maintained, it is necessary to compare students who have availed themselves of vocational information and guidance and ones of similar attributes who have not, and note differences. Then, a number of extraneous factors must be considered, such as economic conditions, social influence, illness, and accidents, which might alter individual cases (79).

It is equally difficult to evaluate the relative success of *individuals* who have been given guidance, as compared to those who have not. Take, for example, the problem of evaluating success. Success may be divided into two phases: efficiency on the job, and self-satisfaction. What measure should be used for efficiency on the job—earnings, quality of work, quantity of output, length of time in the occupation, length of time on the job, promotions (80)? Again, all these are influenced by factors not involved in the individual's performance, such as economic cycles and the complexities of the specific job situation. Writers have pointed out weaknesses in all these criteria (81, 82). Despite the complexity of the problem and the errors that exist in the present methods of evaluating success, studies have been performed and in the main have produced evidence that guidance, counseling, and judgments based on tests are superior to no assistance (80, 83-89).

Investigators in England divided students into two groups. One group was studied rather thoroughly by tests, interviews, and analysis of records. Vocational advice based on these data was given. The students in the other group were not subject to the complete guidance program. After two years, elaborate follow-ups were arranged. From these, information was gathered about whether the individual remained in the occupation recommended, the extent to which the employer was satisfied with him, and the degree to which he felt that the job was suitable. These studies seem to show that detailed vocational guidance is quite worth while in terms of the criteria mentioned (83, 79, 90, 91).

AVOCATIONS

In the present complexity of civilized life, many individuals must make a compromise in their choice of a vocation and thereby leave some strong motives unsatisfied and some aptitudes unutilized. Furthermore, in spite of careful planning one may be *forced into a vocation* which does not satisfy him. It is in such cases that a man may make advantageous use of avocations or hobbies. Hobbies can well satisfy the personal needs which are not met adequately in a particular vocational situation. Avocations are important because available leisure time is being increased with the specialization and mechanization of industry. Stereotypy is encroaching upon even the more complex fields, reducing the opportunities for creative expression. Avocations, then, become the avenue for satisfaction of urges to create (92, 93).

List of avocations. The members of a class in applied psychology, in listing their avocations and those of acquaintances, named hundreds. A few are listed in groups below. In each group are included some mentioned quite frequently and others that are rather rare. Besides the groups mentioned below the avocation of social and charitable work was mentioned. Sports are not included below because they have been discussed on page 108 under "Budgeting Time" and on page 134.

<i>Collecting</i>		<i>Pets</i>	<i>Indoor Games</i>
Stamps	Paintings	Dogs	Cards
Coins	Plants	Birds	Puzzles
Bottles	Glassware	Fish	Chess
Minerals	Antiques	Snakes	Billiards
Prints	Insects	Bees	Ping-pong
Books	Hair		Darts
Menus			

Appreciative Activities

Hearing music	Reading German
Viewing art	Reading mysteries
Viewing plays	Seeing ball games
Reading history	Nature study

Social Groups

Reading club	French club
Sewing club	Psychology club
Dramatic club	Travel club
Dancing club	Aviation club

Creative Skills

Crocheting	Drawing
Writing poetry	Playing the piano
Designing dresses	Decorating rooms
Photography	Imitating birds
Lecturing	Making toys
Baking	Metal work
Gardening	

Selection of avocations. Several questions at once arise: Should one deliberately choose avocations? Should they spontaneously grow out of one's life interests? Should they be the activities one enjoys when not working?

In the main, avocations grow out of the *spontaneous activities* of the individual, but there are many bored individuals who have no personal resources to call upon to supply amusement. Americans are criticized because of their stereotyped, passive methods of finding diversion. It is uncommon to find a man with a well-developed creative hobby for which he is noted locally and from which he receives his fullest happiness. Occasionally one will be found who claims that he has the best amateur set of marionettes in the state; another, a banker, the owner of the oldest and most complete library on banking in the city; another, the best amateur pastry baker in the community. There are persons who have several clever hobbies which consume their energies and broaden their personalities. Hobbies are being used by at least one adult-education group as a method of stimulating persons to acquire knowledge systematically (94). Vocational interest blanks described on page 339 may be used to explore one's avocational interests (92).

If an individual has not found the joy which it is claimed may be gained through the pursuit of a certain hobby, the selection for trial of one or more absorbing activity like those mentioned above may not be out of order. The basis of selection of an avocation is practically identical with that of a vocation. Both call for an analysis of ourselves and the activities in which we are interested, and, finally, a selection growing from the comparison of these two analyses. Other lists of student and adult hobbies might be consulted (95-97).

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CHAPTER NINE

VOCATIONAL SELECTION

PERSONALITY ANALYSIS

The initial step in vocational choice and planning is to acquire knowledge of oneself. In order to choose wisely one must be aware of one's interests, attitudes, motives, and preferences as well as abilities and aptitudes. Put in simple language, a man must answer the questions: "What can I do well?" and "What do I like to do?" Once the individual has some knowledge of himself in this respect he is better able to review a list of vocations and study some of them intensively.

The self-understanding method. We have mentioned previously the pre-interview blank presented in the Appendix. This is a device which you may use to assist you in collecting information about your personality. This blank can aid you in understanding yourself for the selection of your vocation.

Before this blank is evaluated, certain *cautions* are in order. The self-understanding method has been criticized with justification by some vocational counselors on the grounds that *the average student is incapable of evaluating objectively his own abilities* and, sometimes, his own interests. When students' ratings were compared with tests, wide discrepancies were noted. The students' ratings, however, improved after they had completed the test (1). There is always the danger that the student may overemphasize certain aspects of his personality in order to justify a strong, false belief. We urge that this method be regarded as *merely supplementary* to the clinical methods used by a qualified counselor as outlined below. When a vocational counselor and objective tests are not available, this method may be substituted, but allowances must be made for its limitations. Some of the limitations of this method may be overcome by having a critical, qualified person check the student's evaluations of

his abilities and interests, as was done in the case study on page 361.

The self-understanding method, when critically used, is far superior to drifting into a vocation.

The clinical method. Below are two cases studied by a counselor with the use of the clinical method. The charts present *profiles* which show the students' ranks on *ability* or *achievement* tests and *interest* tests. The chart should be consulted again after the material on aptitudes and interests has been read. Thus the student will be enabled to see how test results are interpreted for a specific individual (2).

Warren F., age 22, is the son of a farmer with an eighth-grade education.* When Warren was young he spent considerable time "tinkering"—repairing machinery, farm equipment, and electrical appliances. He did not read a great deal except for an occasional *Popular Mechanics* or other mechanical magazine. He engaged in some sports but was not otherwise active in high school affairs—work on the farm consumed too much time.

In high school he liked plane geometry and made a 94 in this course. His grades in agriculture were high; English, physics, and social studies were low average. His graduating class was small in high school, and his overall average placed him close to the middle of his class.

After he finished high school in 1942, he entered the College of Agriculture to study Agricultural Engineering. His grades were below average, and it seems probable that he would have failed one or two courses if he had not been excused to enter military service.

He joined the Marines in 1943 and was selected for training as an aviation electrician. He completed several courses along this line and served about three years in this type of work, achieving the rating of sergeant before his discharge.

On his return to college in the fall of 1946, he enrolled in electrical engineering. After two semesters in the College of Engineering, during which time he failed several courses, he requested vocational counseling, during which the foregoing facts were brought out. It was also found that he had been working about 40 hours weekly since re-entering school, leaving himself very little time or inclination for studies. He stated that he had always enjoyed courses which were practical and which dealt with techniques and materials but disliked theoretical courses and those

* The cases of Warren F. and Marcella M. were contributed by Dr. George B. Strother (now of the University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch) from the Counseling Bureau at the University of Missouri.

which involved extensive reading. His work environment, home situation, and social contacts were adequate except for the unbalanced schedule produced by his heavy work load.

It was found that his English grammar and usage were substantially below average for college freshmen. In abstract verbal and quantitative reasoning he was low, and in a test of physical science aptitude he was in the lowest fifth of freshmen Engineering students. His vocabulary was also below average for college freshmen. In view of the fact that only about half of the students who start an engineering course actually receive their degrees, the

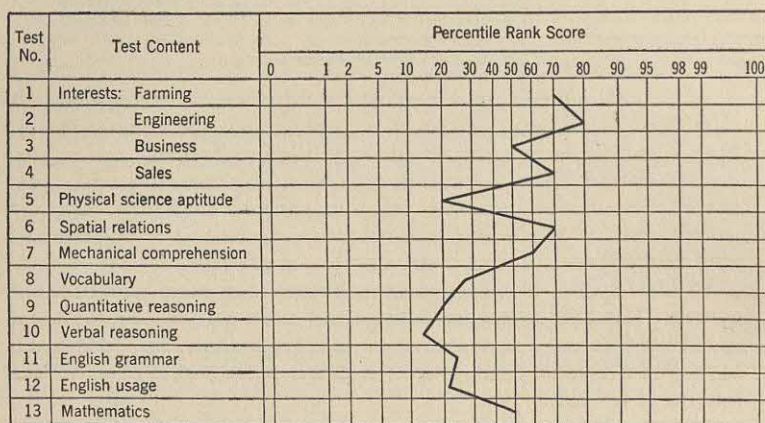


FIG. 7. Profile of interests and aptitudes for Warren F.

probability of his success in this curriculum seemed small. However, he ranked high in tests of dexterity, mechanical comprehension, and space relations, and had an excellent background of mechanical interest and experience.

The possibilities of taking non-collegiate courses or on-the-job training were discussed, as well as the possibility of re-entering the College of Agriculture or remaining in Engineering. Significant interests in farming, engineering and sales were considered. Warren mentioned the fact that a man in his home town had offered him work in the installation of refrigeration locker plants with an opportunity for advancement in installation work, sales, and management. He considered the possibility of taking a short non-collegiate course in refrigeration and small business management preparatory to accepting this offer. The counselor suggested that he discuss these possibilities and opportunities with his prospective employer.

After a trip home, during which he discussed these programs, he decided to take a nine-month course of training which would combine refrigeration and some small business management. On completion of this course he planned to accept employment with the refrigerator locker contractor.

Marcella M., age 29, requested counseling because she wished confirmation of her tentative plans to obtain a degree and teacher's certificate in the College of Education. She had completed the eighth grade in a rural school and seven weeks of high school when her father died. She left school after his death and for three years managed the family's farm. At the end of this time she took a five-month course in practical nursing and worked in this occupation for three years. She then joined the WAC and served for 21 months as practical nurse in an Army hospital.

After her discharge from the Army she returned to practical nursing for eight months before deciding to apply for admission to

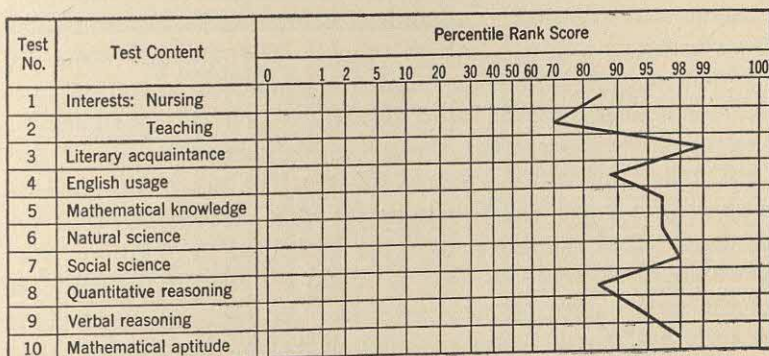


FIG. 8. Profile of interests and aptitudes for Marcella M.

the university. She took special qualifying examinations for college entrance and ranked in the upper 10 per cent of entering college students in all areas tested: English usage, natural science, social science, mathematics, and English literature. In order to go to school, she supplemented her benefits under the GI Bill of Rights by working as relief nurse in a small girls' college.

In addition to the high school level tests of general educational development, she took similar tests designed to measure college achievement, and ranked in the upper brackets on these. A psychological examination to determine general college aptitude placed her very high for college freshmen in linguistic ability and in quantitative reasoning. A test of mathematical ability showed exceptional potentialities in this area, too.

Marcella has significant interests in nursing and in education but prefers teaching. Since she has had considerable experience in nursing and is well informed on occupational possibilities in both fields it seems that her decision is sound.

Despite her lack of formal education, the vocational counselor agreed that her plans were suitable. After two semesters in college, her grades have been mostly excellent and she has received some superior marks.

Findings regarding personal traits in vocations. We are now ready to turn to some facts which develop from the laboratory, statistical, and clinical study of intelligence, special aptitudes, interests, and social traits, which will cast light on the relation of these traits to vocations.

General intelligence. 1. Importance of intelligence in vocational preparation. There are vocations that will never be achieved by some because their intellectual capacity prevents the attainment of the education which is a prerequisite for that understanding.

Some state universities administer college aptitude tests while the student is a senior in high school. The student's score on the test and his high school rank are sometimes converted into a single college aptitude rating (CAR) (3). This is done because the scholastic rank of the student in high school is one of the best indices of college success (4-6). The score obtained is a *percentile score*, that is, it indicates what percentage of all the students tested rate lower than the individual in question. For example, if the student's CAR is 56, 56 per cent of the students of the group made scores below his. On the basis of previous records and these scores, individuals below the 25 percentile have been advised at one period by the counselors in a college not to enter. Data show that 96.6 per cent of the freshmen with percentiles from 96 to 100, entering in a five-year period, were successful in college, whereas only 2.3 per cent of those with percentiles from 16 to 20 were successful. Studies in other institutions produce similar results (7, 8). The use of such bases for accepting or rejecting students prevents later unhappiness and maladjustment.

2. Intelligence requirements at various colleges. All universities and colleges today do not offer students the same keen competition. This fact is shown by authors of widely used college intelligence tests who have compiled the scores of students in the various colleges using the tests. One investigation shows average scores on one intelligence test varying from 150 for the male students of a New England agricultural school to 120 for the students of a college in another section of the country, and as low as 80 for those of another institution (9). The results of the administration of the American Council on Education test show the same variation even more clearly, as the scores are

more comparable. Of 152 colleges which used the same edition of the test, the lowest college average score for the students of any college was 79, the highest 241.67 (10). Students who are experiencing difficulty in meeting the requirements of their university should be aware of this wide *variation in the competition* afforded at different universities and colleges. Some colleges emphasize a certain type of work and select their students from a homogeneous background of high cultural status. Students who do not fit into this pattern probably should not subject themselves to competition which may result in unnecessary failure.

Arthur H. was from a small town in a Midwestern state. He had graduated first in his high school class and had migrated across several states to a university that selected its students very carefully and offered them exceedingly keen competition. The adjustments Arthur had to make were beyond any he had anticipated. Even though he was taken into a fraternity and put in contact with athletic activities in which he previously had excelled, the large school was so foreign to his high school experience, the situation required so much more initiative and so many new choices, that he was frequently in a quandary. He found the values of the men with whom he lived very different from those of his parents. Financial problems ensued, grades went down, and finally in desperation Arthur abandoned the idea of obtaining a college degree and returned home. Had Arthur gone to a state university or smaller college in his own vicinity, he might have been quite successful in competing with the same type of student he had encountered in high school and in having contact with former classmates.

3. Intelligence requirements for various courses. The average intelligence scores may differ in the various schools and colleges of the same university (11). The median raw score on one test for the graduate school of one university was 157, for law and medicine 142, for pharmacy 125, for dentistry 115, and for veterinary medicine 112 (9). These scores vary with institutions and decade. They are presented here merely to show that rather wide variations exist. Scores like these, or some estimate of the ability required by a specific college or professional school, can usually be obtained on the campus.

One study found that approximately one-fourth of the applicants for entrance to medical schools are accepted over the period studied (12). A survey of five classes in medical schools

revealed that more than one-fifth of all those who began work in the freshman year were unable to complete the four-year course. A medical aptitude test has been devised and is now given to applicants for entrance. It is discussed on page 332.

All these facts indicate that today a student should be able to know rather early whether he has the *ability to enter a field* and a specific school. He may first take appropriate tests administered by the school he wishes to enter, keeping in mind that universities and departments differ in the type of student they select.

4. The intelligence of workers in various occupations. Data were collected during World Wars I and II concerning the average intelligence test scores of the men recruited from the most representative civilian occupations. These results show marked differences in the average intelligence of different types of workers (9, 13). The creative professions require the highest intelligence, and unskilled labor the lowest. If a worker is too far from the average of his group in intelligence, he may be ill suited for the work and find himself maladjusted. Too high intelligence for a vocation may be as disadvantageous for the individual's success in it as too low intelligence.

A number of studies have been made concerning *minimum I.Q.'s and mental ages* for simple occupations (14). There are minimum intelligence requirements for professions, but close relationship has not been clearly established. Several attempts have been made to establish these requirements. The interested student might consult the literature concerning them (13, 15, 16).

5. Vocations in which intelligence is or is not of major importance. Except for determining the minimum intellectual level for efficient work, the intelligence test is not of great value in predicting *who will do well and who will do poorly* in certain vocations, as shown on page 331. In general, the intelligence test is not diagnostic of the grade of performance in jobs of a mechanical type, such as metal worker. In those occupations, on the other hand, in which proficiency in dealing with symbols and ideas is stressed, rather than skill in dealing with things and people, intelligence test scores are correlated to achievement in the occupation. This is true of executives of certain types, technical salesmen, accountants, life insurance salesmen, secretaries, stenographers, and bookkeepers, to mention some vocations in

which tests have been administered (17). Emphasis should be laid on the fact that there is no relation between business leadership and intelligence. Of a large group of businessmen tested, several of those who made lowest scores were presidents of their companies (18).

6. Intelligence tests may not reflect true potentiality. In general, intelligence test scores indicate quite well the kind of academic work the student will do. However, it is assumed that the individual taking a certain test has lived under conditions which have favored his acquisition of the skills and materials tapped by the test. Favorable environmental conditions, particularly of a cultural nature, stimulate intelligence test performance, and unfavorable environments are associated with lower performance (19, 20). There are some students who have never had favorable motivation or surroundings, and this is reflected somewhat in their scores. Studies show that scores are related to parental occupation. The higher scores in the professional group probably reflect superior opportunities (21-23). Scores improve as the student is exposed to the college environment (24, 25). The individual student must ask himself: Am I producing work commensurate with my potentiality? There is no doubt that individuals differ widely in potentiality, but they also differ in the degree to which they utilize these potentialities, as shown on pages 30 and 34.

7. Intelligence is merely one trait of personality. The above results, particularly those which show that business leadership and intelligence are not correlated, illustrate the *limitations* of high intellectual ability unaccompanied by other factors. Follow-up studies of gifted children show that, even among this group, success is determined largely by factors such as social adjustment, emotional stability, and motivation (26). There are few occupations which demand the same ability as that required in more advanced school work and college, for in the classroom one deals with symbols and abstract matters. It is not unusual to have a student tell about a roommate who left school because of unsatisfactory work, and who has since achieved success in selling or in other work which calls for skill in dealing with people. Besides general intelligence there are specific aptitudes and general reaction tendencies which are important.

Special aptitudes. 1. Tests of special capacities. The last decade has witnessed extensive experimental work on the preparation of aptitude and personality tests. Some psychologists are quite enthusiastic about the possibility of using a *battery* of these tests for ascertaining vocational aptitude. Some of these tests have been built around a given profession or vocation, assembled in a single booklet, and labeled a medical, nursing, or law aptitude test. Other tests have been devised which are more *general* in nature and which purport to determine the individual's status in the *primary mental abilities*. Preparation for the various vocations and professions requires different degrees of these abilities. Functions in these vocational patterns can be discovered. The individual's profile, expressing his pattern of abilities, can then be compared with the requirements of the vocation or the courses leading to it (27). Seven of these primary abilities are labeled: N—numerical; V—verbal; W—word fluency; S—space or visualizing; P—perceptual speed; M—memorizing; and R—reasoning (28, 29).

Another method of measuring aptitudes is to select from the whole array of specific aptitude tests those which seem appropriate for the vocations or curricula for which a given individual or group of individuals seems to have an inclination. This will be discussed later under "Special Academic Aptitude."

In most colleges now there are available to students testing and counseling services. A battery consisting of several kinds of aptitude and achievement tests together with interest and personality tests is usually given. In addition to the college services there are sometimes community agencies which offer their facilities * (30-32).

The medical aptitude test is an example of the professional test. It has been found that scores on this test, previous school grades, and interest patterns can all be used to indicate which students are likely to succeed in medical schools (33-37). Use of such tests should tend to prevent selection on the bases of extraneous factors such as race and father's occupation, which are now found to be influential (38).

Progress is being made on the prediction of the potentialities

* The Psychological Corporation, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has a number of research associates in various parts of the country offering tests and services at reasonable fees.

for success in other professional schools. Tests have been devised, for example, which are intended to predict success in law school (39-41). High pre-law grades, however, are found in some studies to be better indications than the test of the students who have greater chances of succeeding in law school (42-43). Investigations similar to the above are conducted on students in engineering and technology, nursing, pharmacy, dentistry, and teaching (44-52).

2. Mechanical aptitude. Mechanical aptitude, to a certain degree, is independent of general intelligence. It seems to have these components: (a) manual dexterity; (b) mechanical comprehension; (c) spatial perception (53). A youth may be aware of such ability because of his skill in performing odd jobs around the house or shop, or he may learn of it through a mechanical aptitude test. A student who has high mechanical aptitude and intelligence for college work may be particularly fitted for some engineering fields or for an executive position in mechanical enterprises. The prospective surgeon, dentist, artist, architect, and sculptor should also exhibit manual dexterity.

3. Musical aptitude. A number of specific functions are included in this category, among which are singing, violin, piano, and organ aptitude and ability to compose. At the college level many students who have ability along this line have already discovered it. If not, and if they believe they have ability, a professional psychologist on the campus will probably be willing to administer laboratory tests of musical aptitude, or the student may be able to secure opinions regarding his potentialities from several reputable musicians who would have no reasons for overestimating them (54).

Musical gifts reveal themselves early in childhood and are to a large extent independent of intelligence. It is doubtful, however, whether a person who is gifted in musical ability and low in general intelligence would give promise of becoming a superior musician, particularly in the creative aspect (55). One with slight or moderate musical aptitude and a flair for business has open to him related administrative and commercial positions, such as musician's manager, dealer in music, or manager of a symphony.

4. Art aptitude. Much that has been said of the general nature of musical capacity holds also for art. There are many

types of art careers. They all require *craftsman skill*. For the creative types, intelligence, aesthetic judgment, and creative imagination are indispensable (56, 57). The method of ascertaining ability here is the same as that suggested above for musical ability. Art aptitude is of importance in interior decorating, architecture, photography, landscape work, and clothing design.

5. Special academic aptitude and achievement. Special brilliance in school subjects shows much higher relationship to general intelligence than any of the aptitudes mentioned above. Students who show aptitude in specific subjects usually have become interested in these subjects rather early and have displayed more industry in them than in others. They have spent more time, have acquired a better technique, and are highly motivated in connection with them. Regardless of the origin of these precocities, the student should be cognizant of them and harness them vocationally.

With the exception of general intelligence, there is probably no aspect of mental functions that can be more accurately tested than academic ability. Educational achievement tests in the various school subjects may be used to investigate aptitude in these realms (57). Students may also learn of these aptitudes from consistent good grades in certain subjects (58). Students who excel in English, spelling, reading, and foreign languages would probably do well to think of the journalistic and linguistic fields, library work, the ministry, advertising, copywriting, and such; those who are proficient in mathematics might consider engineering, accounting, statistics, actuarial work, banking, etc.; those who are particularly apt in chemistry or physics might turn to the engineering profession; and those who show ability in botany, zoology, and psychology might think of medicine, various laboratory techniques, nursing, veterinary surgery, medical social work, and related careers.

Standardized tests in mathematics, English, language aptitude, social studies, and sciences are related rather highly to later scholarship (59). Journalism students who were successful were found to have high scores in linguistic and verbal ability when tested on silent reading, English, literary acquaintance, and contemporary affairs (60, 61). Even mechanical and non-verbal tests have been promising in the prediction of success in college (62).

In one study such tests were given to students in a college of dentistry and one of fine arts with some promise of value (63).

In thinking about your special aptitudes, you should consider the following categories: *mechanical*, *musical*, *artistic*, *linguistic*, *scientific*, *clerical*, and *social*. As implied above, a student may show high, medium, or low aptitude in one or more of these areas. These aptitudes will have certain significance for his achievement in a curriculum or vocation.

6. Vocational aptitude and achievement. Just as there is for school subjects an aptitude which is the result of general and specific native ability plus motivation, effective habits, and possibly some social factors, so are there aptitudes for certain vocations. The various stars, champions, and masters in different fields are the results of such patterns of ability. Some vocational aptitudes are acquired by early interest and activity in the field. It happens that occupational experiences, in addition to giving superior competency in a field, sharpen perception so that the individual is more alert in school and college to the applications of the subject pursued to his vocational province.

7. Avocational aptitudes. Repeatedly, in this day of prevalent and highly paid entertainment, we hear of clever or fortunate persons capitalizing on some ability that had its origin as an avocation or hobby, or an activity engaged in for self-amusement. These individuals usually possess native capacities and interests, which, combined with hard work, gain for them amateur status and later a professional position. The athlete who has merited considerable printers' ink while participating in collegiate sports finds his past of value, directly or indirectly, when he gets into the work-a-day world. The antique collector, the rare book connoisseur, the poultry fancier, or the apiarist sometimes finds his avocation profitable and continues to devote more energy to it until it becomes his vocation. It has been found that college men who choose vocations because they are related to hobbies show a high degree of vocational stability (64).

It must be recalled that Charles Lamb was a petty clerk in London, Robert Burns a Scottish farmer, and Mark Twain a journeyman printer and river pilot. Writing, for each of these men, was originally an avocation. We are told that Welch, the grape juice manufacturer, was a dentist who made grape juice

for the communion ceremonies of his church; Pemberton, who concocted Coca-Cola, was a physician; H. J. Heinz, famous for his 57 varieties of food, originally grew and peddled horseradish; Clicquot Club ginger ale was the discovery of a farmer who owned a spring famous for its good water (65). It has been suggested that a more fruitful method of learning the vocational inclinations of an individual is to study his avocations. Present-day interest blanks afford a means of investigating this aspect of the individual's preferences. A list of avocations is given on page 317. Avocational capacities may have a native basis, but certainly the experiential aspect is very important.

8. Aptitudes in social proficiency. Leadership, salesmanship, and public speaking are examples of this type of aptitude. Some personality tests indicate this ability (66-68), but the individual who is adept in handling his fellows is often made aware of it without the aid of a test. Certainly this aptitude is valuable in "contact" positions. It is a capacity which is believed to be largely acquired. Some of the personality traits to be mentioned later tap social proficiency.

Motivation. 1. Importance of motivation. Autobiographies show that it is difficult to surpass in achievement a lad who from childhood has daydreamed about some one vocation, has read in terms of it, thought in terms of it, and lived toward its fulfillment. Such a one who has the ability to meet his ambition is headed toward success. Evidence has previously been presented, in Chapter 2, that persistence affects success in school. There are always rare individuals who succeed because they have a strong desire to achieve when most objective indices point to failure (69).

Motivation without capacity, on the other hand, is an unfortunate condition; it breeds maladjustment. The sooner the individual realizes that his ambitions are directed into an area for which he has no bent, the sooner can he decide in terms of a field for which he can prepare himself.

One may be guided by less specific motives, such as the urge to succeed, to do one's work well, or to gain recognition. Some authors claim that *strong motivation is largely a product of early problems*, deficiencies, and training or circumstances which have given the individual *the habit of striving for goals*. The youth whose father supplies him with all that he desires without

allowing him to strive for it, and makes of him an inert, apathetic creature, is an example of the opposite.

2. Achieving motivation. Commonly a student will ask how to gain motivation in connection with a vocation. We have discussed this in Chapter 7 under this heading. Before attempting to arouse motivation, it might be well for one to discover his present motives and work in terms of them. However, alert college students have found that the following increase interest and verve in a vocation: detailed knowledge of a field, knowledge of one's own possibilities in it, present success in preparing for it, acquaintance with successful men in the vocation, realization of the social value of the work, realization of the social position given to those affiliated with it, and the creative value of the vocation.

A man who is entering the ministry, the Army or Navy, the stock and bond market, the diplomatic service, government service, teaching, or other professional provinces will find it profitable to compare his attitudes on specific current issues with those which are commonly accepted by the professional groups, to learn if he is motivated like those who are successful in the field he plans to enter (70). There is an inventory which helps the student to explore his values. Results show that students differ markedly in the organization of their values. Values may be primarily social, Philistine or materialistic, theoretical, or religious (71).

It may be valuable for the student to write out his "philosophy of life" before making a final choice of a vocation and weigh his choice in terms of it. As one writer suggests, a student should ask himself what value he attaches to such goals as wealth, prestige, self-development, and service (72). The opportunities within a field for the satisfaction of a prime motive determine in a large part the happiness to be derived from one's professional life.

Interest. 1. Longitudinal method. Intense interest is an aspect of motivation. Two methods may be used to ascertain the interests of an individual: the longitudinal or biographical method, and the cross-sectional or contemporary method. The individual, in using the first method, with the aid of a list of interests like those mentioned in the vocational interest blank below, recollects the interests that have dominated his behavior

throughout his life. The use of this approach to one's interests, which involves recalling from one's personal development the various interests that have been dominant at different times, is shown in the case of Alfred L. on page 300, and also to some extent in the cases of Jean and Barbara A. on pages 359 and 361.

2. Vocational interest blank. One blank, the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, contains 420 items and is an example of a cross-sectional approach to interests. It attempts to learn the individual's personal interests and to compare them with the interests of successful executives and professional men (73-75). Correction keys for these blanks have been devised for the following 38 vocations for men and 24 for women (76).

For Men

<i>Group I</i>	City school superintendent Minister
Artist	
Psychologist	<i>Group VI</i>
Architect	Musician
Physician	
Dentist	<i>Group VII</i>
	Certified public accountant
<i>Group II</i>	
Mathematician	<i>Group VIII</i>
Engineer	Accountant
Chemist	Office worker
	Purchasing agent
<i>Group III</i>	Banker
Production manager	
	<i>Group IX</i>
<i>Group IV</i>	Sales manager
Aviator	Real estate salesman
Farmer	Life insurance salesman
Carpenter	
Printer	<i>Group X</i>
Mathematics—physical science teacher	Advertising man
Policeman	Lawyer
Forest service man	Author-journalist
	<i>Group XI</i>
<i>Group V</i>	President, manufacturing concern
Y.M.C.A. physical director	Mortician
Personnel manager	Osteopath
Public administrator	
Y.M.C.A. secretary	Masculinity-femininity
Social science high school teacher	Occupational level
	Interest-maturity

For Women

Artist	Office worker
Author	Physician
Buyer	Psychologist
Dentist	Social worker
Dietician	Stenographer-secretary
Home economics teacher	Y.W.C.A. general secretary
Housewife	Elementary school teacher
Laboratory technician	High school teacher of the following subjects:
Lawyer	English
Librarian	Mathematics—physical science
Life insurance saleswoman	Social science
Nurse	Physical education
Occupational therapist	

It will be noted that the vocations for men are listed in groups which are associated because of common interest patterns.

Below are samples of each type of interest investigated by the blank:

Occupations. Actor, advertiser, architect, *et al.*

Amusements. Golf, fishing, boxing, poker, picnics, smokers, conventions, auctions, fortune tellers, *Life*, art galleries, musical comedy, pet canaries, poetry, *Atlantic Monthly*, cowboy movies, *et al.*

School subjects. Algebra, agriculture, arithmetic, *et al.*

Activities. Repairing a clock, arguments, handling horses, raising flowers and vegetables, interviewing clients, making a speech, calling friends by nicknames, taking responsibility, acting as yell-leader, writing reports, bargaining (swapping), being left to oneself, regular hours for work, continually changing activities, saving money, living in the city, etc.

Order of preference of activities. Develop the theory of operation of a new machine, operate the new machine, discover an improvement in the design of the machine, etc.

Comparison of interest between two items. Street-car motor-man, street-car conductor, head waiter, light-house tender, physical activity, mental activity.

Rating of present abilities and characteristics. Usually start activities of my group, usually drive myself steadily (do not work by fits), win friends easily, usually get other people to do what I want done, usually liven up the group on a dull day, etc.

Another interest blank frequently used is entitled the Kuder Preference Record. Scores are obtained in the following nine general interest areas: 1, mechanical; 2, computational; 3, scientific; 4, persuasive; 5, artistic; 6, literary; 7, musical; 8, social

service; 9, clerical. There is available a list of occupations which the student may consider in view of high ratings in any of the above-noted areas (77).

One worker in the field has given the test to students in professional schools and to successful professional men. Below are a few cases which illustrate how the test differentiated these individuals on the basis of interests (78).

A successful engineer. This man's grade was among the highest 20 per cent of each of the following vocational groups: engineer, chemist, physicist, scientific farmer, mathematician, architect, and doctor; whereas it was among the lowest 20 per cent of the professional group of teachers.

Pastor of a church. This man's grade was among the highest 20 per cent of each of the following vocational groups: teacher, Y.M.C.A. physical director, minister, lawyer, journalist, and life insurance salesman; whereas he was among the lowest 20 per cent of the following professional groups: engineer, chemist, physicist, scientific farmer, architect, and doctor.

A student who left an engineering school to enter law school. This man's grade was among the highest 20 per cent of each of the following vocational groups: certified public accountant, journalist, life insurance salesman; whereas it was among the lowest 20 per cent of the following professional groups: engineer, chemist, physicist, scientific farmer, mathematician, architect, doctor, psychologist, artist, teacher, and minister.

A student who is planning to enter the business side of engineering. This man's grade was among the highest 20 per cent of each of the following vocational groups: teacher, certified public accountant, personnel director, Y.M.C.A. physical director; whereas it was among the lowest 20 per cent of the following vocational groups: architect and artist.

A statistical analysis of the factors present in vocational interests reveals that four of them make up eighteen vocational interest patterns surveyed by this blank. If these factors were classified they would fall under such terms as *literary*, *social service*, *business*, and *scientific*. A common factor (scientific), for example, was present in the vocations of chemistry, engineering, psychology, architecture, agriculture, and medicine. A common factor (social service) was also found in the vocations: ministry, teaching, Y.M.C.A. work, and personnel work (79). Life insurance salesmen may be used as an example of the business group, and journalists of the literary (80). This knowledge is valuable

in that it allows the counselor to determine first an individual's general type of interest and, later, to ascertain more specific vocational interests. Research work has failed to find interest patterns among workers in general such as have been found among professional groups (81).

An individual will find value in taking this test, if it is available to him, and comparing it with a longitudinal study of his interests as made by himself.

3. The stability of interest. A review of the evidence on the question of the permanence of interests leads writers in this field to generalize: Whereas changes of interest occur, changes from one broad category to another are somewhat rare even in young people, and in adulthood interests are rather well established. At the college age interests, on the whole, have become fixed enough so that interest questionnaires have considerable prognostic significance (82-87).

4. Interests and ability. The question is often asked, "Is the interested student the good student?" The teacher of some experience knows that such a relationship does not always exist, although it is frequently found. It has been suggested that the relationship between interests and ability is like that of stability of interest, in that the two variables become more closely related to each other with increased age (82). At birth, neither interest nor ability has developed. Later, as success produces interest in an activity, or failure avoidance of it, the youth develops an interest for the field in which he is adept and shows greater achievement in that for which he has interest. One study on rated interest and rated ability shows a high relationship (r of 0.89) * (88). There is some evidence that vocational interest is related to grades in some fields (89). Both interest and aptitude need to be considered separately so that the presence of one will not mask the absence of the other.

Social and temperamental traits. Previous mention has been made of individual social and emotional traits as crucial factors in determining one's vocational adjustment (90). Recent college graduates who failed to make a satisfactory occupational adjustment showed defects in such traits (91). Attempts have been made in recent years to discover the primary personality traits

* r is the symbol for correlation; discussed on page 315.

or factors found in persons of our culture (92-94). Inventories have been constructed to appraise individuals in relation to these traits. These inventories have value for vocational selection (95-99). We shall discuss more fully some of the traits which have significance for vocational adjustment.

1. Introversion-extroversion. General traits may be broken down into components such as *social introversion* or shyness, *thinking introversion* or the tendency to analyze oneself and others, on the one hand, and *rhathymia* or the carefree disposition, on the other. The other factors of introversion and extroversion we shall discuss below under emotional stability (95). The introvert is the individual who "shrinks from the social environment," prefers to be alone, is emotionally sensitive and egocentric. The extrovert, on the other hand, shows interest in people and exhibits little egocentricity and emotional sensitivity.

In a review of studies on these traits the following findings appear: Of a small group of students who took a test of introversion-extroversion and a vocational interest test, the introvert type scored higher for interest in journalism, medicine, and literary work; the extrovert in engineering, law, psychology, and architecture. Office clerks, research engineers, accountants, and older teachers tended to be more introverted, whereas salesgirls, policemen, foremen, nurses in training, and executives were apt to be extroverted. Some of the higher executives showed a balance between introversion and extroversion (100).

In general it is believed that positions which involve dealing with people call for traits of extroversion. Individuals who have many introverted tendencies may find more happiness in dealing with things and ideas rather than with people.

2. Ascendancy-submission. This refers to social leadership versus social passiveness. It has been suggested that ascendancy would be compatible with occupations such as public speaking, reporting, managing, law, medicine, selling, social work, supervision, and other face-to-face leadership, whereas absence of the trait would not affect library work, secretarial work, editorial endeavors, music, domestic sciences, dentistry, costume designing, pharmacy, teaching, statistics, research, artistic or literary activities, architecture, farming, banking, and mechanics (101).

3. Masculinity-femininity. Both men and women differ in the degree of masculinity and femininity they show in interests and emotional and temperamental traits. Vocations vary in the extent to which they attract persons with predominantly masculine or predominantly feminine traits, regardless of the sex of the person. It is well for the student to recognize frankly the direction in which the balance tips in his case, and to utilize this knowledge in the selection of a vocation. It will be noted that one of the keys for the Strong interest test mentioned before is for masculinity-femininity. The Guilford-Martin Inventory of Factors G, A, M, I, N will give information about this factor as well as about ascendancy-submission, self-confidence-inferiority feelings, and other traits related to emotional stability.

4. Emotional stability. Individuals who experience difficulty in making adjustments to life may profit by the suggestion that they select the vocation which is compatible with their attributes. Educators today are emphasizing vocational planning and careful selection for everyone. Vocational adjustment, however, is imperative for those who have experienced mental and personality problems. The student with *many maladjusted traits* will show wisdom by facing the fact rationally and planning for the future so that his environment will cause only the minimum of conflict.

Inventories are available which help the individual and the counselor to discover aspects of one's instability. Reference was made above to tests of personality factors which measure traits such as moodiness, depression (unworthiness and guilt) and inferiority feelings, and nervousness (95). These inventories can be misused. They are most valuable when they are applied individually, accompanied by professional opinion (102-104). One inventory is designed especially to make the individual cognizant of any tendency to be hypersensitive, belligerent, or overcritical of people through which he would incur difficulty in adjusting in an organization of many people (97). An individual test is available today which will indicate the tendencies for one's traits to move toward the extreme of emotional instability (105). The use of this test enables the counselor or psychiatrist to assist the individual in making an adjustment so that he will be at his most efficient in a vocation.

OCCUPATIONAL ANALYSIS

After one has gained an objective impression of his own personality, he is ready to view extensively the vocations as a whole, and intensively a few fields which attract him. A questionnaire administered to 533 college students revealed that less than 2 per cent had made any deliberate study of occupations. When their completed questionnaires were classified in three groups according to value, only 21 per cent of the students were unquestionably informed on the vocation selected, and 13.3 per cent submitted papers with obviously uninformed answers. The best informed were influenced by "work experience," "study of occupations," and "immediate opportunity"; the poorest by "advice of parents or family," "desire for a professional career," "social position," and "ambition" (106). These results emphasize the necessity for the program recommended below, in addition to a thorough personality analysis.

The investigation of vocations may be viewed as consisting of four steps: (1) knowledge of all the vocations open to you; (2) thorough knowledge of the most suitable vocations; (3) comparison of personality and vocational analyses; (4) educational and vocational planning. Included in a special bibliography at the end of the chapter are many specific references. This will supplement the shelves and files on occupational information open to you at your college.

Knowledge of all available vocations. *Value of knowing many possible specific vocations.* We saw that collegians think in terms of very few vocations. Furthermore, the student who makes a choice after having considered every group of possible vocations and selected several for careful study is far more likely to choose wisely than the student who has not given the matter such systematized thought. He has less reason to fear that later he will discover a field which he has never considered, and which offers greater fascination than that of his selection. An occupational choice, in and of itself, has motivational values.

One difficulty growing from lack of knowledge of specific vocations is that the student prepares for general fields and *does not face specific problems*. These problems may be anticipated and partially solved in school. The answer to many a practical

problem in the work-a-day world will be found in volumes in the libraries of our colleges. Physics, chemistry, and geology offer the answers to many practical problems in foodstuffs, clothing, and building material industries, to cite only a few. Economics, political science, and law contribute the answers to many current problems in the transportation, amusement, and utility industries. The difficulty at present is that, since the average student has no idea of the problems which will confront him in the practical world, he does not recognize or appreciate the solutions when they are offered in texts or lectures.

Colleges realize the need to relate the preparatory value of courses to the occupational world. Several helpful volumes have been prepared (107-109), of which *Ohio State and Occupations* is an example (107). It presents brief descriptions of hundreds of vocations. These are classified under 69 departmental offerings such as accounting, advertising and sales, agricultural chemistry . . . veterinary medicine, welding engineering, and zoology and entomology.

John M. contemplated entering his father's oil business although he did not know specifically what aspect of the business to prepare for. He was amazed to learn, in his junior year, that the Physics Department offered a course in heat, the Accounting Department a course in business cycles, the Agricultural Economics Department a course in land economics, the Agricultural Engineering Department a course in drainage and erosion control, the Economics Department a course in business management. There were also several courses in geology, chemistry, and engineering, all of which would be of advantage to anyone engaged in the oil business. John's father had sent him to college to get an education. The father felt that John's professors would give him what he ought to have, but John didn't inquire about his choice of courses in relation to his plans for the future until his junior year. There were courses that could aid in the solution of numerous problems that he would encounter later if only he would decide where he wanted to work in the oil world.

Such a student is not rare. Rare, rather, is the student who knows his specific role and the problems involved. Consideration of a number of specific vocations is apt to force one to think in terms of definite problems while taking valuable general courses. One is challenged and motivated by these problems and gains maximum information from the courses.

Lists of vocations suitable for college graduates. Below are listed 437 vocations which are open to college students (107-116). This list is by no means exhaustive. Rather exhaustive lists of vocations are included in the Bureau of Census *Classified Index to Occupations*, Government Printing Office; in *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, I, Definition of Titles, Government Printing Office, 1939; and in several text books and pamphlets (117-120).

Read this list and check the vocations that interest you; acquaint yourself with the new ones by the use of the dictionary. The references cited above, although they contain similar listings, might then be consulted by those who wish a more exhaustive list of vocations.

Vocations Suitable for College Graduates

Accountant	Agronomist
cost	Airport director
government	Analyst
institutional	credit
public	public opinion
tax	time and motion
Acoustician	Anesthetist
Actor	Announcer
motion picture	Anthropologist
radio	Apiarist
stage	Appraiser
Actuary	art
Adjuster	general
claims	Arboriculturist
insurance	Archeologist
Administrator	Architect
educational	dwelling
police	industrial
Social Security Commission	landscape
social work	Archivist
Administrative assistant	Army officer
office of city manager	Artist
director of department	botanical
Advertising agent	commercial
copy writer	industrial
Agricultural specialist	lithographic
farm credit	physiological
farm security	poster
seed analyst	Assayer
soil conservation	Assessor

Astronomer
Athlete
Attaché, commercial
Auctioneer
Auditor
Aurist
Aviator
Bacteriologist
Band leader
Banker
Biologist
Botanist
Broker
Buyer
 art
 department store
 foreign
Camp director
Cartographer
Case worker
 medical
 psychiatric
 social
Cataloguer
Caterer
Chef
Chemist
 cellulose
 cement
 colloid
 dairy
 electro-
 explosives
 fermentation
 fertilizer
 food
 fuel
 metallurgical
 micro-
 organic
 paint and varnish
 paper
 perfume
 pharmaceutical
 photographic
 plant
 plastic
 radium

Chemist (*Continued*)
 research
 rubber
 sanitary
 soap
 soil
 sugar
 textile
 water
City manager
Civil service worker
Clerical worker
Coach, athletic
Color expert
Columnist
 public
 special
 sports
Commentator, radio news
Commission house agent
Community service worker
 field representative
 group work
 interracial coordinator
Conservationist, wild life
Consul
Correspondent
 commercial
 foreign
Craftsman, pottery
Criminologist
Critic
 art
 dramatic
 literary
 motion picture
 music
 photography
Culturist
 chick
 fish
Curator, museum
Cytologist
Decorator
 display
 interior
 window
Dermatologist

- Designer
 automobile
 costume
 fur
 furniture
 industrial
 jewelry
 millinery
 stage set
 textile
- Detective
- Dietitian
 hospital
 medical specialist
- Diplomat
- Draftsman
 construction
 electrical
 heating
 map
 mechanical
 refrigeration
 structural
 topographical
- Ecologist
- Economist
 agriculture
 analyst
 banking
 clerk
 financial administrator
 government
 investment
 market research
- Editor
 agricultural periodicals
 art
 books
 financial market
 household
 magazine
 news reel
 newspaper
 press association
 radio news
 religious periodicals
 syndicate
- Educational director
 business
 training
- Endocrinologist
- Engineer
 aeronautical
 agricultural
 air-conditioning
 ceramic
 civil
 electrical
 electronics
 highway
 hydraulic
 industrial
 insulation
 irrigation
 mechanical
 metallurgical
 mining
 research
 safety
 sanitary
 traffic
- Entomologist
- Ethnologist
- Etymologist
- Examiner
- Executive secretary
 boys' work
 citizens' league
 girls' work
 municipal league
 Y.M.C.A.
 Y.W.C.A.
- Exodontist
- Explorer, scientific
- Exporter
- Extension agent
- Exterminator, pest
- Farmer
 cotton
 dairy
 fur
 game
 livestock
 poultry
 vegetables

Federal police	Labor executive
Financial adviser	Labor arbitrator
consultant	Laryngologist
stock broker	Lawyer
writer	general
Fingerprinting expert	insurance
Floriculturist	labor
Foreign service	patents
Forester	probate
Fruit grower	tax
Genealogist	Lecturer
Geneticist	Librarian
Geographer	art
Geologist	corporation
chemical	medical records
economic	music
Geophysicist	Lithographer
Governess	Manager
Guide	advertising
Gynecologist	apartment building
Historian	business
Home demonstrator	chain store
Home economist	clipping bureau
Horticulturist	credit
Housing expert	employment
Husbandman, animal	foreign sales
Hydrometallurgist	hotel
Hygienist, dental	industrial
Ichthyologist	merchandise
Illumination specialist	newspaper and magazine
Illustrator	public speakers
Importer	retail store
Inspector	sales
boiler	small properties
building construction	theater
highway	trade association
Insurance agent	Manufacturer
Interpreter	Market researcher
Interviewer	Marketing specialist
employment	Mathematician
public opinion	Meat buyer
Inventor	Meat inspector
Journalist	Merchant
ad writer	antique
country editor	retail
editorial writer	wholesale
reporter	Metallurgist
Judge	

- Meteorologist
 - airport
 - weather
- Microtechnician
- Mineralogist
- Minister
- Missionary
- Music arranger
- Music composer
- Mycologist
- Naturalist
- Neurologist
- Novelist
- Nurse
- Nutritionist
- Obstetrician
- Occupational therapist
- Oceanographer
- Oculist
- Ophthalmologist
- Optician
- Optometrist
- Ornithologist
- Orthodontist
- Orthopedist
- Osteopath
- Paleontologist
- Parasitologist
- Pathologist
 - medical
 - plant
- Pediatrician
- Penal and correctional worker
- Personnel worker
- Personnel director
- Pharmacist
- Photographer
 - aerial
 - news
 - portrait
- Physical therapist
- Physician
- Physicist
- Physiologist
- Playwright
- Poet
- Probation officer
- Producer, stage
- Promoter
 - business
 - institutional
- Psychiatrist
- Psychologist
 - clinical
 - educational
 - research
 - school
- Public utility agent
- Publicity director
- Publisher
 - book
 - music
 - newspaper and magazine
 - trade journal
- Purchasing agent, industrial
- Radio announcer
- Radio director
- Radio salesman
- Radio script writer
- Reader
 - book
 - dramatic
 - magazine
- Realtor
- Recorder
- Recreation director
- Registrar
- Religious worker
 - rural
 - youth
- Representative, Congress
- Research director
- Roentgenologist
- Salesman
- Secret Service agent
- Secretary
 - chamber of commerce
 - employment
 - private
- Seismologist
- Shopper, personal
- Silviculturist
- Skiagrapher
- Sociologist
- Sound effects technician

Statistician
 economic
 public
 Stewardess, air line
 Stratigrapher
 Stylist
 Surgeon
 plastic
 Surveyor
 mineral
 topographical
 Taxidermist
 Teacher
 art
 college or university
 commercial
 dancing
 defective speech
 domestic sciences
 elementary school
 high school
 kindergarten
 manual training
 music

Teacher (*Continued*)
 nursery school
 oral
 physical education
 special
 vocational
 Technologist
 hospital
 laboratory
 medical
 Translator
 Undertaker
 Veterinarian
 Weather forecaster
 Welfare worker, child
 Writer
 farm journal
 feature
 greeting card
 radio script
 short story
 show card
 Zoologist

Know the most suitable vocations well. *Occupational analyses.* An occupational analysis consists of a systematic, somewhat thorough, analysis of an occupation, in which an outline similar to the one presented below is used. An analysis of this type should be made for each vocation in which the individual feels a strong interest. The preparation of these analyses affords considerable pleasure and inspiration, aside from the valuable information obtained through them.

Factors to Consider in Studying a Vocation

1. Activities and duties.
 Detailed survey of a typical day's work.
 Types of activities—indoor or outdoor; with people, ideas, or things; involving responsibility or subordination; in limelight or background.
2. Disadvantages.
 Mental and physical hazards—effect on health, disposition, and mental, moral, and ethical standards.
 Inconveniences—working hours, monotony, associates.
3. Qualifications.
 Education—general and specific; its cost, accessibility, duration.

Previous experience, or preparatory occupation.

Entrance—examination, influence, capital, or equipment.

Personal—physical traits, appearance, intelligence, and special abilities; interests and attitudes; emotional, volitional, and social traits.

4. Income.

Minimum and range, opportunities for extra remuneration, bonuses, system of pay.

Special benefits—sick benefit, insurance, room and board, pension.

5. Future.

Directions of promotion and extent possible in each direction. Stability—through year, throughout life.

Supply and demand—possibility of radical change in vocation due to invention or industrial shift.

6. Supplementary advantages.

Social position.

Opportunity for service, creative work, and reputation.

Importance of position in community.

Miscellaneous—such as social contacts and travel.

This outline suggests items to be investigated. The more thoroughly these matters are investigated, the more valuable the analysis becomes. This outline may be copied or typed on a large sheet, and items of information supplied through methods presented below. A brief sample of an occupational analysis follows.

Abstract of Job Analysis of Foreign Service

Foreign Service, An Occupational Brief

Western Personnel Institute

1. Activities and duties.

The Foreign Service acts as the eyes, ears, and voice of the American Government. It has the responsibility for friendly relations with other governments; for protecting American citizens and promoting American interests; and for keeping our government informed on developments abroad.

The officer has fifty or more duties, among which are: the issuing of passports, registration of citizens, advising on questions relating to American citizenship, issuing bills of health to American vessels, submission of reports on health conditions, issuing of passport visas to foreign visitors and of visas to immigrants under immigration laws, promoting and protection of American shipping, certification of invoices of goods shipped under United States custody, administration and settlement of estates of American citizens and seamen who have died abroad, and extradition cases.

2. Disadvantages.

The Foreign Service officer has hard, dull, routine work in a hierarchical organization, in which he is subject to superior officers at all times and limited in expression of his individual opinions. He is obligated to accept appointments as they are made, some to unhealthful lands where he is isolated without modern necessities. He is separated from his friends, family, and country. It is difficult to educate a family with his continuous moving about, and impossible to save with added expenses of schools and traveling.

3. Qualifications.

To be eligible to take the written, oral, and physical examinations for the Foreign Service, the applicant must be from 25 to 35 years of age, a citizen for at least ten years, and, if he is married, his wife or husband must be a citizen. He must have a bachelor's degree, or he must have completed three-fourths of the requirements before entering the service. He must read with facility French, German, or Spanish. He must be loyal to the government, and attached to the principles of the Constitution.

He should have a taste for study, be keen mentally, have a stable and winning personality, be patient and tactful, have a sound business training, have technical knowledge and inborn wit and shrewdness.

4. Income.

The salary scale begins with the Class 6, or beginning officer. Class 6, \$3,300 to \$4,400; Class 5, \$4,500 to \$5,900; Class 4, \$6,000 to \$7,900; Class 3, \$8,000 to \$9,900; Class 2, \$10,000 to \$11,900; Class 1, \$12,000 to \$13,500; career minister, \$13,500.

There is an extra allowance for living quarters and travel expenses. He is entitled to 60 days' vacation every year and 15 days' sick leave.

5. Future.

The officers are given regular promotions until they are retired at the age of 60 or after 20 years of service. They receive benefits from the Retirement and Disability System.

6. Supplementary advantages.

In highly cultural surroundings, the Foreign Service officer is living and working with the most interesting and powerful people of all nations. Opportunities for personal growth and unfoldment are innumerable, as he may study history, languages, and customs firsthand. Engaged in useful work, he has security, adequate financial returns, and gains professional and social prestige.

Sources of information concerning vocations. 1. Occupational pamphlets, abstracts, and monographs. There are available

numerous pamphlets prepared by reputable agencies which describe the better-known vocations. They follow an outline similar to the one given above in their description of the vocation. Practically every college today makes them available either in a counseling or vocational bureau or in some accessible place in the college library. Sometimes the persons or offices offering vocational counseling have placed them on shelves or in files. With their aid, students can run over in a relatively short time the characteristics of a rather large number of vocations.

There are some pamphlets which give briefly the essential information. These are known as *Occupational Abstracts** (111) and *Occupational Briefs* (112). They are prepared by experts, the first being a condensation of the known literature in an easily available form. Some of the more popular, lengthier monographs which cover many of the better-known vocations are *Careers* (113) and *American Job Series Guidance Monographs* (114).

2. Books about vocations. In addition to the technical monographs standardized and prepared by experts, there are numerous books written by persons in the various fields about their vocations. Such books differ greatly. Some are popular, interesting, and inspiring. Others are technical and resemble a textbook on the field. The author has compiled a special bibliography which will be found on page 371. A specialist in each of a number of different fields was asked to suggest a book which would give information about his field to a student who professed interest in it. Each specialist was asked to select books which are simply and attractively written. You will find such titles as *The Story of Modern Art*, *What Happened in History*, *Careers in Advertising*, and *Five Acres and Independence*. There also are volumes which offer descriptions of a number of vocations. A book called *Students and Occupations*, written by specialists in 17 vocations, is an example of this type. Another, called *Five Hundred Post-War Jobs for Men*, is listed in the references (121). Women will find useful a series of books about various fields such as social service, personnel work, business, and foods (122-125).

* The addresses of the publishers and cost will be found after the number in the bibliography.

The card catalogue of your local or university library will offer further sources of information. Look under "Vocations" or under the specific vocation concerning which you are seeking knowledge. Bibliographies on vocational information serve the same purpose (126-130).

3. Biographies. Although biographies frequently supply relatively little current information about a vocation, they give what is equally important—inspirational verve. Reading the life of a great man who has expended his effort in a vocational area that interests you gives personal insight to the problems and satisfactions to be found in that occupation. It also elevates the occupation in your mind. It is well to know the greater men in the field you anticipate entering; learn how they entered it, how they rose and reached success; know their interests, motives, attitudes, and philosophies of life.

On page 373 appears a list of biographies of successful persons in some of the better-known vocations. Music, art, medicine, science, writing, advertising, and politics are some of the fields included. This list was compiled by the author, and it grew from the recommendations of specialists in the fields represented.

4. Interviews of successful men in vocations being considered. The intimate side of vocations can be obtained from men in the field in your own community as well as from biographies. It is preferable to gather information from a *number of sources* in order to avoid an inaccurate slant that may reflect the experience of only one individual.

The student should probably talk first with friends of the family. If his family has no acquaintances in the field in which his interest lies, he should not be reluctant about interviewing a stranger. He should, of course, know beforehand just what information he is seeking, so that he will consume a minimum of the stranger's time.

In some cities the Y.M.C.A., Kiwanis Club, and the Business and Professional Women's Club have committees on vocational guidance to which a young man or woman might apply to obtain an interview with successful persons. This avenue should be investigated. If an introduction cannot possibly be arranged in this way, the student should not be reluctant to take the initiative in arranging a conference with a business or professional

man who can furnish him with information. If he makes an appointment beforehand and announces his purpose, few men will refuse him an audience. A good approach if the student has not had an introduction may be made either by telephone or by letter:

Mr. —, I am John Smith, a student at — University, College of Arts and Science. I am attempting to make a vocational decision in order to make a wise selection of courses next year. I am interested in — work, and I understand you are one of the successful men in the field. I realize that you are busy, so I have carefully worked out the questions I wish to ask you. May I have an appointment at any time that is convenient to you? I believe I can present most of my problems in a maximum time of — minutes. I shall be very grateful to you for an interview which, I know, will be valuable to me in planning my educational and vocational schedule.

You will find that most successful leaders will be friendly to a young man, and perhaps be flattered to be approached on such an important mission. It might lead to a very helpful contact in the future. A businessman cannot but be impressed by questions that have been carefully planned, or by a youth who seems to be going about his educational and occupational career systematically. He will undoubtedly find himself thinking of that youth and inquiring about his progress. Successful men take pleasure in guiding a young fellow who seems on his way to success.

These interviews will produce information with which the individual may fill out his occupational analysis. Items in the vocational analysis which require opinions can best be supplied through this method. Such items as the possibility of radical change in the field due to an invention, entrance qualifications, specific courses, or knowledge of aids to persons in the field might be obtained through the interview.

5. Work in the field.

A newspaper reporter came into the office the other day after having been away from the campus for several years. One of his first remarks was, "I wish I had enough money saved to come back to college for a year or two. I don't want to take graduate work, I just want to elect some fundamental courses I missed. When I entered — University I pledged — and the boys all told me, the little pledge, what to take. I came right from high school, was

only 17, and thought surely they knew more about what I should take than I did. I took Spanish, Geology, Citizenship, and Botany. These courses were all right, but they were not selected on the basis of my need.

"If I had spent a day in a newspaper office previously, or a month anyhow, I would have learned that there are certain positions, not so easily filled, which offer the best opportunity financially and otherwise. I would have seen that a good knowledge of Economics would have prepared me for a financial editorship; knowledge of History and American Government would have helped to make me a good Washington correspondent. I should have had French or German, or Latin and Greek, instead of Spanish. Even my Geology and Botany would have been of greater value to me, had I known that they could later be used as feature material. But when I was a student here I took notes only to pass examinations, and subsequently forgot all of them. If I had seen some connection between each course and newspaper work, it would have meant more to me.

"There is a 16-year-old kid on the newspaper now. I'm trying to get him to come over here next year. That boy will know what he wants to take, and he'll also know that in every course here there is good future newspaper copy."

This case indicates the value of having some knowledge of one's chosen field, perhaps obtained by working in it, even if for only a short time. The man in the field sees, or can be made to see, the problems to be encountered. A youth could well spend a summer in a vocation he intends to enter, even if he has to work without pay, in order to test his aptitudes and interests for the field, and to know something about it before entering. During this working period he should keep the factors of his *vocational analysis* in mind. He should gather information through *observation* and *conversation* with experienced workers. If he considers real estate brokerage, for example, he should spend as much time as possible at the side of a real estate broker, following his every move and noting the duties, problems, and many daily details that confront the man engaged in this type of business. He should note further the *qualifications* the position requires, the mental and physical strains, the *disadvantages*, and, finally, the rewards and *advantages*. He should try to glean from the situation those positions in the vocation which offer the greatest opportunity, and ascertain the knowledge necessary to prepare himself for them.

Some schools operate on the realization that "trying out" voca-

tions is a good method for testing an individual's aptitude and interest for the various fields (131). The college student can employ this method of trying out vocations, a method which has been found so successful in arriving at a vocational decision, through summer jobs, odd jobs during the winter, and visits to various commercial plants and professional offices. Some kind of short work experience involving projects which are a part of the vocation he likes should be of value (132). He might even get the permission of business and professional men to spend a few weeks in their offices to test his interests and capabilities in the line.

6. Visits to industrial and professional centers. If the individual finds it impossible to find temporary work in the field of his interests, he should substitute for this valuable experience visits to many offices or industrial plants. He should try, through extensive reading, to compensate for his inability to get direct contact with the vocations. Direct contact, however, is imperative if a knowledge of the field's problems is desired.

7. Other sources of information. Frequently *lectures* which afford occupational information are given at universities by men of reputation in different fields (133). College professors who teach courses related to the student's field of interest provide another source of information. In some courses *term papers* are assigned on various subjects, and the students sometimes have the opportunity to choose their own titles. Vocational selection, job analysis, or self-analysis may serve as a good selection and give the student added motivation to attack these analyses systematically. A *debate topic* may be found in this connection, such as "Resolved: that a vocational choice should be made in high school." Such projects satisfy school requirements and, in addition, supply valuable knowledge to the student. One summer camp group planned vocational guidance work including testing, conferences, and try-out activities to determine capacities and interests (134). A school group organized an *excursion club* for the study of vocations and industries.

VOCATIONAL CHOICE

Cases of vocational selection. Now that we have discussed methods of analyzing oneself and methods of analyzing voca-

tions, it might be well to read cases of individuals who, with the help of trained counselors, have made these analyses. Although the cases describe the vocational explorations of women students, they concern careers which are open also to men. Male readers should find them enlightening.

Jean * entered college undecided about an occupational goal, although she was tentatively considering commercial art. She enrolled in the one-hour course in occupational planning in order that she might investigate opportunities open to women and gain further understanding of herself in relation to these possibilities.

In high school, Jean had particularly enjoyed courses in art, history, and science. She had had some private instruction in art and courses in mechanical drawing and history of art which had interested her especially. In addition, she had liked all types of outdoor activity and sports. Academic work, as such, had been difficult for her.

Interests. Her strongest measured interests were in the artistic, mechanical, and scientific areas.

Aptitudes and abilities. There was indication that academic work at the college level might be difficult for her. She seemed to be particularly weak in vocabulary, reading speed, and reading comprehension. Her ability in mathematics also seemed to be below average. The clerical test suggested a lack of attention to detail in checking for errors and in copying written material. There was evidence of very superior ability in the perception of spatial relationships—an ability which would be valuable in the mechanical aspects of commercial art or a related field.

Personality patterns. She tended to be rather serious and to enjoy small groups of people who had interests similar to hers. There was a need to develop social confidence. However, she seemed to be quite tolerant of other people and to be interested in thinking through and developing new ideas. An attitude of being willing to consider herself and others objectively was apparent. She was inclined to proceed slowly, but she was persistent in working toward goals she set for herself in spite of obstacles.

During the interview with the counselor, Jean said: "I do things with my hands better than I do brain work, and I want to choose an occupation that will allow that. I can get my lessons, but it takes me longer than it does lots of girls."

She had spent some time during vacation periods on her father's farm and had decided that she would like to know more about horticulture. She had already checked into courses offered in the

* The cases of Jean and Barbara were contributed by Bernice L. Williamson, counselor in the Occupational Guidance Service, directed by Dr. Dorothy Pollock, at Stephens College.

field in other schools. She was seriously questioning going on to senior college, but she thought she might attend a specialized school. She read further on this occupation and, in addition, attended a discussion of it led by the botany teacher.

At the next conference with the counselor, Jean said that she found she was having fun in school for the first time in her life and that she was enjoying her social contacts—a direct contrast to her previous school experience. Because of these new attitudes, she was not sure that horticulture was the best choice for her. As a part of a service project, she was teaching crafts to some children at the Crippled Children's Hospital. Here she saw an opportunity to utilize her interest in science and her interest in "working with her hands." Consequently, her next investigation was in occupational therapy.

As she listened to other students discussing educational and occupational plans and as she considered her own progress, her interest in education beyond junior college grew. After the Christmas holidays, Jean came in for another conference. She had discussed her new ideas with her parents. In addition, the director of a camp she had attended for several summers offered her a position as counselor. This contact had brought up an interest in physical education. Here she felt she would have an opportunity to: (1) work with people; (2) be out-of-doors; (3) continue her interest in science; (4) keep up her interest in arts and crafts as a hobby. She also knew that after completing her training in physical education she could go on and become a physical therapist. Here, again, her experience at the Crippled Children's Hospital had given her a picture of this work. This plan, of course, meant transfer to senior college. She knew that academic work was difficult for her, but she said, "I want to try it anyway." She felt the final decision could not be made until she had some experience in the science courses. The work experience in camp would also be valuable in defining her interest. The second semester she was to take a course in hygiene and one in physics. She was also going to take college algebra to help her in other science courses, such as chemistry.

At the beginning of her second year, Jean reported to the counselor in a casual contact on the campus that she had liked her camp job very much and that she was "really going into her science courses this year." She did not return for additional counseling until March of the second semester. She met the counselor in the hall between classes one day and said: "I think I'm dumb and I'd like to come in and find out a little more about myself." During the conference scheduled she explained her difficulties as follows: "I thought I wanted to become a physical therapist, so I have taken two science courses this year, zoology and chemistry. I've studied harder than most of my friends, but my grades are only

average. If I go on in this direction the work will be harder, and I just wonder if I can make it. The mathematics and chemistry has caused trouble all year, and I just can't express my ideas in writing. This means that my test grades are not good." She decided that she wanted a test of mental ability, and a Stanford Binet was administered. Jean's IQ was 117. She was slightly encouraged, but she had come to the conclusion that her lack of verbal skills was going to be a tremendous obstacle. Even though time was short, she was referred to the Writing Clinic for special help. Science still interested her and she still wanted to work with people, but she was considering again her interest in art.

In May, Jean reported to the counselor as follows: "I've changed my plans. I'm going to transfer to senior college, but I'm going to major in art education and teach, and I'm so relieved. I had to try these other ideas, but I've missed not having any time to spend on my art work, and if I teach it I'll be able to work with people."

When Barbara A. entered college, she stated that she wanted to become a radio control board operator. However, she enrolled in occupational planning in order that she might know whether or not there were other fields more challenging to her. In addition, she included two radio courses in her schedule—one was an orientation course, directed toward giving her a picture of the field and its social implications; the second one was more specialized and was concerned with program types.

In high school, her favorite subjects had been mathematics and physics. Her extraclass activities had centered around work in student government and membership in the school chorus and a cappella choir. During summer vacations, she had had work experience as a switchboard operator, receptionist, file clerk, and general office work.

In the occupational planning class, she had an opportunity to see the profile of test results and, after a discussion of them with the counselor in an individual interview, the following interpretation was possible.

Interests. Her major interest areas were mechanical, artistic, and clerical.

Aptitudes and abilities. There was evidence of superior academic ability, and her high school grades seemed to support this evidence. Her vocabulary scores and the test of reading speed were also superior. Scores in reading comprehension were at the average level. There was indication of superior ability in mathematics. Although she grasped ideas readily, she felt, and the test results seemed to verify the assumption, that she tended to neglect details to some degree. She seemed to have superior ability in perception of spatial relationships.

Personality patterns. Barbara enjoyed association with all kinds of people, although she felt she needed to develop more skill and facility in working with them and a greater understanding of their attitudes. She thought ideas through carefully and logically and preferred to take action only after long deliberation. Her point of view was conservative and she was finding it difficult to adjust to new ideas and to make her own decisions. She was almost overconscientious in regard to acceptance of responsibility and tended to worry about it. However, as she was becoming accustomed to college life and activities, she found herself "taking these responsibilities in her stride."

During the semester in occupational planning, she carefully investigated three fields: radio, aviation, and merchandising. As she compared them, she found herself becoming more and more interested in radio. Aviation interested her, but here again the mechanical and technical aspects of the field appealed to her. Through her work in the radio courses she was obtaining practical work experience in the college radio station. In class discussion in occupational planning, and in individual conferences with the counselor, Barbara indicated that the greatest stumbling block in relation to technical work in radio was the fact that she was attempting to compete in a man's field. She was beginning to wonder if she had narrowed her choice within the field too soon.

She lived in a metropolitan area, and as a Christmas vacation project she visited two large radio stations to find out about the work and to see how women were accepted in the phase of radio which she was considering. The interviews confirmed information she had previously gathered: (1) there were women in technical work, but the way was anything but easy; (2) she should have a knowledge of the entire field rather than limit herself to one phase of it.

In a conference shortly before the end of the semester, she discussed a questionnaire which she had prepared to send to a number of radio stations in order to have additional data on job opportunities. At this time, she was finding work in radio production highly interesting. She said: "I feel sure that I want to go on in radio. I think I have the ability. My interests are in this field, and it presents a challenge to me."

In May she came in to talk with the counselor about the possibility of working toward a Certificate of Competence in radio. This program offered her an opportunity to work with specialists in the field, and if she achieved the standards of proficiency set by the Radio Department she would receive the certificate upon graduation. Even though she was going on to senior college, she felt that the additional counseling would prove of real value to her. At this time, her interests were not limited to the technical field but had broadened considerably. Since women often get their

start in radio through secretarial positions, she planned to take shorthand and typing in the summer vacation.

Accordingly, she came in in October of her second year to complete admission requirements for the certification program. Her reasons for her choice were essentially the same: "Radio presents a challenge to all my abilities and interests. It is not a static or routine field. It is not a typed field—that is, radio includes every field which composes our culture." Her academic standing for the first year was in the top 7 per cent of the student body.

During her second year, in addition to maintaining the same high academic standards, she was a member of the staff of the radio station and also became a member of the honorary radio sorority. She served as a member of the governing board in her residence hall and was assistant treasurer of the Independents. She gave evidence of having developed poise and confidence in her own judgment and of being able to take action on problems with considerably less worry than she had previously. This growth was felt by the student and was observed by the counselor and other faculty members working with her. Upon graduation, she was awarded the Certificate of Competence and was considered one of the outstanding students in the Radio Department. She has been accepted as a transfer student at a university and plans to continue her work in radio with the idea of obtaining a broad background rather than limiting herself to the technical field.

Comparison of personality and vocational analysis. *Decision should not be made on basis of superficial factors.* In both analyses there are major and minor factors which the individual must isolate. A vocational decision is often a *compromise*. There is the circumstance of the individual who must forgo the inheritance of a well-developed and firmly established business in order to enter a field for which he has more interest and adequate qualifications. A man will find it advisable to take a position with smaller initial monetary returns for the sake of the greater future which it promises. Positions which entail serious inconveniences are taken under the same provisions. A man may be too ambitious for his mental equipment and may find it necessary to lower his aspirations for his greatest happiness. A consideration of some of the bases on which choices may be made is in order (133-136).

Tradition, parental choices, influence of relatives and admired friends.

Position available when school course completed.

Financial considerations: present income, opportunities for later increases.

Social factors: prestige, position in the community.

Intrinsic value of vocation to society: service.

Living comfort afforded by vocation.

Aptitude for vocation as indicated by analysis.

Interest and personality traits compatible with vocations as indicated by analysis.

Future prospects of vocation.

Immediate large income.

Satisfaction of strongest motives and ideals.

Preparation by previous training and experience for vocation.

Possibilities for personal growth and happiness.

Special advantages, such as: associates, travel, leisure.

These factors do not form equally *valid* bases for making a wise choice, and sometimes the less valid influences are the most pressing (137). For example: tradition, family desires, admiration of someone in a vocation, or immediate large income should certainly be subordinated in most cases to aptitudes, interest, future prospects, possibilities for personal growth, and happiness.

Conclusions arising from comparison of self and vocation. When personality and vocational analyses are compared point for point, and the individual has, with the aid of the list above, decided upon the basis for a valid choice, certain conclusions result. These conclusions must be reached by each college student himself. In general they will be the outgrowth of discussions of the following questions by himself and a qualified adviser.

Do I rate well *physically* with successful men in the vocation?

Do I meet the *health* requisites?

Do I have the necessary *intelligence* to finish the courses preparatory to the vocation?

Do I have too much intelligence for that type of work? If so, can I find an avocation which will challenge my intellectual capacity and any restlessness caused by undertaking too easy a position?

Do I rank well enough in the requisite *aptitudes* to warrant entrance into that field?

For those aptitudes not used in this vocation, can I find an avocation which will afford pleasure?

Does this vocation violate any of my strongest *motives* and *attitudes*? Can I, or should I, change these?

Are there any dominant motives in my life that will not be satisfied by this vocation? Can I satisfy them through avocations?

Are any of my *habits* incompatible with this vocation? Can I, or should I, change these?

Do I have the social traits required for this type of work? Can I acquire them?

Have I the capital to prepare thoroughly for this vocation?

The answers to these and similar questions are found in a complete personality and vocational analysis. An over-all judgment will necessitate balancing these various factors and weighing the importance of outstanding attributes in one area and deficiencies in another. There are times when some outstanding talent can compensate for a deficiency. Such questions as whether strong outstanding interests can balance mediocrity in ability must be answered from an overall viewpoint (138-140).

How permanent will this conclusion be? The validity and permanence of a vocational decision depend upon how thoroughly the analysis has been developed. If the student has made a thorough study of his own traits, has secured quantitative, objective facts for some of his judgments, and has also explored a number of vocations superficially and a few thoroughly, his choice should be based on valid data. If he then determines, after some ratiocination, upon the best basis to be used in his decision, and checks the two analyses item for item, his conclusion will probably be a good one under existing circumstances. But circumstances sometimes change and necessitate new decisions.

Permanence is often spoken of as though it were desirable in and of itself. This is not always true in choice of vocation. A man may work as an engineer for ten years and then become the editor of an engineering journal. His original choice was good, so good that his outstanding success as an engineer directed other members of the profession to choose him as editor of one of their journals. The first choice, however, was not permanent. A certain flexibility, in such circumstances, proves to be wiser than a strict adherence to one's original plan. There is a tendency at present to classify vocations in *families* on the basis of the characteristics required by those vocations (141).

The fact that a vocational choice may not be permanent does not argue against vocational planning. If after ten years a man

has an opportunity to change from a good vocation to a better, his initial study of vocations will be advantageous in the later decision, if only to suggest a method of analysis.

Permanence, on the whole, is desirable, but the necessity for change due to economic and industrial movements should be anticipated. The fluctuation in supply and demand of occupations can be observed by comparing the Census figures over ten years (142). From 1920 to 1930, for example, there was a great increase in insurance agents, stock brokers, college professors, and electrical engineers, and a great decrease in untrained nurses, stenographers, typists, and street railroad conductors. The post-war era has opened new fields such as electronics and plastics. Much emphasis is placed today on trends and new careers by vocational publications (121, 143, 144). Information of this type should be utilized in making vocational decisions.

Planning. *Educational planning.* Nearly all the vocations selected by college students require educational preparation. Selection of the school, therefore, is an important item and involves knowledge of the school's offerings, the *reputation of the school*, and the requirements for entrance and successful work in various courses. It is well known in legal circles that, under favorable economic conditions, the graduates in the upper ranks of their classes in certain law schools are in demand. Certain schools of commerce have a similar reputation among large firms. Holders of Ph.D. degrees from some graduate schools rarely win appointments in large universities, granting such positions are desirable. If the student feels he can compete with individuals at the university which has the best reputation in the field in which he is interested, it is well that he make all efforts to attend that school.

On the other hand, there are some students who do not have this kind of aspiration. It is a wise course under certain circumstances for those who plan to live in the region in which they have spent most of their lives to secure their education locally. In some respects, attending a distant school might prove to be disadvantageous, whereas building a common background (one's school) with men and women who are to be of influence in the community in which one intends to practice professionally is a wise step in one's preparation.

In any event, considerable thought on this matter will not be

wasted. Several volumes (145-147), as, for example, *American Universities and Colleges* (147) and *A Guide to Colleges and Universities* (145), contain valuable information. They may be augmented by catalogues describing courses offered by colleges and universities. Interested students may secure catalogues on request.

Some students will find that in the light of their aptitude and interest analyses they can best complete preparation for their vocation out of college. Such a student was described in the case study on page 325. A young woman may find a good commercial course following two years of college work excellent preparation for the position of secretary. A mechanically inclined, conscientious young man who is making inferior grades in college may realize his ambitions for success by taking a trade course to supplement his college work. There are public vocational schools, night courses, and reputable correspondence schools that may be used to complete an education when continuation in college is inadvisable and unprofitable.

Vocational planning. Daydreaming is an interesting, fascinating pastime, but dreams which do not relate to reality are not desirable from the point of view of mental health. Daydreaming on paper is safer than the entirely subjective type, because it is more likely to lead to activity. It is recommended that the reader daydream on paper, after deciding upon his vocation, as a means of ascertaining what aspect of it seems to lead to greatest achievement for him. He should ask, "What is possible for me to attain in a year, in five years, in ten years, in twenty years, in forty years? How many avenues are open to me for advancement? Where can I be in terms of each one of these pathways? Does it give me zest to anticipate these positions? Does all evidence point to success in these directions? Will I be unhappy if I fail to reach any of these goals? Of the possible specific avenues I can traverse in a vocation, which seems best suited to my attributes?"

Below are two examples of the suggested daydream-on-paper. One shows some avenues of advancement possible for a graduate nurse, together with dates at which such advancement can be expected. The other shows the same for one who chooses a journalistic career. Note that several avenues through which growth may occur are presented for these vocations.

Nursing

1950	Graduation from nursing school	Graduation from nursing school
1952	Receives B.S. degree from university	Work as General Duty nurse
1953	Supervisor in small hospital	
1958	Supervisor in large hospital	
1960	Returns to university to work for Master's degree	Takes course in Public Health Nursing
1962	Receives Master's degree	Field work as Public Health nurse
1963	Instructor in school of nursing	
1969	Publishes textbook on nursing methods	
1972	Assistant director of large school of nursing	Director of Public Health Nursing in small city
1975	Director of small school of nursing	
1980	Director of large school of nursing	Officer in national organization for Public Health Nursing

Journalism

1950	Cub reporter	
1951	Reporter—writing an occasional feature locally	Writing features occasionally for small magazine
1955	Star reporter—numerous local by-lines	Writing features frequently for small magazine
1958	Book page editor—local columnist	Occasional features in large magazine—writing a book
1962	Magazine section editor—city editor	Publishes novel; sectional renown
1970	Associate editor—managing editor	Writing third novel; national renown.

A note of warning is in order. Planning of this type should not be too *rigid* or be taken too seriously. Success depends in part upon *events* as well as individuals. The individual who plans within narrow limits and refuses to accept any goals but those determined by him in his daydreams will find adjustment difficult.

Plan specifically but keep broad goals in mind. Some authors urge broad goals instead of concentration on specific vocations. They argue that changes in the occupational world due to inventions and economic and social changes require the worker to be versatile and to possess a background that will allow adjustment to changes.

Certainly higher education should be along *broad* lines. Emphasis upon choosing specific vocations within broad categories is the result of acquaintance with college students who *are* planning in terms of broad vocations. Their aspirations are so broad that they seldom think of the specific problems and duties of the vocation. Today's collegian can hardly avoid broad training. He can, however, escape thinking and planning in terms of the specific conditions that he will meet in the work-a-day world. Stress upon specific vocation is not at the expense of broad training but rather enriches and vitalizes it. Thinking in terms of the field of insurance should not detract from interest in a college education, but rather make more realistic the courses in general economics, mathematics, and statistics, recent history, and political science. If the vocational purpose of the student changes he retains the broad training and valuable specific knowledge which he would have missed without his motive. The *average* student can profit by such motives as enrich his curiosity and increase his information.

At this point the question of the standard of success to be used arises—money, creation, happiness, efficiency, or public esteem. Those standards given least publicity often prove to be the more desirable measures of success as far as the individual himself is concerned; for example, happiness, creation, and professional esteem.

Planning for the position. If the student will visualize himself applying for a specific position he may become more interested in the preparation for his vocation. We have previously discussed working in the field as a source of vocational knowledge. We have shown how summer and part-time positions may lead to more permanent appointments. For these reasons we are devoting this space to planning for a position.

Applying for the first position is an epochal event. One is filled with conflicting emotions, fear usually being the dominant one. Below, one student relates an experience.

"I shall never forget how cold chills ran up and down my spine when the manager of a chain of theaters asked me why I had chosen the theatrical business as a career. The truth was I had not chosen it. I was merely looking for a job, and this was one. I was scared before he began questioning me, but after that one he had me.

I was ready to leave his office that minute. I didn't get the position!"

Applying for the first position requires planning just as any other aspect of the vocational career does. Place yourself in the role of the employer who is interviewing an inexperienced graduate "just looking for a job." What would be your attitude? Many persons enter the employment office with the same attitude as that with which the beggar approaches the passer-by. His approach conveys the attitude, "Mister, please put a job in my cup." He has no reason to receive any treatment other than that which he gets. How much more business-like and destined for success is the applicant who has selected the firm with which he believes he can rise to success, knows the policy, history, and plant of the firm, is "sold on it," knows whom he should interview, and knows something about this man.

The applicant should have something to offer the company. The student who hopes to find a place in the meat-packing industry may begin his sophomore year with the decision that he will, along with his general education, learn as much as he can about the packing business. He may elect chemistry, biology, economics, physics, and psychology and, through cognizance of such problems as prevention of spoilage, regulation of temperature, motivation of workers, and utilization of animal by-products, may gain definite knowledge to offer any one of the packing houses. This knowledge will be gained largely through collateral readings in the above-named subjects. If such a student makes an appointment with the proper executive, carefully plans his initial interview, is tactful, assumes an attitude of confidence tempered with deference, and above all shows an honest interest in utilizing any knowledge he might have to the advantage of the firm, he will have presented himself in the best light.

Some other suggestions that will prove of value in *securing a position through an interview* follow. (1) Make contacts while in school with executives in the field you wish to enter, either through sincere, interested requests for advice or through summer work. (2) Merit sincere, valid letters of recommendation. (3) Ask for an appointment before trying to interview the executive. If you are not acquainted with him, it would be well to state briefly your mission, your hope for the possibility of an

opening, and your qualifications. Some students who lacked contacts have been successful in securing employment by writing letters to twenty or more executives, stating their reasons for interest in the company, their qualifications, and the positions they feel they could fill. (4) Plan the interview thoroughly; anticipate the questions you will be asked and the interviewer's reactions which will result from your behavior. Know how you will present your qualifications and your knowledge of the problems of the industrial situation. Have with you all data that may be helpful, such as references, samples of work, and school transcript. (5) When nervousness occurs upon entering the executive's office, realize that it is quite natural. All your fellow applicants feel the same way. (6) Put yourself in the place of the interviewer and realize that you would prefer to employ an *able, well-qualified, aggressive, yet somewhat modest individual who understands the problems of the position and is sincerely interested in serving the company*. (7) Remember that, on many employers, factors which may seem irrelevant to competency, such as clothes, grooming and a cooperative attitude, may exert a paramount influence (148-150).

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CHAPTER TEN

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION

During the teens and early twenties, adjustment to other people and the conventions they represent looms high. Jack feels that he is not one of the select group and desires strongly to be included; Mary prefers to remain alone in her room rather than experience awkwardness in a group; Bill thinks he is not the kind of fellow who is wanted by groups; Martin is in constant conflict with the fellows and seems to have a chip on his shoulder; Alice has never been sought by others but instead has been teased and has learned to fear and suspect them. Whereas Jack, Mary, Bill, Martin, and Alice think about their social relationships, they do not see them in terms of their background, their total adjustment, or their inner security. Whether one tends to be a lone wolf or a social butterfly is largely determined by the way experiences of the past have played upon his basic temperament. There is a strong tendency for collegians to seek sociality in college (1). If a student is to improve his social adjustment to meet *his* standards and the group pressures more satisfactorily, it is necessary for him to understand how he acquired his present social traits.

Circumstances in childhood may not have brought him among people. Events in school and on the playground sometimes encourage seclusiveness. Not all children learn to play, to fight, to become toughened to rebuffs and teasing. Retirement to a world of hobbies, books, and inner adventure may lead to neglect of grooming and social interests. Some childhood and adolescent environments leave the individual unprepared for parties, kidding, ease with groups, and adoption of styles. With an understanding of his development the individual may regard problems of popularity, friendship, leadership, or social profi-

ciency in perspective. The relationship of sociality to self-consciousness, feelings of inferiority, or emotional instability will become apparent. He may see that it is his emotional life which causes him to withdraw from people or to offend them.

Social adjustment is important in youth because at this age the "crowd" is supplanting the family as an influence. In early life, rejection by the mother or father and loss of their love is a very disturbing experience. In adolescence and youth, loss of the approval of the group is an equally disturbing experience, particularly for the individual who is trying to move from the orbit of the family into the orbit of outer society. A sense of security in a group or the feeling that one is a wanted and integrated part of a valued society, on the other hand, is a great aid to personality growth and adjustment. At first, in an attempt to adjust to social insecurity, a student may become meticulously conventional. Any deviation from the pattern of the crowd is carefully avoided. He may become disconcerted because his past training has not supplied him with the social habits and attitudes which he sees others using freely. He may think himself so far removed from the smooth, easy, social person that he surrenders and turns to solitary ventures or daydreams. Frequently, however, social withdrawal has appeared to some extent during pre-adolescence and crops out now to be perpetuated.

The suggestions given in this and in the next chapter regarding the bases for popularity, friendship, group activity, social proficiency, and leadership will have value, but this value for the individual depends upon his understanding of the basis of his present behavior. This understanding may be achieved by utilizing the insights provided in the material on development of personality in Chapter 6, on bases of human conflicts in Chapter 5, and by the various means of dealing with emotional problems presented in Chapter 7. As he recognizes his basic conflicts and frustrations and their origins, and moves toward inner security, he will find it easier to select relevant suggestions on social relations and to put them into practice. The hints given here will then become more than a means of patching social deficiencies here and there. With the help of a wide comprehension of oneself, they can be woven into behavior.

Frequently, after an individual understands his basic prob-

lem and the causes of his insecurity, the desire for popularity or inordinate friendship is not so compulsive. Most important is that a feasible and realistic adjustment to others be made—not a mere imitation of their conventions which sometimes have little lasting validity. He may see also the kind of leadership he can best assume. Current social conventions and the means of achieving them may be considered with calm rather than with urgency. Furthermore, as he gains freedom from the tensions of his own personal problem, he may regard other people more objectively and come to appreciate the wide range of individual differences in social behavior. He will see that there are persons who are reserved, yet have made a good social adjustment; that there are others who are in the thick of social intercourse, yet have not achieved a good inner adjustment.

Kinds of sociality. A number of types of sociality exist, and there are tendencies in human nature which make for sociality. Many of us are similar in some aspects of sociality and different in others. *Popularity* is a form of sociality, yet popularity differs from true friendliness, another aspect of sociality. Both popularity and *friendship* differ from *leadership*, which suggests ability to direct people as well as to attract them. Then there is *social proficiency*. A person may not be popular and yet be successful in handling others. He may not even be thought of as a leader and yet possess a certain amount of the proficient's ability. He may be successful in arguments and face-to-face relationships, yet never assume a leader's role. As a rule, however, we would expect social proficiency and leadership to be closely related. We would not, on the other hand, expect popularity and the ability to make deep, lasting friendships to be in close relationship. It is for this reason that we discuss these aspects of sociality separately.

Case of social development.

Harry N., as a 20-year-old college sophomore, was only moderately friendly, *not at all popular, a poor strategist, but a leader of a small group* of liberal students on the campus. He was born on a farm near a town of 500. His parents were frugal farmers who were gradually paying off their debt and educating their children. They were strongly religious, conservative in politics, and somewhat intolerant of the more carefree persons with whom they occasionally came into contact. Harry had had few playmates. His mother taught him to read early in life, and he became an avid

reader. Most of the books he read in later childhood and adolescence he obtained from a liberal doctor in the community who owned a good library. In high school he admired a social science teacher who was well on the left side of the political horizon. During this period he was rarely considered "one of the boys." He was also only moderately popular with the girls. He was not conscious of the styles. He did not participate in athletics except as he was brought into them by pressure. He was masculine in physique and general attitude, but his reading had given him more mature interests than most of the students with whom he associated. As the gap between him and the typical high school student widened he began to justify his own attitudes, to think of his fellow students as superficial, and to look to his teacher and doctor friends for companionship. Unlike some of his associates he did not feel strongly inferior or depressed because he was not among the "upper crust" or the social crowd. They just did not interest him.

In college he found others of similar attitudes, although he was distinctly out of the class of the more urbane students. He met a girl in his sophomore year. She was far more sociable than he. She taught him to dance and prevailed upon him to improve his grooming and dress. It was through her eyes that he saw for the first time the more sociable type of student.

His values began to conflict. He and his roommate were very active in an organization composed of scholarly underclassmen who ignored all social functions on the campus. His leadership in this group conflicted with his newly acquired interest in social activities.

This was not the only conflict in his personality. The conservative attitudes with which his parents had imbued him were conflicting with the liberal attitudes he had acquired from his physician friend and the college group with which he was most intimate. He felt that he was right to differ with his parents on political issues and with his girl on social matters. Nevertheless, he was dependent on them in many respects. He also, paradoxically, felt superior to the more sociable students because of his better vocabulary and comprehension of current events, and yet felt less at ease than they when they met on common ground.

Harry found, as he discussed this matter with an older friend, that he achieved understanding. He reached a tentative conclusion regarding the attitude he is to take concerning his own views, and their meaning in terms of his relationship to his parents and to a girl.

Harry's case illustrates the complexity of the development of social traits, and how in our growing up we may acquire or introject the social traits of several different people, thereby

experiencing a conflict. We may, for example, have been reared under childhood influences which have disparaged popularity with the group in the limelight and which have produced traits inimical to ease in a highly social crowd. Then, later in life, conditions may have aroused a desire to be one of the "smart" crowd. Inner conflicts such as these are accentuated by the social conflicts that exist among social groups themselves. Youth is known for its exclusive cliques, its snobbishness, its hostility toward those who differ in any way from the in-group. Such exclusiveness may produce a longing to conform or may in rarer cases produce the reverse—strong protest and hostility against that which is in vogue. There are some non-conformists who derive their attitudes of insurgence from events and influences in early life, possibly as a reaction to a parent or to a hostile society which branded them for coming from "across the tracks" or from a group with less prestige. The problem of adjusting to groups or persons who are essentially different from ourselves in background and customs will be discussed more fully in Chapter 11 under Social Proficiency.

The question of conformity. As suggested above, youth in its desire to mature and to identify itself with a group with prestige usually conforms to what is in vogue and what is selected by its leaders. Students conform to bizarre deviation from adult behavior such as queer clothing, blatantly colored vehicles, marked-up books, current slang, and strenuous dances. There are a few individuals, as indicated above, who are just as strong in opposition to fads. Much of the material to be presented in this chapter and the next concerns conforming to established patterns of social conduct. Principles of grooming, style, desirable social habits, and etiquette are sought. The desire to make friends, win status, and belong to groups is strong. There is interest in the strategy that enables individuals to influence others successfully. In the American culture the individualistic pattern is dominant. There is great emphasis on style, performance, on becoming outstanding as an individual, in addition to blending one's influence into the group action. Basically we have been trained to get our own way without alienating others too greatly.

There are those who have great *difficulty in conforming*. They may have been brought up in an overprotected environ-

ment, victims of what is popularly known as spoiling. Their parents have allowed them to do as they wished and to secure the limelight for themselves. Some find it very difficult to give others the stage even momentarily. They must have attention. These individuals are discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 14 under "Directing Unstable Behavior." Others seek power and success for opposite reasons. They have failed in some way and feel inferior. They usually conform in conventions and seek their distinction through accomplishment that surpasses that of others. They refuse to conform to mediocrity or to the average. They strive for perfection.

There are other individuals who fail to conform because they feel they cannot. They have never learned the attitudes, skills, and traits that come from playing with one's contemporaries during the growing years, learning the art of compromise, learning how to direct their own hostilities and to dissipate the hostility of others. They give up the social struggle and turn to a world of fantasy. Some may write, read avidly, or never miss a new movie. Such individuals fail to conform because they feel themselves to be different. This may be depressing to them, particularly if they also have a sense of being unwanted. They are essentially withdrawn persons. Individuals of this kind are also discussed in Chapter 14 under "Emerging from Emotional Depressions."

The individuals described above have strong inner motivations and are influenced by them rather than by fragmentary events of their environment. The rule, however, for adolescents and youths, despite the heterodoxy of cultures, religions, standards, and attitudes represented in America by various groups, is to conform outwardly. Advertising and the movies have done much to bring about similarities in clothing, grooming, interest in popular songs, slang, and ideas. Social organizations put pressure on their members to behave in a manner which will win superficial prestige. There are strong American prejudices in favor of cleanliness and certain kinds of restraint in public. Etiquette is inculcated by various means. We want during our maturing years to learn how to gather prestige and how to use it in a manner which will be profitable to us. We have been taught to use social approval and conformity as means to success.

Let us *evaluate critically* conformity as a goal. Much conformity is by way of facilitating communication between groups. If individuals understand the same language, are bound by the same customs and attitudes, they communicate more readily. From the individual's standpoint, knowing the accepted mode of behavior simplifies action for him. It removes conflict and insecurity.

However, since groups differ and there is no universal way of behaving, when an individual conforms to one group he will find himself differing from people of a different geographical location or social character. As the world becomes smaller because of rapid communication, he comes more often into contact with other groups which have different modes of behavior. Furthermore, since change is inevitable and constant, behavior which is acceptable at one time is not at another. Rigid adherence to one set of practices may cause the individual to be at odds with another group, or with his own group of a different generation. Conformity assumes uniformity and rigidity of human customs, neither of which exists. *Too strong an emphasis on conformity might impede one's adjustment*, which involves continuous adaptation to circumstances around one. The question of adjusting to different groups will be discussed under "Social Proficiency" in Chapter 11, and the matter of building a way of life which will meet changes and standards is discussed under "Personal Philosophy of Life" in Chapter 8.

It should be pointed out again that in adolescence and youth we are unduly *intolerant of those who fail to conform* in superficialities. Those who are not "regular fellows" are often ruthlessly excluded by the group. As a result, contacts with persons of extraordinary ability and interest are frequently lost, to the detriment of those who do the rejecting and often to the maladjustment of those who are rejected. Some students have such strong inner purpose and are so successful in their non-social interests and accomplishments, such as hobbies, projects, or small interest groups, that they are not too greatly disturbed by social rejection. Others gather with persons like themselves, form social movements, and espouse causes. Some worthwhile and some impractical and socially harmful organizations have grown out of the efforts of rejected groups and individuals. Individuals who have outlets for their talents and interests may

be quite oblivious of the latest grooming and etiquette and may not want to be included in the more social group. In their fearlessness toward the pressure of society, they sometimes bring about badly needed social changes. We have but to read biography to see how many of our greatest personages ignored that which was popularly exalted in their times. Van Gogh, Socrates, Jesus, Lincoln, Beethoven—all were true to an inner purpose and were not too concerned about the minor conventionalities of their times, and some ignored them.

Before we leave this subject, some mention should be made of the individual who makes a fetish of being popular, belonging to groups, and conforming to superficial pressures. There are those who put their greatest emphasis on building traits which will provide them with the proper *front* so that they may be judged most popular by their contemporaries. There are others who think of front as subordinate to integrity, inner convictions, devotion to ideals and truth. The former exalt popularity, group memberships, and group activities for their own sake, without reference to what these groups do for society.

POPULARITY

Meaning of popularity. The dictionary tells us that to be popular is to be *pleasing to people* in general, to be beloved and approved by people. To receive this general feeling of good will one must be sociable, one must have had broad contacts, and must have been somewhat successful in association with a number of individuals.

One need not be a dynamic leader, however. There are many college students who are popular, who may run for offices successfully and become headmen of organizations and yet not be leaders in the true sense of the word. There is the "good fellow" who has a smile for everyone, who is known by his first name all over the campus, who knows many names and many faces, and who can play many of the popular games well. He may not be a close friend to anyone, he may not be a leader, he may not even be socially proficient to any great extent, but he is popular.

Evaluation of popularity. The adolescent and the youth put a large premium on popularity. Adults who lead somewhat superficial lives also emphasize it. They want to be well known,

they want to be seen in the right places, and they want to associate with well-known people. In fact, the term "popularity" has a very pleasant connotation to most people.

Advantages of popularity. The popular person does know and have the approbation of many people. He receives numerous invitations, and he enjoys the give-and-take of pleasant social relationships. He has many daily emotional satisfactions. His self-esteem is usually high. He very often lives in a gay world. The popular individual usually acquires the folkways, customs, and verbiage of the average person of his group. He knows the latest songs, jokes, books, and games, and shines in social groups. He is envied by those who are not so flashy as he but who aspire to be so. They see him as a carefree and assured individual. The average person would say that the popular man is happy and that popularity has few undesirable aspects.

Wherein the popular individual falls short. There is another side, however. The superficial individual who "hits the high spots," who is the dilettante, who caters to the tastes of his audience, *seldom gets beneath the surface of life*. The only classical music he listens to is that which has become popular. His inability to comprehend good literature never troubles him. He avoids learning the less popular games, such as chess, and acquires only those athletic skills which are in vogue. The subtleties of history, international politics, and philosophy never arouse his interest. He cannot be counted on to help fight the battles for freedom of speech, civil liberties, or international understanding. Since he must be popular he must represent that which the masses can understand. He must condone their prejudices, be easily swayed by their thinking, agree with their attitudes, and become one of them. He is a "practical" individual. He adjusts to things as they are; he does not struggle for tomorrow's causes.

We do not look among the rolls of the popular to find those who have made the greatest contributions to society. Nor is it often that the masters of the various arts, sciences, and skills come from this group. Many dilettantes and extremely popular persons are too busy gaining the simple skills that are demanded of them by their audiences to do anything worth while. Their time is further consumed by their effort to keep abreast of fashions and fads which, because of their flimsy basis, are con-

tinually changing. Their evenings are taken up with social gatherings so that they have very little time to read or by other means improve themselves substantially.

The popular individual has *little private life*. His social engagements become a responsibility. Once he begins to refuse invitations he endangers his reputation of popularity. Furthermore, in order to be popular he sometimes finds that he must flatter certain people whom he does not like especially. It is hard for him to hew to the line of his convictions.

A common-sense view of popularity. Obviously there is a middle course which the average college student may follow. The popular individual teaches us something valuable. He demonstrates the value of the free, pleasant attitude which we should assume during leisure. He shows that great personal satisfaction can be derived from *amiable social contacts and some superficial interests*. He stands as a contrast to the specialist who is not interested in people and who cannot relax with the commonplace. The specialist spends all his time acquiring a skill, sometimes becomes proficient in his field, sometimes makes a contribution to society. His own life, however, may be very shallow and bounded by the limits within which his skill lies. Whether popularity should be sought as a major goal in life, or as an attitude to be assumed during leisure, is a matter for the individual himself to decide after deliberation. If popularity follows in the discharge of duty, well and good. If personal principles or efficiency must be sacrificed, the individual may want to choose between the two.

Factors which affect popularity. At the senior high school and college age there are few factors more important than appearance and conduct (2, 3). Appearance and conduct are the results of habits of grooming and cleanliness, habits of carriage and posture, habits of speech and etiquette, and those personal habits which make us liked or disliked.

Habits of dress, neatness, and personal behavior have been acquired so gradually that the average person is unaware of the specific factors which enhance or mar his effect on others. It is for this reason that we shall deal in terms of specific items in the next few sections. The observations may seem trite to the student who has always been aware of the daily habits which affect appearance. However, he has but to look around him to



Here are two posed pictures of the same men illustrating the effect of grooming, posture, and facial expression upon the total personality of the individual.





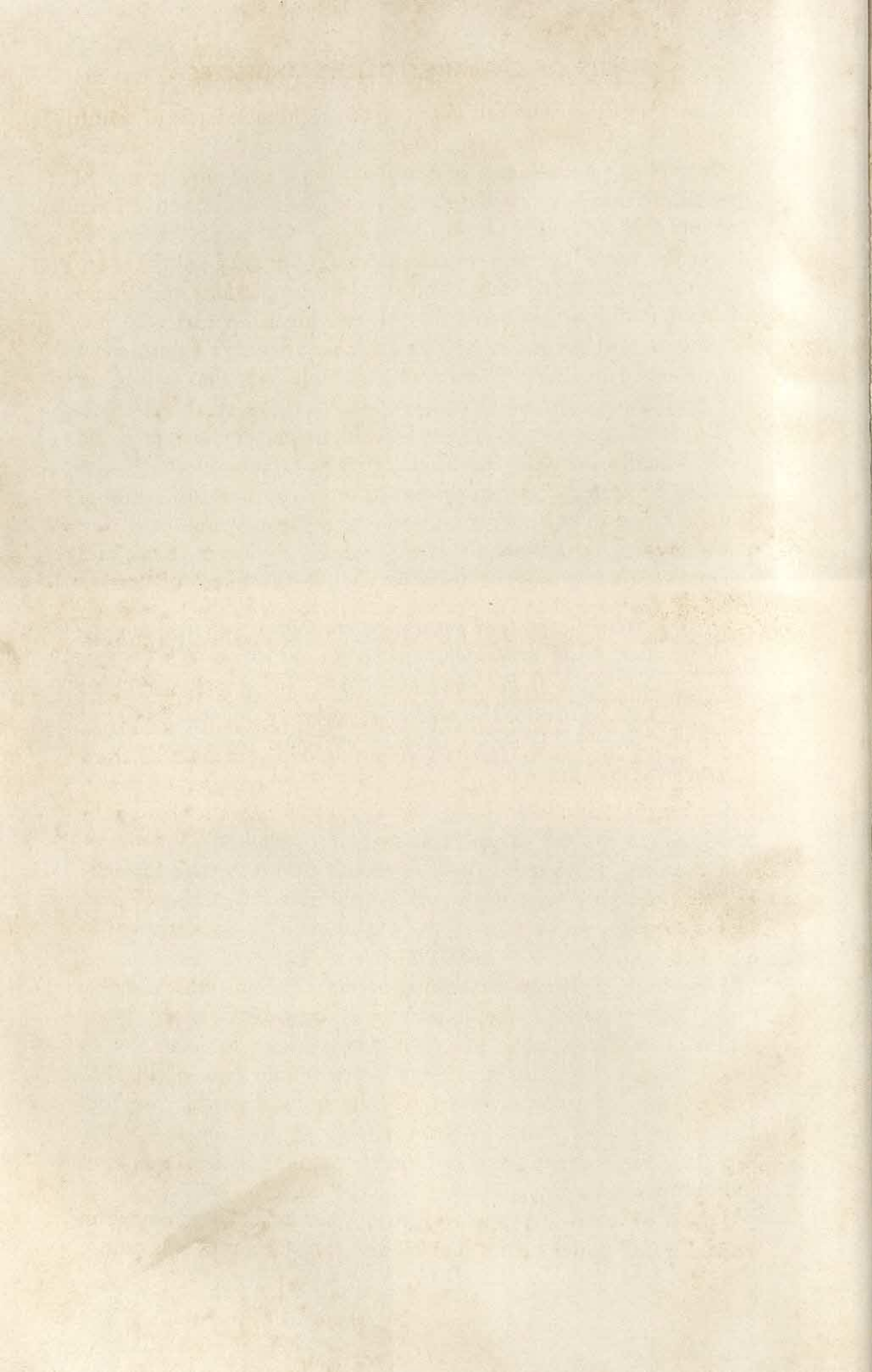
Personal attractiveness is related to grooming, posture, facial expression, and absorption in activity. Here are two posed pictures of the same girl. In one she is receiving applause after rendering a musical number. In the other she is alone, poorly groomed, and has a somewhat vacant facial expression. A similar contrast appears below.





The external aspects of personality are influenced largely by habits of posture, facial expression, grooming, and dress. These pictures show two views of the same individual. In one, the individual is shown with an unattractive expression and poor grooming and posture. In the other he is shown with an attractive expression and good grooming and posture.





find many others who fall short of the rigid standards of youth and do not know the precise reasons.

Grooming, cleanliness, and style. Look over any group of one hundred college students. Many of the most attractive have enhanced their better physical qualities. Colors are chosen to flatter the particular type of complexion. Styles of hairdress are used to cover any defects and bring the proportions and shape of head and face closer to the current ideal. A girl who has large ears will dress her hair in such a fashion as to minimize their size. Her hair will be parted in a manner that will make her profile appear to advantage. She is aware of the fashions and fads of the moment. If it is fashionable for her hair to be curly, usually her hair is curled. If it is fashionable for finger nails to be tinted, hers are tinted in an inconspicuous, pleasing fashion. She lives in her time, and she dresses *in a manner that will enhance her natural beauty*. Lines of design in men's and women's clothing may be used to change the effect of certain physical features that are not too attractive, or to shift attention from them. Design may also correct minor physical disproportions (4, 5).

Every college student can experiment with such simple matters as color and hairdress. Most of us fall into habits of dress. We tend to accept our habits of dressing and grooming as fixed and immutable parts of our personality. Furthermore, we sometimes are initially displeased by any experimental change in hairdress, in the use of color, or in type of clothes. We therefore should not depend entirely upon our own judgment in making such changes because we will be prejudiced in terms of previous practice. It is wise to get the opinion of friends regarding such changes.

Some college students acquire habits of dress which make them unattractive. A short person may wear clothes with horizontal lines which make him look even shorter than he is. A double-breasted suit or a wide hat accentuate lack of height. The opinion of store salesmen will be helpful in this respect. The woman who wants to dress attractively usually has more aids than the man, through fashion magazines, saleswomen, and beauty operators.

Habits of carriage, posture, and speech. The manner in which an individual carries himself and the stiffness or relaxation

which is characteristic of his posture are important. Some persons allow their mouths to sag open, others act as though something were being forced between their lips. Others are poised, relaxed, and natural. One's manner of sitting and of walking is also important. Some sway; others hop; others save the toes and wear out the heels of their shoes like persons twenty years their senior. Then there is the man who walks briskly, firmly, with an economy of bodily movement that speeds him on his way; and the woman who uses that pleasing, coordinated feminine walk which most of us find attractive.

Some of these are habits which were acquired early in life. Some of the more individual mannerisms are attempts to cover up certain personality traits. There is evidence that the various aspects of the expressions that are peculiar to us as individuals are interrelated. Posture, gait, and voice, for example, reflect our whole pattern of behavior (6-8). When individuals were asked to match descriptions of a number of different persons with heard samples of speech, they were able to make these matches with a considerable degree of accuracy (7). Our expressiveness, then, consists of more than mechanically acquired habits. It reflects inner attitudes, personality, and temperamental traits and states (9). It is well for us to understand the basis of our characteristic modes of expression before ruthlessly trying to change them. We should surely want to know what inner traits our expressive movements are reflecting. We should consider them first as a reflection of our real self. Then, if necessary, we should modify them in an intelligent manner. Speech illustrates the reflection of total personality, but some minor mannerisms that are extreme may be changed through understanding of self and through habit training.

Squeaky, nervous voices are usually judged undesirable in men. Nasal twangs and loud, coarse voices have negative value in women. Indistinct speech and affectedly precise speech are equally undesirable in the opinion of the average person. In your experience you will find that the speech which attracts you most is that which suggests naturalness and calm. It is smooth and well modulated. You will find members of the speech department in your college willing to assist you to overcome inappropriate speech habits.

Personal habits. Our personal habits are so much a part of us that we are usually unaware of their effect on others. Several studies have been conducted to learn what behavior is found annoying and what practices make us likeable.

Habits which make us likeable. This list * represents the most important of a larger group of items which were found to be the most frequent answers to the question: "What traits make us liked?" It emphasizes largely the avoidance of negative traits which lead to unpopularity (10). Answer them frankly.

1. Can you always be depended upon to do what you say you will?
2. Do you go out of your way cheerfully to help others?
3. Do you avoid exaggeration in all your statements?
4. Do you avoid being sarcastic?
5. Do you refrain from showing off how much you know?
6. Do you feel inferior to most of your associates?
7. Do you refrain from bossing people not employed by you?
8. Do you keep from reprimanding people who do things that displease you?
9. Do you avoid making fun of others behind their backs?
10. Do you keep from dominating others?
11. Do you keep your clothing neat and tidy?
12. Do you avoid being bold and nervy?
13. Do you avoid laughing at the mistakes of others?
14. Is your attitude toward the opposite sex free from vulgarity?
15. Do you avoid finding fault with everyday things?
16. Do you let the mistakes of others pass without correcting them?
17. Do you lend things to others readily?
18. Are you careful not to tell jokes that will embarrass your listeners?
19. Do you let others have their own way?
20. Do you always control your temper?
21. Do you keep out of arguments?
22. Do you smile pleasantly?
23. Do you avoid talking almost continuously?
24. Do you keep your nose entirely out of other people's business? †

The traits which underlie these questions may be summarized to some extent by the answers of over 600 collegians to the in-

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† You may obtain a score by giving yourself 3 for each question from 1 to 10 answered "Yes" and 2 for each one from 11 to 24 answered "Yes."

quiry, "Why do you like or dislike persons?" Men most frequently liked other men who were intelligent, cheerful, friendly, and congenial in interests. They more frequently liked women who were beautiful, intelligent, cheerful, and congenial. Women most frequently liked other women who were intelligent, helpful, loyal, and generous. They most frequently liked men who were intelligent, considerate, kindly, cheerful, and manly. Traits which were used most frequently to describe the disliked person were: selfishness, deceit, snobbishness, and affectation (11, 12).

Even children bestow popularity on their associates. They, too, seem to prefer those who are active and alert, good-looking, cheerful and friendly, above average in intelligence, scholastic standing, and health (13). Children low in popularity seem uninterested in their environment and in other people, are more often either quiet and shy or noisy, rebellious, and boastful (14-16).

The emotional stability of the home and such factors as a sense of personal worth and a feeling of social belonging are also important in one's social adjustment (17-19).

Habits which make us disliked. A list of activities which annoy others has been compiled by another researcher. Here are a few activities found on that list (20). Are any of these annoyances a part of your habit patterns?

Attracting attention to yourself	A dictatorial manner
Gross noises such as belching and smacking	Crude manners
Sneezing and coughing openly	Extreme criticalness
Grooming in public	Intoxication
Discussing personal matters in public	A poor loser
Talking during public performances	Bragging
Sly allusions to sex	Petty lies
Unsolicited affection	Prying curiosity
Public love making	Touchiness
Dirt around face or on clothes	Tardiness
Unpleasant odors	Inattention
Gross and unpleasant table manners	Nagging
Poor dental hygiene	Dirty fingernails
Temper tantrums	

Etiquette. Other personality patterns that are evaluated highly in our society are the habits of etiquette. Etiquette is a combination of *good sense*, *good taste*, and a generous admixture of

kindliness. The fearsome collection of rules which makes up the usual etiquette book may be boiled down to this. Many of these rules have been continued from another era. Their reason is less apparent in the present day, but they are nevertheless part of courteous practice. For example, in the time of unpaved, muddy city streets, passing vehicles threw large clods of mud on the sidewalk. It was necessary then for the gentleman to walk next to the roadway in order to protect his lady's clothing from such accidents. If one keeps this in mind, there ought to be no conjecture about the man's place when walking with one or more women.

One's conduct in public or private should be based on consideration of others, which precludes loud talk or conspicuous behavior. Self-sufficiency of women is a rather recent development, so rules governing conduct on dates require the man to take the initiative in most situations and treat the woman as if she really were a very helpless person. And the woman, whether she likes this concept or not, should assist in the deceit.

Habits of etiquette may also be regarded as conventions or rules for our culture. Once they are acquired they prevent error, embarrassment, and indecision. They represent a common language.

Below are lists of questions regarding conventional practices. Test the above definition of etiquette by applying it to these questions. They have all been worded positively. The answer to each one is "Yes." Where there are alternatives the first is correct (21, 22).

Questions for College Men

1. Do you make your plans definite and never break a date except in unavoidable circumstances? When you must break a date, do you send flowers or candy as an apology or send a friend as a substitute?
2. Are you always well-groomed and alert conversationally?
3. Are you chary of overdoing the weather and yourself as conversational topics? Do you find a subject of common interest?
4. Do you go to the door and ask for your date, or do you drive up in front of her house and honk for her to come out?
5. Are you always prepared for financial emergencies, and do you take care of your just share in a group?
6. Do you offer a girl your arm in crossing a street, to escort her from the floor at a dance, or to take her into a formal dinner?

7. Do you assist her with her wraps whenever necessary and open doors for her to pass ahead of you?

8. At theaters, do you let her follow the usher and be seated first? If there is no usher, do you lead the way and stand aside for her to be seated?

9. Habitually, do you rise when any woman enters the room in a private home and stand until she is seated?

10. When you take a girl out, is your major attention centered on her pleasure for the evening?

11. Do you know that chaperons' wives often make good dancing partners, and that it is distinctly courteous for you to acknowledge the chaperon's presence by asking him to exchange dances?

12. Do you keep to the side toward the curb whether walking with one or more girls?

13. Do you telephone if your arrival will be delayed?

14. Do you deliver your date at the party and then park the car yourself?

15. Does your conversation consist of matters of interest to your companion, or do you brag about your other conquests and "queer" yourself by telling all about other dates?

16. After dinners out, is it your custom to tip waiters 10 per cent of the price of the meal, and in hotels and first-class restaurants to tip them not less than twenty-five cents no matter what the bill?

Questions for College Women

1. Do you permit your companion to lay aside his own hat and wraps, or are you guilty of holding a boy's hat in a show, helping him on or off with his overcoat, or taking his wraps when he calls?

2. Are you ready, or nearly so, when your date calls?

3. Are you considerate about expenses on dates?

4. Do you refrain from giggling too much, chattering too much, or making yourself and your date conspicuous?

5. Do you make it a point to suggest going home at a reasonable time, or do you consider it a sign of sophistication to stay out late?

6. Do you accept a date at once or decline it, not "stalling for time" in the hope someone you like better will ask you?

7. Do you avoid romantic demonstrations in public, even when engaged?

8. Do you tell the boy you had a good time when he thanks you for a date, rather than thanking him?

9. Do you suggest that he call again without being insistent about it?

10. Do you refrain from eating in theaters or on streets? (Ordinarily it is not permissible, but in a college town it may be done with discretion.)

11. When you meet a man on the street, do you exchange only a friendly greeting and a few casual remarks, or do you stand and talk to him? (If he wishes to talk to you, he will walk along with you.)

12. Do you know that a hostess rises when someone is being presented to her; a lady never rises when a gentleman is being presented unless the gentleman is elderly or of unusual importance; a young lady always rises when she is being presented to an elderly lady?

13. At a dance do you bestow a graceful nod, a smile, and a "How do you do?" as the only necessities in an introduction—and agree that nothing else will do except "How do you do?"?

14. If your gloves are soiled, do you remove them before shaking hands? Otherwise, do you leave them on?

15. When at the theater do you refrain from humming or talking while the show is going on, distracting your date and those around you?

16. At a party, when you are sitting next to a person whom you do not know, do you introduce yourself?

Questions for College Men and Women

1. At dinner, do you relax until your hostess gives the cue to begin, or do you toy with the silver and twirl your water goblet? Or do you take a drink of water as soon as you sit down and in other ways indicate that you are nervous? (Wait until you get a cue from your hostess before you dive into the salted nuts.)

2. Do you break your bread first into small portions, and then butter each piece separately as you have need of it?

3. At a dinner party, do you follow your hostess's example with the array of forks, knives, and spoons? In case you can't see around the centerpiece, the theory is to work from the outside in.

4. Do you place your butter or steak knife securely across one corner of your plate after use, or do you let one end of the knife rest on the tablecloth?

5. When you have finished eating, do you place your knife and fork side by side so that they won't slide when removed, or at all angles on the plate like jackstraws?

6. At dinners with maid service, are you aware that things are always passed to you on your left side, or do you twist around and try to grab a roll over your right shoulder?

7. In introducing two persons do you always present men to women with the statement, "Miss Jones, may I present Mr. Mark?" Do you also present younger persons to older ones?

8. Do you always make it a point to know the name of the person to whom you are introduced even if you must say, "I beg your pardon, I didn't hear your name"? Then do you use the name during the conversation that follows?

9. At a party in a fraternity or boarding house do you consider a guest of the group your own guest and greet him or introduce yourself?

10. Do you use your napkin by unfolding it part way below the table? Do you use it only for drying and cleaning the fingers and lips rather than to protect the clothes? Do you fold it and place it to the left if you will dine at the table again, and crush it slightly and place it to the left otherwise? Do you shield your mouth with your napkin when you remove food from it? Do you use your left thumb and forefinger gracefully, or drop the morsel from the tongue to the funneled palm of the hand?

11. Are you aware that only a discourteous person will address servants in a rude or dictatorial tone, and that a well-bred person always acknowledges service rendered him or her?

12. When someone has made a mistake, do you ignore the error, whether it be in speech or etiquette, and go on talking and eating as if nothing had happened?

Service to the group. Persons who make definite contributions to the group to which they belong are usually well liked. They stand out because of their social ingenuity and resourcefulness and other qualities. What are these qualities? The following have been suggested (23).

Ability as a conversationalist—witty and interested in a variety of topics.

Willingness to assume responsibilities—to do the dirty work. Ability to see the needs of a group.

Repertoire of things to do: games, stories, other forms of entertainment.

Ability to handle the business of an organization.

Understanding of the personalities of the members.

Sincere desire to promote good relationship among the members.

Appreciation of the efforts of other members and willingness to applaud them.

Introduction of members of the group to influential outsiders.

Common sense and good practical judgment about group affairs.

Keen awareness of the wishes and needs of the group.

Improving social adjustment. Those in contact with adolescents and college students see numerous instances in which the individual improves over a period of months or a year in human relationships and in overcoming characteristics which previously were displeasing to associates. These improvements take place in the normal process of living with others, gaining a certain group consciousness, and through trial and error in developing

behavior consistent both with the individual's own inner life and with the group. Personality inventories and guidance program follow-ups tend to show these changes (24, 25).

Difficulty in adjusting to a group may be due to the incompatibility between the behavior one has acquired in his development and the behavior and attitudes emphasized by that group. If this is the major factor and the individual wants to become a part of the group and is secure and stable within himself, the change is not hard. With time the student may perceive aspects of his grooming or deportment that produce an aversion in his contemporaries and gradually change them. He is more likely to *idealize someone* in his environment and alter his behavior in imitation of this model. This is the usual pattern with the adolescent who hangs around with the gang, notes minutely the details of their behavior and attitudes, and affects them himself.

Sometimes changing one's behavior is a more *deep-seated process* and does not entail merely adding new and different habits. In fact, some individuals, when they regard the behavior of others, find it grossly incompatible with their inner feelings and own way of life. We suggested in Chapter 7 that it is far more effective, when thinking of self-improvement, for the individual to seek to understand himself, his development, his inner traits and purposes, and the manner in which he expresses them. This understanding should develop in an environment which allows him to feel acceptable and in harmony with others. Then he will tend to see himself as possessing certain traits that are similar to those of persons who have demonstrated their worth in society. He may, moreover, attempt to see the role that he can best play in relationships to others in his group. Some perspective may grow from this discovery and indicate to him that individuals differ widely, that they need not be stereotyped, but that certain common modes of behavior are desirable. With a calm evaluation of his likenesses and differences in terms of the behavior which is currently in vogue, he may accept and see reason for his strong basic traits. Furthermore, he can positively modify other traits, habits, or expressions without doing violence to his fundamental way of life and thereby make an adjustment both to his total personality and to his contemporaries.

The youth who is below average in stature or physical attrac-

tiveness may at first impulsively adjust to this lack of height or of good looks by a hostile, compensatory attitude and try to put on a front of boldness and toughness. With more maturity and perspective, he may come to say to himself, "I am one of the short (or less handsome) men in the world. I have many of the reactions that short men (or less beautiful people) have had in our particular society, which puts a social premium on height and physical symmetry. There are certain things I can do about my shortness (or physical features) in terms of dress, but an intelligent, long-term evaluation should show me that this is a minor aspect of my personality. My aptitudes, philosophy of life, interests, and capability of making a contribution are far more important than my physique. I can play an effective role, and there are certain traits within my personality which will help me to play it." The less masculine man or the girl who enjoys robust sports and has become more aggressive than passive in personality may likewise accept these basic, well-established traits with a view to utilizing them in a good, long-term adjustment.

Adjusting socially, then, involves *understanding oneself, accepting oneself, and working out a program for integrating one's traits with some changes. This may involve conforming where it is deemed wise, or associating with others who have similar motivation, and opposing conformity* when conformity seems to mean the sacrifice of higher values for trivial gains.

The college student who fights all conventionality may find upon reflection that many of the traits listed above, which most people in our culture dislike, indicate essential insecurity and maladjustment. As he gains assistance through a counselor or through success in some field of accomplishment, he may find it easier to acquire some of the etiquette and behavior exhibited by his group. The student who, because of his background and environment, has not acquired many niceties of grooming, etiquette, and personal behavior, but is essentially stable, should not find too difficult the changes that society suggests.

Beauty and its opposite are rarely intrinsic to the individual, although many believe that they are (26, 27). What is considered beautiful varies quite widely in our own culture and within other cultures (28). The reactions of other people to us are largely affected by general appearance, habits of cleanliness,

style, and aesthetic use of color, line, and symmetry. Changes in these are brought about by *trial and error*, once a student realizes his goal. It is often surprising what shoe polish, dye, home pressing, consistent use of soap and water, and effective combination of colors, all of which are inexpensive, will do to improve overall appearance. On every campus there are students who dress well and others who dress poorly on similar budgets. One of the biggest impediments some students must overcome is their belief that relative beauty cannot be achieved by them. Students have reported that others have helped them when their advice was solicited on matters of dress, deportment, and grooming. Sometimes merely being around others who have good habits of grooming and getting hints from them has value. Reference to the section on Changing Behavior in Chapter 7 will produce some specific suggestions regarding the building of new habits.

FRIENDSHIP

Meaning of acquaintanceship and friendship. Some people do not distinguish between acquaintances and friends. Others insist upon a clear-cut distinction. In common speech such a distinction is not always made between the terms. We use the adjective "friendly" to describe the individual who makes many acquaintances easily. We call him friendly even though he has few or no deep-rooted friendships. Psychologists have made numerous studies of so-called friendships. Even they, however, have used the word "friends" in a superficial fashion in that they have studied "friendships" in kindergarten and have grouped together numerous interpersonal relationships as friendships, sometimes without regard to the depth or complexity of these interactions.

No doubt there are some people who, in the more profound meaning of the term, have no friends. They know many people well enough to call them by their first names, but there is not an intimate relationship or an affection which entails sacrifice and permanent ties. There are many persons, in contrast, who insist that they have many very good, staunch friends. They insist, too, that these friendships are not synonymous with acquaintanceships. The friends are persons in whom they would confide, to whom they would turn for help and find genuine un-

derstanding, and to whom they would in certain circumstances give their most cherished possessions.

In this discussion we shall distinguish acquaintanceship from friendship on the basis of the *depth* of the relationship. Acquaintances are individuals who are met and known superficially. Friends, on the other hand, are those for whom we have a *deeper affection*. We know them *intimately*, and the relationship is *lasting*. When college students are asked how many friends they have, their answers vary. The average for a group at one Midwestern university is 53 "friends" and 421 "acquaintances." The students who made these estimates no doubt used a broader definition than that used above. The acquisition of numerous acquaintances is a condition of popularity.

Patterns of friendships. Below are some of the various relationships that exist between individual pairs of friends (29). As we discuss the patterns you will recognize some of them as existing among persons you know. In some cases there will be mixtures of several of these patterns. Not all patterns of friendship lead to the most stable or favorable relationships.

Similarity of personality. First, there are those persons who are drawn together because of similarity of personality. They have similar interests, similar attitudes, similar motives, values, and ideals. They are drawn together because they are alike.

Here are two men who play on the football team, who room together, have classes together, discuss their problems with each other, and often have double dates. They are close friends; each enjoys the other's company and confidences. Neither of these men has an allowance from home, and both earn or borrow the money for their entire expenses. They are drawn together by a number of factors common to both of them. Both rate with the "select." They share a similar background of earlier hardships and experiences. They know each other's faults and accept them. There is relatively little rivalry between them so each adds to the other's security. When in social groups they enjoy the same games, topics of conversation, and interests. They depend upon each other for companionship in going places. They appreciate most the fact that they can let off steam in each other's presence without breaking their essentially warm and stable relationship.

Complementariness of personality traits. In addition to similarity there is another pattern which is important. You may find many individuals who are drawn together, not because they are

of like temperament or personality but, conversely, because they *differ*. These individuals have personalities that are complementary. One satisfies motives of the other. One has traits which the other admires, wishes he might have, but knows he does not possess. He admires his friend's prestige, possessions, accomplishments, humor, poise, or social competency. Without knowing it necessarily, he may vicariously live through his friend. He can display strongly desired traits to others by incorporating his friend in his social life and routine. Sometimes he in turn is able to satisfy needs in the friend and thus bind the relationship. The friend may receive acceptance, sincerity, and warmth or some other satisfaction from him. However, as shown in the next section, the pattern may be strained because one of the pair becomes too possessive. An example of complementariness follows.

Two members of the same sorority are devoted to each other. One is pretty and vivacious and dates frequently. The other is not pretty, is somewhat shy, but is very unselfish and pleasant in disposition. The second girl has a large allowance and a car. She feels dissatisfied without her attractive friend because the friend makes her life more complete, makes her feel more secure. On the other hand, her car and the clothes she lends her friend add prestige to the friend. They invite each other home. Throughout three years of college they have become inseparable. Each gives to the other what she lacks. The pretty, pleasant, popular girl comes from a family which has practically no resources. The other girl's family can give her everything. The popular girl gets prestige from the money and the name of her less popular friend, whereas she lends some of her popularity to the other. The relationship is finally cemented by the understanding, acceptance, mutual respect, and need that each has for the other.

This type of complementariness is found in some semi-platonic *relationships between boys and girls*. A girl may need a date upon whom she can depend under all circumstances, although she may feel no affection for him. The boy, on the other hand, may be very fond of the girl and quite willing to take her places in order to be near her. One may serve the other as a confidant or trusted adviser. The relationship may be composed partly of the motherly or big brother element. If the satisfactions are too one-sided, however, the duration of the relationship will be short. Perhaps a boy and a girl will study together. The girl

will enjoy being with the boy and may even help him with his work and do chores for him.

Possessiveness in friendships. Another pattern is frequently found which sometimes cuts across the two patterns previously described. It may be characterized by the word "possessiveness." Some individuals want friends whom they can possess and dominate. They become jealous if the friend is seen with other persons. Usually these possessive individuals have few friends. They expect much from their friends, but they also give much. They frequently obligate the friend through their many services; the friend begins to feel that he should reciprocate although he does not share the feeling of his companion. Sooner or later he begins to feel restricted. This so-called friendship demands too much. The friend begins to feel irritated, and the friendship usually ends at this point. An underlying hostility toward this friend may exist, although not too well recognized by the more possessive of the pair. He may have affection for his friend but he may also inwardly resent and dislike this friend who "has so much." He may be a person who feels he never has been loved and seeks affection so vigorously that his demands are insatiable. There are, however, individuals who want to be possessed, who want to be directed, and, if the friend is such a person, the friendship does not cease. In these friendships the more aggressive of the pair serves a purpose in the life of the less aggressive.

Acceptance and warmth. There are friendships which are based mainly upon the mutual respect, mutual security, loyalty, and warmth experienced in each other's contacts. Some individuals have a real affection for others with whom they enjoy recreational and relaxational pursuits, with whom they release tensions and feel more serene and genuine (30). Differences and similarities of personality may both exist in these patterns of friendship. Members of the pair may give affection to each other without expecting too much or without limiting too greatly each other's freedom. This sort of friendship is not one of possessiveness. It is not marked by conspicuous competitiveness, and it is not demanding in nature (31). Many of the more basic processes of friendship discussed below are found in this pattern. There is, in short, an absence of mutual frustration.

This constitutes one of the best relationships for personal growth and self-realization.

Conditions for development of friendship. What are the specific dominant motives, attitudes, and personality traits or external conditions that tend to bring friends together? This question is very pertinent if we are to discuss friendship and causes for friendlessness. Fortunately, studies have been made of school and playground friendships as early as the pre-school period. Studies have been made also of friendships in high school and college, and we can make certain generalizations from them.

Friendships among children. In the very young child, factors which produce friendship are different from those found in the adolescent and the adult. As children our friends usually are those who live in the *same neighborhood* or are in the same school grade and who are about the *same age*. We choose friends who have developed to about the *same status* as we have (32-37).

Friendships in high school. In the city junior high school, we begin to see more of the bases found in adults in their selection of friends. Children at this age tend to choose friends who have parents of the *same socio-economic* position as theirs. Proximity of homes is not so important a factor at this period as it was earlier in life. Friendships are about equally divided between those made in school and those made in the neighborhood and through home contacts (36-45).

It is at the high school level that social standards and attitudes begin to assume importance in the formation of friendships. Two boys become friendly not only because they play baseball together and have similar outdoor interests, but also because they meet certain *social standards* which are becoming important in their lives. Their friends must meet their standards of presentability and must have attitudes they approve or at least can accept.

Friendships in college. We are most interested here in friendships at the college level. The emphasis on social traits and personal motives found in the high school period reaches its greatest strength in college. Whereas at the college period, as at all periods, similarities among friends are more pronounced than dissimilarities, the traits which are similar are more deep-

seated (36, 46-48). The opinions of the friend are important. Likes and dislikes are also a major factor. Specifically, college men who are friends are similar in their desire for participation in sports, in possession of determination, and in the habit of church attendance. Both men and women who are friends tend to be alike in ideals, morals, standards, athletic interests, neatness in dress, and in such matters as reading tastes, hobbies, and grades. Physical appearance, such as color of hair, eyes, and skin, does not seem to be so important in friendship as the above traits (49). This observation substantiates the importance of *motivation* (desires, interests, and attitudes) rather than physical factors in promoting friendships. In the college period families seem relatively unimportant in influencing friendship (47).

English college men were also found to form friendships on similar bases. Friends of extroverts were characteristically extroverted. The friends of men who were rated as conscientious, persistent, and tactful had the same traits. Concerning the trait of perseverance and single-mindedness, the Englishmen were either almost identical with their friends or quite dissimilar (50). The dissimilar friends were probably examples of complementariness.

At college, although most students make some friends, those who make them most easily tend to be more extroverted, emotionally stable, vivacious, tolerant, generous, and capable in conversation than others (51).

Basic processes in friendships. The patterns of friendship delineated above reveal certain basic processes operating to bring people together in warm, enduring, cherished relationships. One reason why individuals gravitate toward each other is that by so doing they satisfy strong motives. Gravitation may occur because they have *similar* interests and values or, conversely, because they are essentially *different*. In the latter kind of relationship one is able to satisfy vicariously his desire for certain traits or conditions in his environment through the other, who has these traits or can bring about these conditions (52). In both instances, *deep motives are satisfied*.

The warmth, tolerance, and acceptance of others and of ourselves that occurs during a deep friendship is also a fundamental need. As mentioned before, it is a condition under which we can *grow creatively* by projecting our inner life outward and

experimenting with reality in a permissive environment. It helps to provide the security experienced earlier in a good parent-child relationship.

These basic processes are jeopardized when, instead of mutually satisfying motives, the friends thwart the motives. Too much possessiveness, too many demands, rivalry, or increasing selfishness may have an effect contrary to that of satisfying motives. They may jeopardize the warmth, acceptance, and security that is so important in friendship. These basic qualities of friendship have been subjects for thought and discussion by essayists for many generations. Since friendship is such a fundamental relationship psychologically, it is well to repeat some of their observations.

Advantages of friendships. *Friends satisfy our dominant motives.* How do friends satisfy motives? As striving organisms we seek security, new experiences, affection, mastery of certain jobs, and social recognition. Our friends help us to satisfy these very important motives. They give us recognition and affection. If they have superior prestige they allow us to feel more secure. We can play indoor and athletic games with them and thereby achieve new experiences, adventure, and recreation. They sometimes help us to master vocational and avocational skills. In addition to these general motives which are satisfied by association with friends, there are certain specific functions which only friends can fulfill. These we shall discuss separately in detail.

Friends are sources of understanding. Emotions are better enjoyed and directed when shared. In this complex, competitive world we dare not be indiscreet in our confidences. The friendless man has no one to whom he may turn when he has personal problems or when he is in trouble. During mental depressions or when we are disturbed, we crave someone who will understand our difficulties. Real friends fulfill this function. Our joys are also shared with our friends and thereby enhanced. A fear becomes less intimidating when discussed with one who really understands our viewpoint and thinks no less of us for experiencing the fear. Hopes and ambitions fall flatly on the ears of uninterested acquaintances. Friends share them with us. The true friend listens to our grief and consoles us. Our friends, then, serve as *emotional outlets*. We may tell them our troubles freely and relieve our tensions as they listen sympathetically.

Friends help us develop our personality. The release of tension which results when we pour out our troubles to someone is known as "catharsis." Talking over our difficulties and releasing tensions not only leads to emotional calm but also aids us to organize our thinking. Furthermore, the friend leads us to be franker in our self-estimate. We can relax and show the more intimate aspects of our personality. He does not flatter us. He provides an atmosphere which encourages our growth. Thus our problem seems more tangible and more easily attacked in his presence.

Friends, then, provide a permissive atmosphere. We can try our new ideas on them. We can present our dilemmas. They will judge them frankly, and yet mutual regard will remain. It is through friends that we can discover ourselves and redirect our behavior.

Friends discharge functions which we cannot legitimately perform for ourselves. There are many things which a man cannot do for himself. He cannot recite his own virtues or recommend himself to others. He cannot look frankly at himself and describe his own faults. As Bacon wrote in his essay on friendship, "A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms; whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person." Each of us at times needs someone who will accept him on faith, who will give him the unswerving loyalty that only a friend will give, who will plead for him when he is in a position in which he must be silent. To persons who have met with trouble, one of the most moving experiences of life has been the realization that in time of need there are friends who are willing to risk much for them.

Friends give us skill in dealing with people. Especially during college, when the average student is learning how to get along with others, does he find contact with people important. The more intimate his contacts are, the more he learns about people. We know our friends better than we know others. We are able to see the effects of our personality on them and thus learn more about others. Friends allow us to see ourselves objectively. Friends may influence our taste in dress, grooming, or in such matters as our reading. They may do this either by pre-

cept or by example. They may act as mirrors for us. Differences that are later mended give us experience in handling delicate situations. It is largely through acquaintances and especially through friends that we learn enough of the necessary social skills that are so helpful in life. These skills are a basis for leadership, social proficiency, and other social relationships.

Friends are a source of affection. The principal function of friendship is to serve as a source of wholesome affection. There are all types of affection: that which we feel for our parents, the affection reserved for the one we love and later marry, and the affection we feel for our friends. In all of the functions which the friend fulfills, appreciation and friendly affection are the result. As we tell our difficulties to an understanding friend there is a feeling of affection for him. Our affection deepens as he gives us advice, points out our errors, and respects our frankness. Our daily contacts with him, even though there may be some unpleasantnesses, make him dearer to us.

Mutual affection is one of life's finest experiences. It is second only to love in the emotions that are valued by mankind (53).

Friendlessness. What are the causes of friendlessness? Why are some individuals devoid of real friendship? In studies of children and in conferences with college students, a number of reasons for lack of friends may be observed (15). Below are some of the patterns.

A student has grown up in a *family* that is not socially inclined. His parents have held themselves aloof from neighbors and associates. For some reason they have not built friendships. Their children lack the skills for building friendships.

Another student is *egocentric*. Since early in life he has been given the center of the stage. He received great attention as a child; now in adulthood he demands it. He resents any person who receives the attention he believes should be given him. As a result he has built many dislikes and few friendships.

A third individual is friendless because early experiences in his life have taught him to *enjoy being alone*. He grew up on a farm where he saw few people. When he first came into contact with others he experienced difficulty in getting along with them. This failure to become social has caused him to turn to solitary tasks and amusements in which he satisfies most of his motives and finds his greatest pleasure.

Another person does not acquire friends because he refuses to become close to others. He is afraid others will find out too much about him. He does not want *others to know his inner life*. He holds others at a distance. He does not become intimate with them. He is somewhat stiff and formal in their presence. He is not "one of the gang." He is sensitive to their real or imagined gibes and cannot banter with them.

Here is a student who feels that she is not wanted in the group. It is true that she is *different*. She dresses peculiarly. She spends many hours alone. Her ideas differ from those of most students. She is bright, but she has never become socialized. She feels inferior in social groups although she knows that she is superior otherwise. She knows that she is not popular, that she is not sought, but she does not know the reason. She has never made an attempt to become acquainted with others. Since she is not typical, they make no effort to know her. Therefore she remains friendless.

Finally, there is the student who was *teased* and persecuted in childhood. He has a misanthropic attitude, and he expects other people to be antagonistic toward him. He has a warped attitude toward people in general. He hates and fears them. He thinks they dislike him, and he feels that he is not wanted by groups.

These are a few of the many combinations of events and attitudes which may occur to develop friendlessness.

Acquiring friends. The wide range of differences that occur among human beings and the large number of people who are similar in attitudes, interests, and background, no matter how unique they seem, assure one of finding compatible individuals somewhere. Furthermore, since affection is such a basic motive which we all seek and want to bestow upon others, some avenue for satisfaction should be open for everyone. The suggestions made previously which relate to understanding the bases for friendlessness are pertinent here. A thorough understanding of the conditions in one's background which have produced certain traits is the first step toward adjustment. Such understanding gives the individual freedom to turn to his environment for the satisfaction of his needs. With this introduction, let us review some suggestions that grow out of the above discussion.

Seek others of similar desirable traits. Friendship is based largely on congeniality and similarity of motivation. Find others who are motivated like yourself. It may be that you can build

a deeper friendship with those who have problems similar to those which you experience. Seek persons with similar ideals, similar life goals, and similar attitudes. Sometimes joining organizations which furnish an outlet for your strongest purposes will put you in touch with other people of similar attitudes.

The trait of sincerity is important in building friendship. Acquaintanceship and friendship differ principally in the expression of this trait. A friend is loyal, sincere, frank, and affectionate. An acquaintance is casual and superficial in his relationship. Can you be sincere and loyal to potential friends? Do you find it difficult to give affection to others? Do you tend to be possessive and thereby put too many restrictions on your friends and jeopardize the relationship? Is this in some way related to your earlier experiences with parents or brothers and sisters?

Seek others whom you can serve and who will satisfy your motives. Complementariness explains many friendships. Some friendships develop because the individuals can mutually satisfy the motives of each other. One has what the other lacks. You may have to take the first step.

Consider your undesirable personality traits. Review the discussions of popularity and friendlessness. Read with special attention the list of specific factors which make for lack of popularity. Are these factors in your case? Are some of your traits and habits so irritating that you are unable to find one or two persons with whom you may build a deep friendship? Are there deeper insecurities in your make-up resulting from past or present circumstances which produce these negative traits?

Don't be satisfied with only a single friend. Your affection may become so strong that it can never be reciprocated and may develop instead into an undesirable relationship. Every person should have two or three friends at least.

SOCIAL GROUPS AND CREATIVE ACTIVITY

Finding or organizing a congenial group. *Being out of the group.* Some students have friends and acquaintances but for some reason or other belong to practically no organizations. The reasons for their isolation are numerous. They may feel that they are not the kind of individuals who gravitate toward a group. They may have expected the group to seek them.

Motivation to become a member of a given organization may never have been strong enough to produce the initiative to investigate the nature of groups and the methods of affiliating with them. Some unfortunate experiences in groups encountered earlier, or the feeling that one does not rate well enough to associate freely with members of a group, may be among the ideas which prevent affiliation. In addition, there are persons who have been with others so infrequently that they prefer hobby activities which are best performed alone. They thereby avoid the discomfort which they experience in trying to be a desirable member of a group.

Seeking a congenial group. In Chapter 7 we showed that a congenial group or a conducive environment does much to help the individual develop, project his inner traits outward, and come to understand himself. It affords opportunity for personality release and growth. Many of the individuals mentioned above have well-developed attitudes and skills, but these traits are not associated with group activities and have not been stimulated by responses from others. In a sense they are cooped up within the individuals. Frequently such individuals will discover others of similar temperament, interests, or traits, band together with them, and their interests and activities become socialized. This may lead to the formation of a warm group that takes the place of a warm family, so important in childhood development. As an individual expands in such a group, however small, the sense of his own worthiness usually increases, as shown by cases on pages 226 to 234. There are many hobby clubs, subject matter clubs, and organizations built around indoor athletics and skills encountered in colleges. These are purposive and meaningful groups that have grown out of common interests. In many academic departments, there exist clubs such as chemistry, education, journalism, music, forestry, and home economics clubs. Special interest groups include fencing, aviation, dancing, and photography. Eating, living, racial, political, and hobby groups are also found (54). These have value particularly for students who feel self-conscious in the groups that depend upon social intercourse for their reason. These students will find that, as they place their attention on the activities which the group espouses, they will become less self-conscious. In a group of this type they may grow in intellect and in skills.

Social adroitness and acceptance by others and oneself will be a by-product. The interest of a group like this does not wane with time. There is a substantial purpose which holds the members together. They are adult in character.

One reason why the importance of fraternities and social clubs wanes when their members leave college is that the purposes of these organizations are superficial. Professional and avocational groups take their place. A large number of the fraternity men whose loyalty was the staunchest during their years in college feel that this allegiance was an adolescent fervor. They enjoy its recollection at occasional reunions, but in maturity it appears like an outgrown stage of development.

A professional or interest group of the type described above is exclusive, but this exclusiveness is based upon *merit* or *interests*. The members need not worry lest they cause non-members to be unhappy. There is no need for fear of being inferior in such a group. The club has its avowed purpose: growth in some area of experience.

The neophyte who has just arrived on the campus must expect a period of readjustment. It is well for him to realize that the students whom he sees assuming leadership and behaving with confidence at group meetings probably felt and acted, when they were freshmen, as he does now. For this reason he should look about him for other newcomers who feel just as uncomfortable as he does and strike up relationships with them. The sponsor of any group can cite numerous examples of the green newcomer who seemed awkward, ill at ease, and friendless on arrival on the campus, and who, with time, expanded, took responsibility, made contributions, and grew personally.

Athletics and play in social adjustment. *Value of play.* Play has always been regarded by theorists as a great *socializer*. It brings persons together under pleasant circumstances. It is *co-operative*. It is a source of facility in handling people. In addition, it is recreative and relaxing. It allows the player to assume social responsibilities with a less tense and a more pleasant attitude. It broadens his interests. It gives him additional goals and keeps him from being single-tracked.

In athletic and other games, individuals must cooperate with or pleasantly oppose one another. The players fuse purposes; they become absorbed in a common pleasure. They lose self-

consciousness, social tensions, and inhibitions. Sports are a great leveler in a democracy. Those who participate are found also in other organizations (55) and tend to be higher in intelligence than non-participants (56).

In life, the penalties for errors are heavy and inescapable. However, winning and losing are events that occur several times in a play period. They are all taken with the game. The game is the main interest, not winning it or losing it. No doubt people differ in the extent to which they carry over this wholesome attitude into the serious, work-a-day world, but certainly all of it is not entirely lost when the person leaves the game (57, 58).

There are several lines of evidence that those who have grown up with limited play and companions and little interest in games are less *well adjusted* than if they had experienced a normal play life (59-63). All of us have noticed the difference between the carriage, mannerisms, and attitudes of the student who has been one of the group most of his life and those of the student who has been "out of it." The former contributes his opinions surely and without embarrassment; the latter offers his hesitantly and self-consciously. The former expects to be accepted, expects his opinions to carry weight, and they do. The matter of getting along with people is nothing new to him. The latter is dubious of his reception in a group and advances his opinions with little hope of their acceptance.

Play has been described as *integrating*. We are completely absorbed in the game when we play it well. Every sense organ and muscle acts toward the single end. Integration is a desirable goal. The more often we can display integrated behavior in everyday life, the more unified and consistent we are and the better we handle our problems.

Play is also a *means of satisfying motives* that cannot be satisfied elsewhere. Children play house or school and in the process act as their parents and teachers will not allow them to act in the living room or schoolroom. They enjoy the thrills of the gangster or G-man even though they would be punished severely if they should pilfer at the neighborhood store. Similarly, the adult removes inhibitions as well as clothes when he goes for a swim. Dancing is a sublimation of certain human motives. Games like gin rummy and bridge enable the players to compensate for a humdrum existence in the office, factory, or sales-

room. Much adult play takes the player back to the memories of childhood or adolescent freedom.

There are numerous studies to show that delinquency is reduced when the older child is engaged in supervised play (64-67). This seems true for the college period. The athlete has reason to keep himself *physically and morally fit*. His extra time is consumed by a pleasant activity, and he should have little time for the dissipation in which some of his non-athletic friends indulge. In addition, he is in the limelight. His reputation must be clear because gossip which concerns him has extra news value.

Athletics as a means for the satisfaction of strong motives. Consider the motives that are satisfied by athletics: social recognition, mastery of respected skills, social contact, a secure position in the group, affection of fellow students, adventure, a safe release of aggressions, and, in the case of men, a stronger feeling of masculinity. Participation in athletics, then, as a form of play, furnishes the student with a means for the satisfaction of motives which are usually not satisfied in other ways. Athletics is an indirect, pleasant method of satisfying motives.

To be sure, not all students who are active in athletics achieve these results. All of us can cite cases of athletes who are not good sports or who are confident during the game and diffident in social affairs. Play is only one influence in the development of a complex personality (68). Some writers make more claims for athletics than are given above. Traits such as courage, determination, decisiveness, enthusiasm, loyalty, self-initiative, perseverance, self-reliance, self-control, aggressiveness, fairness, good sportsmanship, and ambition are among them (57, 69). Surely most of these are elicited by many athletic games. We cannot say that athletics alone can establish all these consistent traits until there is experimental evidence to substantiate the claim.

Other extracurricular activities in social adjustment. Many of the advantages of athletics apply to other extracurricular activities. Since they also are a form of recreation, they integrate, socialize, and satisfy motives many of which would not otherwise be satisfied. They, too, release tension, enhance the reputation of the individual, give him experience in dealing with his fellow students, and provide an avenue for projecting out-

ward his inner life and testing his potentialities for development, as indicated in Chapter 7.

Many educators have written on the value of extracurricular activities. Below are lists of advantages and the number of writers that emphasize each (70).

Socialization	23	Citizenship	16
Leadership	22	Recreation and aesthetic	
Discipline and school spirit	21	participation	15
Cooperation	19		

Students gave the following as the most important results of participation in extracurricular activities. The numbers indicate frequency with which they were mentioned (71).

Social conduct	62	Ease in manner	24
Ability to meet others	52	Poise	21
Friendliness	26		

Directors of extracurricular activities in college mention that their aims are similar to the advantages listed above. They also stress the happiness and zest that arise from these activities, the self-confidence they produce, the feeling that the student has "a place in the sun," and the opportunity students have to *lose themselves in causes outside themselves* (54). Students, too, value these activities highly, and participants show evidence of better grades and ratings (72-75). There is evidence that students who engage in such activities in college carry them into life after college (57, 76).

One reason why extracurricular programs sometimes fall short of the ideal is that a minority of the students participate too extensively, become overactive, and assume more than their share of the responsibility. The result is that the student cannot do justice to the office, the organization is not representative enough, and many students who need the opportunities for personal growth which the group would give them are not brought into the organization (69). The activity in turn also suffers by being less effective than it might be and neglecting talent it might otherwise exploit.

Dramatics. The desire to appear to advantage before groups of people and the desire for social recognition and approval are found most strongly during adolescence and youth. The stage can satisfy these in a wholesome manner. If one has ever been

charged with being an "exhibitionist" one should try dramatics as a social means of expressing the urge for attention. Most of us have a desire to dramatize ourselves. Instead of indulging in affectations and strutting, express this through the socially approved avenue of dramatics. Many of the motives mentioned in connection with athletics are also satisfied by dramatics.

In addition to the prestige which grows from ability to command the attention of an audience, dramatics may provide an outlet for strong traits not otherwise expressed. When one participates in a play, he lives a role which he has not experienced in real life. He can be the inner self he feels. The timid individual may find himself in an ascendant role, and he enjoys the experience. The loud, aggressive individual may be told in jest by his friends that, if he were really the quiet, mild type of person he played in the dramatic production, he would be more popular.

Dramatics may give the participant *perspective* of himself and his role in society. It may *suggest new traits* in new roles and allow him practice in these roles. He may learn the value of grooming, posture, facial expressions, and attitudes. If he can gradually add to or subtract from his own characteristic actions without self-consciousness, he will have achieved a valuable accomplishment.

The following were mentioned as aims by dramatics sponsors in American colleges (54): appreciation of plays, development of avocational interest, poise, self-confidence and cooperation, a means of self-expression, fellowship, leadership, initiative, and responsibility. A study gives some evidence that social changes within the individual grow out of participation in dramatics (77). Students of psychodrama and play therapy emphasize the value of drama in permitting spontaneity and creativity in personality. It provides an opportunity for some tensions to be resolved and for new personality patterns to emerge (78, 79). This is discussed on pages 243 to 245. There is some evidence that dramatics, and activities connected with publications, draw students from high ability and grade ranges (80, 81).

Forensics. Forensics are similar to dramatics except that they probably are not so extensive in their contribution. There is a great premium upon ability as a public speaker. People gain confidence and a feeling of ascendancy when they are able to

hold the attention of an audience or handle a group. The speaking situation is one in which the individual can gain realistic experience in dealing with problems of self-consciousness, as discussed on pages 651 to 652. Debate gives direct practice in this skill that is so valuable in modern society. There is, in addition, the *research* experience that the average debater gains. He is given an opportunity to enhance his knowledge on numerous topics that he would not otherwise have.

Student journalism. The student who writes for the school paper or magazine usually puts forth effort far in excess of that which he displays in his English classes. He feels that he is doing something real. It is a life-like situation. It gives him direct practice in the organization and expression of his ideas in writing. It extends his interest in current affairs and gives him prestige and association with other students. This, too, is a source for spontaneous expression of inner feelings, an avenue for the projection of one's subterranean emotional life, discussed on page 245.

Student offices. The student who holds offices in college organizations gains executive experience. All the functions performed by the business and professional leader he must carry out in a more limited field. As treasurer, he plans or meets a budget. As secretary, he organizes the agenda of the association. He carries on correspondence and sometimes assumes an aggressive role in making social contacts. As president, he assumes responsibility for the successful operation of the organization for a period of time. He secures the cooperation of the members. He appoints committees. He handles resignations and acquires an impersonal attitude toward them. He becomes able to see his policies criticized and to deal with opposition. He acquires ability to manipulate people and win them to his point of view when necessary. He is prepared to meet deep disappointment occasionally when a plan or policy he has fostered fails.

There is no doubt that the college student is greatly matured by these experiences. The man who has handled these offices in college should be able to move more smoothly into the responsibilities that are presented to him in the business or professional world.

Membership in a fraternity, sorority, or social club. Membership in high school or college fraternities, sororities, and social clubs is widely regarded as a badge of popularity. It is also looked upon by some as a means for the attainment of social poise.

"Is membership in a fraternity * worth while?" is the question that faces many students. The fraternity man may need to justify the institution when its value is questioned or charges are brought against it. The student who remains unaffiliated with such a group throughout his college years may also need to clarify his reasons and attitudes. So let us consider very briefly the pros and cons of membership in a fraternity (54, 82-89). It must be remembered, in a consideration of the lists of advantages and disadvantages, that fraternities differ greatly in every aspect. Some factors, both positive and negative, are not present in all fraternities. The best fraternities are those which offer to their members most of the advantages listed below and few or none of the disadvantages. Conversely, the worst fraternities, those which are considered a menace to the typical campus, are those which offer to their members most of the disadvantages and none of the advantages. Not only do individual fraternities differ, but also the roles of fraternities as a group differ in their influence on different campuses. Fraternities are too often regarded as a homogeneous group of institutions. Anyone who has had much contact with them realizes the fallacy of this belief.

Advantages of a fraternity. Ideally the fraternity has these advantages:

1. Each chapter consists of a group of congenial students who live together in companionship.
2. It represents a national organization which provides individual chapters with prestige, support, and a bond which includes men from all parts of the country.
3. It provides practice in student self-government within its unit.
4. It develops group loyalty.
5. It encourages its members to enter into extracurricular activities and through its support assures greater success in them.
6. It gives opportunity to develop firm friendships.

* Throughout this discussion the term "fraternity" will refer to fraternities, sororities, and similar social clubs.

7. It makes individuals socially conscious in that they must consider the reputation of the group in their individual public behavior. Individual behavior of a "shady" nature, such as snitching, double-dealing, and disrespect for school, is taboo.

8. A spirit of competition and rivalry for grades and awards is fostered between different groups and different classes.

9. The fraternity affords the security and well-being that grows from brotherhood.

10. It develops opportunities for leadership and self-reliance in group activities.

11. The group frowns on individual bragging and encourages cooperative ventures.

12. It develops cooperation through group living and therefore prepares students for the larger society.

13. Manners, etiquette, and personal grooming are developed.

14. It bestows its own prestige upon individual members.

15. Supervision of study habits and periodic checks on scholastic progress insure greater success in college.

16. It provides a comfortable home which gives the student a substantial, balanced diet and a place to which he may bring his friends and cultivate a high type of social life.

17. It encourages better relationships with the faculty in that as a group the students are better able to extend them courtesies.

18. Members of the fraternity have the advantage of the guidance of the mature business and professional men who make up the alumni.

19. The fraternity carries on the tradition of the school and encourages school spirit. It gives continuity to the non-academic side of school life; this keeps the alumni interested in the institution.

20. The fraternity supports movements the authorities inaugurate.

21. It facilitates administrative supervision of students.

22. The desire to belong to some group is deep-rooted in American life. The established and regulated fraternity answers this need.

23. Fraternity members enjoy a more colorful existence because of the social functions they sponsor.

24. Social contacts made in the fraternity may lead to later business and social contacts.

25. Freshmen receive some of their best campus orientation through fraternity organization.

26. Fraternity men have responsibilities. They must make decisions and take part in making the organization live. They must appear mature. The "sob sister" is severely reprimanded.

27. Group discipline is operative in the fraternity; this teaches compliance to social standards.

28. It emphasizes conformity for the good of the group, rather than individual free play, which may harm the interests of society.

29. The fraternity gives the student social education and takes up its influence where the classroom stops.

30. The pledge is taught to take orders. Later, as an "older man" he may learn to give them.

31. For many a student, fraternity membership is a social necessity. His friends and associates are members, and the force of the group opinion is too strong to ignore.

It cannot be too forcefully emphasized that the advantages listed above *occur only in the ideal situation*. It is within the experience of many educators to find fraternities which continue to exist although they offer few of these advantages and then only in very slight degree.

If you are a member of a fraternity or are considering becoming one, measure the fraternity of your choice by this ideal fraternity. As a member you can be instrumental in raising the standards of your fraternity so that it will fulfill these functions.

Disadvantages of a fraternity. Many criticisms have been directed against the fraternity system. They are summarized below.

1. During periods of financial strain many fraternities "sell the house bill" rather than select congenial members for the organization. They therefore are forced to get numbers of pledges. Consequently they practically beg rushees to join.

2. Fraternities are costly. In addition to the initiation fee and cost of pins, the scale of expenditure for clothes, amusement, and board is higher than it is other places on the campus. The fraternity man and his parents usually do not realize at his initiation how many special assessments will arise, how many requests for additional clothes will be necessary, and how many special trips will occur. Too much of this cost is necessitated not by the needs of the local chapter but to support costly national offices. The individual member often contributes heavily to large administrative salaries, rental of impressive offices, and extravagant travel budgets.

3. Fraternities fall short in that they build a social group rather than individuals who stand on their own convictions. The member is indoctrinated with snobbish prejudices, taught to vote in groups and to conform to traditions and attitudes of the group, regardless of his own convictions and attitudes.

4. Fraternities constitute pressure groups and tend to make the campus government undemocratic. Independents are unable to formulate and give united expression to their views, so that fraternity opinion usually becomes campus law.

5. Fraternity organizations tend to become a pernicious influence on the campus if they condone clandestinely such undesirable practices as cribbing, accumulation of past examinations by misappropriating copies, sex irregularities, and excessive use of alcohol in the chapter house or elsewhere. Unless these groups have high-minded leaders who can forcefully maintain high ideals for the organization, a tendency toward low standards is almost inevitable. Fraternity members acquire the reputation of the group. If the group has a bad name a boy acquires it when he joins.

6. Interfraternity rivalry becomes bitter as the result of conflicts over pledges.

7. Fraternity members appear to feel superior, whether they actually do or not. This snobbery causes unhappiness for some unaffiliated students and divides the student body into factions with all the evils attendant on the "have" and "have-not" attitudes.

8. A group of this type does little to stimulate interest in the cultural aspects of life. Conversation of the members usually involves commonplace and inconsequential topics. One does not usually find the better magazines on fraternity reading tables, or symphonic music in their record libraries.

9. Many fraternities operate under dire financial stress. In their attempts to compete with other chapters in housing, furnishings, and appointments, debts are incurred, and the alumni are always kept in mind with an eye for donations when these obligations become too pressing.

10. Rushing sometimes results in exorbitant expenditures by a house.

11. Although fraternities may seem sacred to the average undergraduate out of all proportion to reality, the alumni are soon disillusioned and are chagrined to find how paltry are some of the things they revered.

12. Group organization gives a fraternity power which is wielded selfishly rather than for the advantage of the university. Frequently, fraternity loyalty is greater than loyalty to the college. It is not a fact that fraternities always support faculty action.

13. The standards in a fraternity house favor the expenditure of money for luxuries. This gives the wealthier student greater advantage in the group and encourages snobbery.

14. Fraternities frequently regulate whom their men shall date by discouraging or forbidding selection of dates from certain groups.

15. Fraternities encourage false standards. They bring pressure to bear on the student to appear to be what he is not and to have what he has not.

16. The true self of the fraternity man becomes provincial and prejudiced, and the superficial self polished and decorative.

17. Social qualities which may be a veneer, rather than real personal characteristics, are too frequently the basis for an invitation into a fraternity. During rush season fraternity members ignore the prospective member's profound interests and attitudes but try to determine whether he "rates" in superficial matters.

18. The fraternity is undemocratic in that it limits the range of social contact. Persons of similar social standards are selected for membership and become more uniform by the molding process that takes place. They are predominantly well-to-do and urban. With time, they become intolerant of persons who do not fit their pattern. The member does not get valuable experience in dealing with the wide range of persons he will meet as a business or professional man.

19. Fraternity members do not seek a stimulating and liberal intellectual life but an easy-going, sociable one. This encourages members to select persons similar in personality in order to prevent embarrassment, arguments, and disagreeable situations.

Again, the member of a fraternity, either active or prospective, should subject his organization to a rigid examination in regard to these disadvantages. As an individual you may feel incapable of changing existing conditions, but remember that the group is made up of individuals and your well-organized proposals can be acted upon by the other individuals in the group.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

SOCIAL PROFICIENCY and LEADERSHIP

SOCIAL PROFICIENCY

Meaning of social proficiency. Social proficiency refers to one kind of *influence on the behavior of others*. It is a subtle control. It involves presenting others with stimuli which cause them to respond voluntarily and pleasantly in the fashion desired by the proficient. The successful salesman, the executive who can reconcile hostile factions, the effective speaker, the professional diplomat—all are demonstrably socially proficient.

Social proficiency as a legitimate problem today. In this age of salesmanship one begins to doubt the old adage, "Build the best mouse trap that has ever been constructed and, even if you should hide yourself in the woods, the world will beat a path to your door." It appears that, if one does build the best mouse trap and expects to sell it at a profit, one must let at least a part of the world know that the rodent catcher has been constructed. Furthermore, the designer would do well to put forth in the most interesting fashion all the evidence he can gather to show that his trap is the best that has been built.

We are living in an era in which all commodities, including human service, are offered to the public heavily wrapped in verbiage. Sometimes when we penetrate these wrappings we find that they have functioned mainly as a cover to hide the short-comings of the commodity. In some fields, however, even those who offer commodities of high value must blow their horns loudly; otherwise they will never be heard over the din made by their less reputable competitors. For a time it appeared that those nations which were best able to control what their citizens heard, and by this control to feed them highly colored untruths, profited most in terms of worldly symbols of greatness, such as power and territory.

This state of affairs presents a problem to the able, serious student who lacks outstanding charm or social front. He wonders if his talents will be lost because he has not developed along with them a pleasing personal manner or a convincing line of chatter. Moreover, the conscientiously religious individual sometimes raises the question of the compatibility of the doctrine of "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" and the practice of "Deceive the other fellow, but do it cleverly." The modest, sincere, non-aggressive person is similarly reluctant to practice self-praise. A number of questions arise today in the advertising of one's own talents as well as one's handicraft.

It is with some fitness that these questions might be asked: Is there a legitimate case for social proficiency? Is social proficiency ever harmful to others?

Social proficiency an aspect of present-day culture. *It utilizes conventionality.* We are living under conditions in which we are not only governed by certain physical laws but also subjected to numerous strong social forces. These forces produce group behavior known as customs, fads, and fashions. We must be cognizant of them if it is our purpose to lead others. The proficient person respects the force of customs, studies them, and uses his knowledge of them to phrase the proposition he presents to his audience. The man who is ignorant of or ignores customs, fashions, and the generalized ways in which the group behaves comes into open conflict with its members and its leaders. This kind of conventionality is in many respects similar to etiquette, discussed in the preceding chapter. In its best form, it reflects kindness and consideration for others.

To be more specific, a college graduate who seeks a position in the office of a stock broker would be considered at least peculiar if not definitely abnormal if he should enter the office of the broker with an arrogant manner and wearing a collegiate sweater, an open-collared shirt, and campus slacks. He may have more knowledge about stocks and bonds than anyone else of his age. It is doubtful, however, that the broker will bother to penetrate the unconventional exterior to learn the applicant's true nature. It behooves this individual to respect the conventions of brokerage offices if he intends to affiliate with them.

Necessity of publicity. It seems, in this day of propaganda and widespread use of social strategy, that individuals of merit

might well add to their assets the art of presenting their talents in a way that the public has learned to expect. Legitimate social proficiency is a necessity in contemporary commerce. No one with scruples would advocate the type of social strategy which substitutes extravagant statements for meritorious goods. However, in the present world of trading and cooperation, the skillful presentation of one's services is a part of the total trading process. Let us discuss proficiency in presenting oneself.

Importance of impressive personal presentation. Everything that has been said about commodities applies also to personality. Some individuals learn to make the best use of their talents. They present their skills to the public in the most pleasing fashion and under the most enhancing circumstances. Others ignore the public and suffer as a result. If we lived in a purely objective world in which commodities and persons were evaluated in terms of carefully determined merit, much that has been said above would not hold. But we live in a world in which emotions very often dominate intellect, particularly in decisive moments. Some salesmen learn to go further than the mere presentation of a favorable appearance. They substitute entertainment and good fellowship for legitimate arguments in favor of the purchase of the commodity they offer.

Basis of principles of social proficiency. Unfortunately few laboratory experiments have been concerned with the problems of social proficiency. It is true that all the facts which grow out of psychological studies of suggestion and motivation are basic to principles for dealing with others. The application of these principles to a complex situation has not been tested under systematic conditions. What is known about the principles of social proficiency has grown from knowledge of the behavior of individuals in the everyday social world. These principles are therefore subject to the errors of material gathered in this fashion.

Social proficiency developed from experience. Social proficiency is an acquired art like public speaking and swimming. It involves the control of one's muscles (facial muscles and vocal cords in this case) and is learned in the situation in which it is used. As in public speaking and swimming, rules are valuable, particularly when used as guides in the actual situation. Knowledge of rules alone, however, does not help one. It is not what

one says but the manner in which one conveys it that is often more important. The suggestions which follow cannot be used mechanically. It is as important to know when to use them as to know how to use them. Some persons, like Huey P. Long, Adolf Hitler, William Jennings Bryan, and James A. Farley discovered these principles in action. These principles can, however, be learned by reading them and gradually trying them out. The trial-and-error aspect of social proficiency is no doubt the most important under any circumstances.

In dealing with other people, one's own emotions and inner security are involved; one has to control one's facial expression, posture, and movement of many body muscles. This control can be learned only by going through the experience, making errors, eliminating the responses which are not effective, and fixating those which are. The essence of this process was discussed in Chapter 7.

The essence of social proficiency. Those who are socially proficient motivate the other person. They guide his behavior in a pleasant or acceptable manner. The tactician tries to *achieve popularity* and then *guide the behavior* of others through his prestige. He is careful to build up his own personal prestige because he knows that social human beings have been educated both directly and indirectly to revere prestige. After he has demonstrated his prestige to those whom he wishes to lead, he *associates them with himself* in some way and allows them to enjoy his prestige. The proficient considers very carefully the self-esteem, the feelings, the attitudes, the established habits, and the wishes of those whose behavior he is trying to influence.

The methods by which the proficient guides the behavior of others are: (1) acknowledgment of the personal worth of the other individual; (2) indirect or inoffensive presentation of his ideas; (3) effective removal of objectionable situations.

Personal prestige.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt's immense prestige has issued as much from her abilities as a speaker and writer as from her background, wealth, and former position as First Lady of the Land. Among her gifts she has a talent for meeting people of every walk of life on their own levels. She shares her experiences with them, and they feel that they have shared in her prestige.

Personal prestige is the influence or respect which certain attributes give to an individual. These attributes may be previous success, position, personal charm, power, appearance, or the like. Studies of successful salesmen show that prestige elements such as these are often related to their success (1).

A compliment will seem a gracious gesture when given by the person who possesses prestige but may be regarded as fawning flattery from another. The student president is not impressed by a flattering allusion to his political success on the part of a characterless, unkempt student. He is pleased, however, when a student with dignity of address, good command of language, and a clear-cut comprehension of his own personal standards compliments him on his success.

How does one gather prestige to oneself? Prestige in our culture is enhanced by friends, prominent and interesting relatives, past achievements, and similar factors. Latent possibilities may be developed as elements of prestige. A person's grooming can bring out his best physical features. He may develop abilities in athletics, hobbies, or the arts. In fact, the most enduring prestige is that which emerges from the development of aptitudes and potentialities through creative activity. The individual who through his efforts creates objects of value to the group, or makes a contribution to an organization and thereby receives acclaim, has discovered a real basis for his own satisfactions and prestige within the group.

To be sure, if these assets are flaunted so that his associates will feel inferior by contrast, social relationships will be jeopardized rather than enhanced. If he bluffs he will appear transparent. Sooner or later, he will be detected in his deceit. Instead of forcing the recognition of his assets upon others the proficient will be conscious of them in the background. He will realize their unexploited power and will recognize them as indications of his ability and forcefulness. This confidence will allow him to make a contribution in any social group with which he may be affiliated.

Acknowledgment of the personal worth of individuals. The first step toward smooth social relationships is recognition of the value of the other individual. Habits of good manners and of appreciation of others are automatic with the person who has a genuine interest in and appreciation of his fellow men. To be

most effective this appreciation of others must come from one with *prestige*. The proficient person avails himself of all the prestige he possesses and integrates it in order that his appreciative recognition of others will seem important to them.

A case which emphasizes gracious recognition of another.

Suppose you attended a banquet recently. You were seated, let us say, beside the wife of a faculty member who has attained widespread recognition in his field. On your other side was seated a young authoress of no mean ability.

The young authoress spoke only when spoken to and obviously felt that she should have been seated beside a more important person than you. Her long silences were spent in gazing across the room of tables toward some of her big-wig acquaintances. Your occasional remarks elicited slight response from her, and this was given with condescension.

On the other hand, the wife of the faculty member introduced herself, repeated your name as you mentioned it, asked if you were related to another Jones whom she knows. You found yourself telling her the name of your home town. She spoke of persons she knew there. Before long you found that she had "brought you out" without your realizing it, had learned your interests, your previous successes, your plans. Furthermore, she had interpreted everything you told her in the most complimentary fashion. When you told her your plan to go into medicine as a vocation and to practice in rural areas she spent some time talking of the need in such areas. She told you how much she admires a person who gives up the chances of a more lucrative practice in order to serve a greater need. All this was said with a genuineness that was completely convincing. She commented upon your manner of conversing with people as an asset for medicine.

When you mentioned your home town instead of saying "Oh!" she recalled that two of the most interesting old homes she had ever seen are there. She also added a few items of state history that are associated with your town. There are many adverse matters she might have mentioned. As you yourself know, your town is very small, somewhat backward, and has more than its quota of people who make a poor social impression.

You were greatly impressed with her *interest* in you, her *appreciation* of your assets, and her casual *integration* of your assets and possibilities. You were conscious of the fact that she is a person of importance, but at no time did she force this upon you. It was the manner in which she carried herself, dignified but not haughty, well-mannered but not prim, well-groomed, well-spoken, and considerate. Now and then she alluded modestly to her husband, his work, her home, her large beautiful garden, her collection of rare editions.

Throughout the meal she was as *considerate* of your needs as of her own. She offered the relishes when she thought you would like more. She set the sugar and cream beside your place when she finished with them, rather than placing them where she had found them as the writer next to you had done. She did all of this with graciousness. Several times during your conversation she referred to your opinions: "As you say, Mr. Jones, . . ." and, "I agree with you in your opinion regarding . . ." She used your choice of words rather than others that might have been no more suitable but whose use by a person of superior prestige might have seemed like a correction. Occasionally she asked your opinion on minor matters. Once she said, "I wonder if you will give me a reference on hygiene that will not tax a mediocre mind?"

Specific methods of recognizing others. If you observe the social proficient you will find that he uses many of the following methods among others in his attempts to further his own aims (2).

Gracious request for small favors.

A manner which makes it easy for others to cancel their obligations.

Memory for the names of others.

Modesty about his own accomplishments which allows the other person to feel important.

Willingness to meet the minor wishes of others.

Acceptance of others' problems as his own.

Sparing use of direct compliments; judicious use of indirect compliments.

Humor, especially with himself as the butt, which puts others at ease.

Good nature and pleasantness.

Respect for or discreet imitation of the other person's hobbies, customs, religion, speech, and mannerisms.

Indirect or inoffensive presentation of ideas. On the lecture platform, in the schoolroom, from the pulpit, and through the press and radio, our thoughts are being directed by others. Some of this may be regarded as substantial education. Many times this education is countered with erroneous ideas. Sometimes prejudice blocks the avenues of new thoughts. To fight this directly is a poor method. More subtle and effective is the indirect and inoffensive method. We shall list with examples some of the various techniques that have been suggested (3).

Impute the idea to others.

"I am sure you feel that our idea has much merit."

"As an intelligent man you know better than I that this view is true."

Imply the answer in the question.

"Don't you believe every American father should make sure that his children will receive the same education as the others in their group?"

"Isn't it true that we are basically human and require these pleasures?"

Present ideas in harmony with previously stated ideas.

"For ages our fathers and their fathers have been fighting for freedom."

"You have always been a man who has stood for the right principles and I know how you feel in this matter."

Present ideas associated with prestige.

"Any group which can win such popularity must have some value."

"The distinguished lawyer, Mr. X., has accepted the directorship of this movement."

Guide ideas by dramatic means.

Suggest to the individual a novel, short story, cinema, song, or poem which will leave but one conclusion for him to draw.

Require the individual to write an essay or piece of fiction, and by means of title or direction be assured that he will arrive at the desired conclusion.

Encourage him to associate with those who exemplify the idea.

Effective factors in the presentation of ideas. Regardless of the means by which the idea is presented, it should be presented frequently. The vehicle should vary from time to time.

Should you as city health officer want to launch an educational program in hygiene you would first name your program. You would set aside a month in which to educate your group. It would be called "Health Month." You would have eight or ten outstanding persons in the community (*prestige*) write ten rules of health. These would be flashed on the screen of the local theater. They would appear several times in the local newspapers. Health buttons would be issued to the school children. There would be health pageants at the schools (*vivid presentation*). The merchants would dress their windows with the health motif, with special emphasis on the theme in the drug stores. Radio programs with pleasant music would be planned. Case histories of healthy and unhealthy individuals would be presented. Over and over you would repeat through various media "Health Habits Pay," and you would give your public ten specific suggestions for attaining these

health habits. You might even conduct a health contest which would include a series of lectures with a prize for the best essay on the material covered in the lectures. You would have students in school check daily the extent to which they practice the ten health rules which you are trying to publicize. You might even have them engage their parents in building these practices also.

Effective removal of objectionable situations. *Proficiency in crises.* The real test of effective social proficiency arises when one attempts to influence others who are hostile or to deal with others who have strong opposing ideas. Much of the discussion previous to this has dealt with situations in which the proficient took the initiative. Most of the proficiency was of a positive type and definitely of a pleasant variety. Social proficiency is most valuable, however, when used with persons who attack the position one holds. It also has merit when one attempts to influence another who will not respond to a more pleasant positive type of motivation.

The tactician always tries to make his influences pleasant. If he can achieve results by pleasantly guiding the behavior of another he is most satisfied. We shall see some examples of this as we discuss specific effective methods of dealing with others in difficult situations.

Specific inoffensive methods of handling difficult situations.

Exonerate the opponent from blame for the view he presents.

"I know you will admit this is out of your field."

"Naturally your opinion will change after you have seen this evidence."

Show that there is a more plausible viewpoint.

"What you believe is true generally, but . . ."

"I know there are others who take this viewpoint, but let me show you the fallacies."

Pay tribute to the opponent before objecting.

"You are a kind man and you have taken a kind attitude, but . . ."

"You are too discerning a person to side with this group."

Make concessions before objecting.

"There are some things to be said for your viewpoint, but . . ."

"There was a time when that viewpoint held."

Refuse to take opponent's idea seriously.

"Surely you are joking."

"Now, all joking aside, . . ."

Restate idea in an extreme form.

"Do you mean you can't afford to spend \$25 to protect \$5000?"

Use a modest attitude.

"We differ. Now, the question is, who is correct?"

"I may be wrong, but . . ."

Take a deliberate attitude.

"Let us think this matter through together."

"After you consider this thoroughly and recall these points you will agree."

Specific offensive methods of handling difficult situations.

The specific methods above were planned to avoid offense. There are times when it becomes apparent that the individual will not respond to the less offensive approach, or that he needs a strong stimulus in order to bring out a decided reaction from him. The conflict between positions in such instances is too great for any rapprochement, and the tactician then uses his resources in a battle to win through force. The approach should be planned for its force regardless of its probable offense.

Challenge the personal integrity of opponent.

"No honorable man would do that."

"What are you going to get out of this action?"

Ridicule another's actions or ideas.

"That's certainly a bright ideal"

"Our prime minister is a great sprinter. Despite his years, he broke all records running away from his responsibilities."

Warn against scandal, failure, or disgrace.

"Are you ready to face the tabloid version of this?"

"You're going to find out who your friends are."

Challenge the soundness of the proposal.

"Will this stand the critical debates of the assembly?"

"It looks like a pipe-dream to this discerning audience."

Check-list of suggestions. Below is a list of concrete suggestions for dealing with others (2). They may be viewed as supplementary to those discussed above. Some are brief summaries of principles. Others are specific examples. Read them critically and judge them from your point of view and standard of ethics. In a democracy we always assume that the avenues through which people are controlled are free and that opposing proponents in an issue will have access to the following effective methods of influencing others:

1. Only by approaching people through their *wants* and their points of view can they be influenced.

2. Anticipate objections and resistance.

3. Make it *easier* for the other fellow to change his views by showing *respect* for them.

4. Let the other fellow state his objections first.

5. Concede as much as possible without endangering the main issue.

6. When you must break bad news or disappoint the other fellow, be careful to *shield his vanity*.

7. Attract attention by stirring up *emotion*. Even unfavorable attention will sometimes get you what you want, but it is a risky technique.

8. *Show* the other person something. Reach him through his eyes as well as through his ears.

9. A good way to bring ideas home to people is to use *stories*, epithets, and striking phrases.

10. Make use of the *concrete proposal*.

11. You may conceal your emotions by smoking, writing on a pad.

12. There are times when it is wise to freeze the other fellow out by *silence*.

Poor social proficiency. Since we have devoted the major part of this discussion to effective methods for influencing others, it is fitting that we turn our attention briefly to the many persons and situations that are ineffective and are representative of poor social proficiency. There are certain persons who violate all the principles given above on most occasions, and others who violate them on few occasions.

There are those who habitually approach every social situation with an *antagonistic and critical attitude*. Their criticism is not of the present situation, but of all situations. Their attitude, rather than being effective, actually prevents them from gaining their ends. In these situations the individual offends, breaks his relationship with his conferee, and is unable to win him to his side except through force. Force usually is effective only as long as it is operative. It is a negative rather than a positive method.

The attitude of *superciliousness* is another that colors social relations to such an extent that often one will fail to win the affection or support of others. This attitude inflicts emotional wounds and reduces one's effectiveness as a leader. It is not socially proficient to assume that one's own beliefs are superior and proceed to *reform* and convert others to this "superior" position. It is a method that lacks sympathy and is rarely effective.

Attitudes of *arrogance* and *domination* are additional illustra-

tions of points of view which are extremely ineffective in gaining the respect and cooperation of others. It can be seen that they run counter to the principles of effective social strategy.

Ostentatious persons who go out of their way to attract attention to themselves and away from others, or who in their mannerisms, attitudes, speech, or actions *demand the limelight* without satisfying in any manner the motives of those around them, are also poor social strategists.

It should be clear that *selfishness* in any form is inimical to social strategy. The egocentric person who is preoccupied with his own feelings finds it impossible to know enough about the other person to handle him effectively. *Uncontrolled emotionality* shown in caustic remarks, explosions of anger, and tactless criticism may all be labeled lack of proficiency. Many of these examples of poor social proficiency are the result of *feelings of inner insecurity*.

Critique of social proficiency. *Proficiency used insincerely will in time lose its effectiveness.* Our discussion of this topic is not complete unless we make it very clear that we realize the limitations of the methods suggested above. There have appeared on the market several books written by popular writers who have couched in very simple terms their suggestions for obtaining friends and leading others. The reader is led to believe that the application of these suggestions will bring social recognition to him, regardless of the many other factors which make up his personality. Although many cases can be cited to substantiate these principles, they have certain obvious limitations. Some of these limitations which we shall list below hold equally for the suggestions we have presented.

As pointed out previously, if the principles given above or any other similar principles are used in an *insincere manner* their continued effectiveness is very doubtful. Compliments, smiles, and feigned friendship may be very impressive at first. They do not, however, wear well with time, especially if we find that they are masks used as means to exploit us. When we find a person continually deceiving others by these methods, we label him a fraud and a hypocrite. A sincere person who is really interested in people, in social situations, and in a more effective compromise which will better his lot, as well as that of the average man, may profit by these suggestions. One whose social

motives are highly questionable will not profit long by learning social proficiency. He will soon be labeled in terms of his true basic motives.

Proficiency may be incompatible with the individual's inner feelings and convictions at a given time. If we heed the advice of the popular books on acquiring friends and winning influence over associates through compliments, pandering always to their interests, putting emphasis on externalities, we may find ourselves putting greater value on the superficial in our culture than on the expression of our inner convictions. Students of human nature who are cognizant of the force of inner motivation raise the question: "What happens to the real self and the impulses that are perforce inhibited in order to conform to the wishes, attitudes, and interests of those with whom we come in contact?" The degree to which one is to become a shell of conformity and social niceties at the expense of his convictions and self-respect, in order to avoid the outer (and possibly amicable) conflict which is inevitable, is a question which must be weighed (4).

Social proficiency masks issues; it is not a frank approach. Critical persons may, with propriety, raise a number of objections to the exposition of social proficiency. "Why show students how to cater to one another's emotions?" they may ask. "Why couch issues in pleasing phrases? Would it not be better instead to accustom students to meet issues directly? Doesn't the man of the street need to be taught to realize that his emotions are capable of leading him astray? Shouldn't he be educated to cut through sugary statements to the essence of an issue? Aren't we building up false values when we condone the use of social proficiency? Isn't an *exposé* of social proficiency far more appropriate than a description of its forms? Isn't exploitation of the ignorant the most common use of social proficiency? Are we justified in perpetuating this?"

Certainly the critics who raise these questions do so with some justice. In a sense, however, a discussion of social proficiency is at the same time an *exposé*. Once we have learned the art of effectively guiding others' behavior, we are more capable of recognizing it when it is directed toward us. A frank discussion of it brings it into the open, allows students to learn it as well as to detect its use. Social proficiency will always be employed. It is doubtful whether we will ever attain the objec-

tivity which will allow us to reason without having emotion influence our thoughts. We might even question the desirability of reason without emotion in making decisions. From one viewpoint social proficiency is the *kindest way of dealing* with other people.

The critics who strike at social proficiency fail to use it. Therefore their criticism does not reach the persons who need it most to protect them against insincerity. The best preparation for coping with social proficiency when it is directed toward us is a thorough knowledge of it.

LEADERSHIP

College students aspire to leadership. College men and women are supposed to furnish community leadership. As members of professions, as business executives, and as alert citizens they will be faced with responsibilities. There are numerous opportunities for leadership, yet some persons accept them readily and others do not. It is this personal aspect of leadership that we want to consider.

Problems in the study of leadership. Are there any qualities common to leaders as a whole? When does a person become a leader? May a leader influence thought and action in one field and be a follower in another? Do some individuals lead through their creations rather than through the social contacts they make? How can we distinguish these various leaders?

In order to answer these questions we shall quote from several well-conducted studies which involve great numbers. We shall also call upon the generalizations of critical writers on the subject. Before discussing these problems, however, let us sketch the events in the lives of some well-known leaders of different types.

Cases of well-known leaders in history.

Warren G. Harding came to the presidency of the United States after a political career which started early in life. He attained a college education and in his youth taught in a country school, studied law, and worked in a newspaper office. At 19 he became editor and owner of the *Marion (Ohio) Star*.

He is said to have had a kindly and genial nature and to have reposed too much trust in his friends who at times took advantage of it. He presented an excellent appearance and was the type of

man to whom the populace as a whole was attracted. He was the "head man" type of leader. In politics he belonged to the stand-pat element but frequently favored popular legislation. His administration was conservative and won its greatest support from the more affluent portion of the country.

Nikolai Lenin was the son of a government official in Czarist Russia. He studied law but gave up its practice to carry on propaganda work. This step was taken in spite of the fact that he had been banished to Siberia during his student days for participation in prohibited gatherings. He studied Karl Marx's work during his early years, became a devoted disciple, and took an active part in the Social Democrat movement.

Throughout his career he was arrested on numerous occasions and spent a great deal of his life outside of Russia either as fugitive or exile. He did not deviate from his original purpose despite these experiences. He continued to write and lead movements which favored the liberation of the working classes. He wrote much of his *Development of Capitalism in Russia* while in exile.

He had the capacity to formulate policies, maintain his position in regard to them, gain followers, and carry his policies into action when the appropriate time arrived. He founded the Soviet Republics and the Communist International. He formulated policies for the workers of his own and other countries. He took a definite stand against the First World War and in 1914 organized the proletariat for attacks on capitalists. He carried his country through many crises, and it gained strength under his leadership. He was an active leader even after he lost the power of speech toward the end of his life.

Louis Pasteur was the son of a tanner. He received a thorough grounding in chemistry and graduated from the Ecole Normale of Paris. As a young man he held professorships in physics and chemistry in universities in France and achieved distinction through his research on beverages.

At 35 he was appointed Director of the Ecole Normale Supérieure. This did not interfere with his experimental work. Many of his friends believed that his research was fruitless, but their attitude did not influence him and he was soon able to show that his researches had great practical value.

As a result of his reputation he was sought to aid in the eradication of a silkworm disease. He attacked the problem without previous experience in this field and in a short time discovered the origin and suggested a means for its cure. He later developed a method of inoculating cattle against anthrax, and dogs and humans against hydrophobia. His work in these fields has resulted in saving many thousands of human and animal lives.

Pasteur led a rather simple life. He is an example of a leader

who influences others through his discoveries. He had a brilliant mind, strong drive, and good work habits. He attacked problems of great importance to the welfare of the human race.

Examples of college leaders. Campus leaders in a large Midwestern university were questioned and given personality tests in an attempt to learn the characteristics of the variety of leader who functions in extracurricular activities. The results indicate a division of the leaders into four groups which have value in this discussion.

Student *editors* were highly intellectual but not distinguished scholastically. They were mildly introverted (shy, emotional, and unsociable), according to their own ratings, and did not show the marked feelings of inferiority which are not uncommon at this age, when rated by themselves and their acquaintances. In short, they were bright, self-assured persons, indifferent to the social demands of the classroom and, to some extent, to others' opinions. The experimenters who collected these data interpreted the personality patterns of the editors as either the semiconscious pose of a young literary person of high intelligence, or as a less conscious drive which finds expression in a non-social outlet rather than in association with fellow students. These leaders belong to the group which we shall call the *expert*. They lead indirectly through their creations (writings in this case) rather than through direct contact with other people.

Debaters (men) were of superior intelligence, markedly introverted (shy and emotional), and had fairly extreme inferiority feelings in terms of their own ratings. The women debaters, on the other hand, were found to be extroverted (sociable and active) in terms of their own and their associates' ratings, though they admitted mild inferiority feelings. They exemplify the *expert* variety of leader.

Campus politicians were found to be strongly extroverted, in their own and their associates' opinions, moderately good in general ability, but to have poor school records. The women in politics professed extreme feelings of inferiority. These leaders represent the group named the *executive* variety.

Leaders in *university dramatics* were able intellectually and did slightly superior work in school. The women were mildly extroverted, according to their own and their associates' ratings. Feelings of inferiority had more than average frequency among the male actors. These leaders are another example of the *expert* type of leader in that they lead through a creation or skill (5).

Definition of a leader. The first question that must be answered is, "What is the definition of a leader from the viewpoint of the following discussion?" The word "leader" will be used below in its broadest sense. A leader is one who *influences consistently the behavior of a given group of individuals*. This definition includes all the varieties of leaders discussed below.

Classifications of leaders. An exhaustive study of great men who lived between 1450 and 1850 shows us that there is *no single leader type*. Instead, there are varieties of leaders. Any classification of leaders will show much overlapping of traits between groups. We shall use the following classifications of leaders: *executive* or titular leader, *dynamic* leader or one who shows initiative, and *expert* or creative leader.

These differences in kind of leadership are found also among animals. The birds that fly at the head of the flock are there not because they direct the course of flight but because they fly faster. This is "pseudoleadership." Among other animals one animal actually initiates acts and is followed by others (6).

Executive leaders. Executive leaders are usually selected by the group they represent. They speak for the group, preside at meetings, and in a democratic group guide and coordinate the thought and actions of individual members of the group. These leaders vary from the "stuffed shirt," head man, or office holder to the one who is able and willing to coordinate efficiently the major contributions of the more talented members of the group. Some are institution-minded, are more loyal to the organization than to the ideas it represents (7). They may be so bound to the *status quo* that they are insensitive to new forces and developments. The amount of prestige attached to this type of leader varies greatly. There may be only a moderate amount, or the leader may be placed on a pedestal and clothed in many ideal human qualities and, sometimes, superhuman qualities. He may act as a symbol for the group, arousing great emotional fervor and loyalty and binding the group with a common tie.

Examples of executive leaders may be observed in college activities. Most officers in campus organizations may be placed in this class. They possess a certain amount of prestige. They are able to get along with the members of the group. They follow the line of precedents, and they initiate very few drastic changes.

This group is distinguished in general from the dynamic leader who initiates social changes. However, the distinction is not one of clear-cut demarcation. There are many individuals who have all the characteristics of an executive leader and in addition have the dynamic force to organize or change the course of the activity of a group. Outstanding statesmen exemplify this type of leader.

Dynamic leaders. The *dynamic* leader, the leader with initiative, has certain plans and directs the activity of the group along the line of these plans. It is conceivable that such a person may not possess many qualities which make him popular and, consequently, may need to execute his plans through a head man or executive. He may be a background leader, a power behind the throne. His direction may be of the dominant type rather than the persuasive. Regardless of the methods used, this individual is forceful. The group looks to him for guidance and throws upon him the responsibility for its welfare. It is easy for such a leader to become an autocrat.

An example of the dynamic leader in college is the student who desires to change the existing form of student government. Another example is the student who tries to start a weekly student forum on the campus, or who sets in motion a plan to combine two or three ineffectual service groups into one effective organization. Included in this group of leaders is the individual in any group who is its most forceful and dynamic member, who assumes responsibility for the policy of the group and for the direction of all its activities. These individuals are more likely to favor the ideas or the spirit of the organization rather than the particular form it takes as an institution. Revolutionary statesmen and some soldier-statesmen, Napoleon and Cromwell, for instance, are examples of this type (8).

In both executive and dynamic leadership a distinction may be made between domination and integration. The integrative leader is not the rigid, inflexible man who has made up his mind about what he wants and is now imposing it upon his followers. He *realizes that others differ*, that there is *value in the viewpoint and purposes of others*, and he attempts to find a *common purpose among differences*. This kind of leadership is spontaneous, flexible, and changing. Its growth is through cooperative activity and survival of the best ideas and actions. The leader is

aided by an intellectual constituency or following. He actually embodies their viewpoint. This process is more characteristic of ideal democratic leadership, whereas domination is more autocratic (7, 9). The "diplomat" as well as the "bully" is sometimes found in children's groups (10, 11). Domination implies fear. It is found in the leader who is inwardly insecure. This individual must rule by force.

Expert leaders. The third variety of leader is the *expert* or creative leader. This individual usually is so superior to the average person that he is not popular, and he does not try to be. He is too different to be one of the crowd. He acquires, however, certain skills which help him to utilize his talents to full advantage and so makes a contribution to society in the form of an invention, a work of art or of literature. The collegiate example of this type of leadership is the honor student or the one who wins literary awards. The executive leader of his time is usually forgotten, whereas the expert leader lives on through his creations.

Invention, like dynamic leadership, is related to the cultural background or social group. The old notion of the inventor and the leader being pure individualists is far from a true description. The inventor and creative artist, like the social leader, are products of the group and express what the group has impressed upon them. The expert continues to live in the group, is a follower in other groups, and has acquired and makes use of the contributions of the past. Every inventive step depends upon the steps that have preceded it. Inventions that occur today were impossible a hundred years ago because of the inventions in the interim that had to precede them.

Characteristics of executive and dynamic leaders. Many of the studies of the characteristics of leaders have been made among children and adolescents. None of these studies has separated the leaders into executive and dynamic groups, perhaps because it is very difficult to differentiate between the two types in the school situation. We shall therefore deal jointly with the characteristics of both groups.

Before we review those human characteristics which are common to leaders, a few preliminary remarks are necessary. Leadership, like most complex social phenomena, does not have a single cause or form of expression. There are many reasons

why an individual attains the position of leader. It is not necessary that all the favorable conditions be present at all times. It is not necessary that the same pattern of factors always act as cause. *Certain characteristics may bring an individual to leadership in one case, and an entirely different pattern of characteristics in another case* (12, 13). Furthermore, there is overlapping and interaction of factors. For example, leaders are found in many instances to be older, more intelligent, and physically stronger than members of their groups. It is difficult to learn which of these factors is basic. Below are some characteristics found often in executive and dynamic leaders.

Age. The age of the child, adolescent, or adult in a given group is often one of the important factors which determine whether he shall be a leader or not. Age or developmental stage may be basic to the presence of other factors, such as size, energy, mental age, and knowledge.

In young children of the pre-school and grade school period, age is important in leadership because the older child has greater size, mental age, energy, knowledge, and prestige. However, even in these young children individual differences in leadership ability outweigh the differences attributable to age (10, 14). Adolescent leaders, however, are sometimes older than the average of their group, sometimes younger, and sometimes the same age (15, 16).

In a study of *college students* of all classes by the author, leaders were found to be older and closer to graduation than non-leaders. It might be well to emphasize the implications of this statement. It indicates an important factor in leadership—the *establishment of oneself* in the organization through association with it a greater length of time than the average. Some college students become discouraged as freshmen and feel that the leadership they evinced in high school was ephemeral and is never to reappear in their lives. If they continue their interest and work in organizations, they find after two or three years that this feeling had no foundation in fact. Knowledge, skill, and experience will be discussed later as frequent concomitants of age in its effect on leadership.

There is another aspect of age which operates to make the older, established individual more self-confident and ascendant, and the younger, less experienced, less established individual

submissive and self-conscious. It is relatively easy for the man of 35 to lead the young man of 20. This is particularly true if the man of 35 remembers the younger man as he was ten years ago—an inexperienced boy of 10, while he himself was at that time considered an adult. It is difficult for the individual of 20 to feel mature, particularly in the presence of older, more experienced, and confident individuals. He *sets* himself to feel and act subordinate. If an older man assumes the *ascendant attitude*, the submissive set is enhanced in the younger. There is some basis, then, for selection of older men to assume the responsibilities of managing, presiding, appointing committees, and carrying on the other functions of an executive. The middle-aged man, because of his experience and age, feels confident when he deals with younger individuals and can therefore elicit a submissive and cooperative attitude from them.

Size and physical make-up. Like age, size may be an important factor, but it is not invariably related to leadership (17). The larger child may be more developed, more energetic, or more skillful. Among grade school children leaders were superior physically (18). High school girl leaders were found also to be taller and heavier than the average. However, in several studies the boy leaders were not distinctly superior physically to the non-leaders (15). Boy Scouts of superior physical measurements, for example, were not the leaders (19).

The average height and weight of over 6000 leaders, such as governors of states, senators, mayors of leading cities, bishops, and railroad presidents, were obtained. These were compared with the figures for over 200,000 applicants for life insurance, which we might assume to represent the average of the population. The leaders' average height was 71.4 inches, the average man's 68.5 inches; the leader's weight was 181.1 pounds, the average man's 166 (20). It is difficult to determine whether weight is a cause or effect of adult leadership. Sales ability, however, which might conceivably be related to executive leadership, is not related to height (21).

There have been several attempts to learn the conditions of physique and physiology that are at the basis of leadership. For example, one investigator secured ratings of 155 University of Chicago freshmen made by their fraternity brothers and then made numerous measurements of physical build, such as length

of lower and upper extremities and diameter of pelvis. The relationships to leadership were slight (22). A study of biochemical factors in leadership indicated low relationships. The leaders tended to be heavier, to secrete a greater volume of urine, and to be less acid in bodily chemistry. Although this study shows some physiological processes to be related to leadership, this is pioneer work and sweeping conclusions should not be drawn (23).

Energy. Apparently the more energetic among young children tend to take the initiative in social situations. In very small children this factor may be related to age, the older being the more active. To be sure, not all energy has a social outlet and there are, conceivably, some energetic children who are not good leaders. In high school (24) and adulthood (for example, farm leaders) (25), those who show extensive active participation in social groups tend to be leaders. Casual observation shows that those persons who hold the offices in organizations are individuals who belong to many groups and have a varied experience of responsibility in these groups. They are socially energetic persons.

Ability. Practically all the investigations of leadership referred to above show that the leader has greater general intelligence than the average of his group (12, 17). This is true of pre-school children who take the lead (10). Most of the studies of gifted children indicate that they tend to be superior to the average child in the attainment of positions of leadership (26). It has been observed, however, that very superior children are rarely chosen as leaders of the average group. They lack *rapport*, are out of touch with the members of the group, and are therefore hardly qualified to lead. A very brilliant child may become the leader of a group of superior children, but rarely does he attain great popularity with and leadership of the average (27).

Scholarship. In general, leaders are superior in scholarship to the average student. In some non-intellectual activities persons below average may be chosen as leaders (14, 15, 17, 28, 29).

Knowledge, skill, and "practice." An important component of leadership is knowledge. This may be superiority in a skill upon which the group places emphasis (12). It may be the result of practice in assuming responsibility and in acting for the group. The most outstanding characteristic of the Scout leader was his

high rating as a Scout (19). Skill in performing activities which interested the group also tended to help a Scout attain leadership. It is this factor which allows juniors and seniors in high school and college to attain positions as leaders. Frequently leaders are chosen for their ability in the field in which they excel. Athletic achievement, for example, helped captains of teams attain their positions but did not help the other leaders especially (30). Even in the pre-school group leadership behavior tends to increase as the school year advances (10).

An early study of leadership in a small discussion situation indicated that leaders are more fluent and better readers (18). Good advice for one who wishes to improve in his ability to assume a leading role in a group is to become familiar with the members and activities of the group, spend considerable time working with them on common problems and assuming responsibility. Knowledge and practice in dealing with these individuals will yield as a by-product ability to take the lead of the group.

Social status. In practically every study of extracurricular leadership in schools, socio-economic status was in favor of the leaders (5, 17, 28, 29). It is highly possible that extracurricular activities represent a luxury for some students and that leaders in these activities do not represent the range of leadership found in adulthood. Another possibility is that the extracurricular leaders in schools are the executive variety rather than the dynamic. This requires a student with a "good front," which superior socio-economic status produces. Whatever the reason may be, it is a fact that school leaders as a group are from parents of a higher occupational status. They are usually, as a group, better dressed, better looking, less emotional, less selfish, and have "better school habits" (15, 28, 29).

One factor that may help to explain the predominance of students from better homes in extracurricular leadership is the reluctance of children with less favorable backgrounds to appear in the limelight because of inferior clothes, grooming, and personal possessions. How many of these "underprivileged" children compensate through superior school work and success in other less ostentatious but substantial avenues is not known. There is considerable case study evidence to indicate that this happens frequently.

To what extent this overawing superiority of occupational status builds up in the "underprivileged" a desire for success and other strong motivation is also unknown. This motivation when harnessed later may allow the "underprivileged" individual to exhibit greater leadership. It can be conjectured, however, that unless these persons acquire deftness in getting along with other people, along with the strong motivation to succeed, their leadership either will be through their creations or will be ineffective. Later in this chapter emphasis will be placed upon leadership through creative work rather than through management of people.

Personality traits of a social nature. Executive leaders as a group obviously have acquired many social traits, such as extroversion, popularity, aggressiveness, and tendencies to assume a dominant role in relationships with others (31). This dominant attitude is reflected in ease, expansiveness, tendency to comment freely (32, 33), and a low degree of such traits as self-consciousness, modesty, jealousy, distrust, and quietness (34). The dominant attitude in social situations seems to flourish most in those individuals who come from a parental background which is professional or business in nature rather than from labor groups (35). In the case of women, it seems to be related in part to ratings of beauty and security by others (36).

There is some evidence, which we shall consider later, that their followers attribute to executive leaders more confidence, extroversion, and pleasing social characteristics than they probably have. Not all leaders are extroverted, as has been seen earlier in this discussion. In addition to the study of University of Minnesota student editors (5) there is an investigation of junior high school students which shows that the leaders on the magazine staff tended toward introversion, whereas other leaders possessed extroverted traits (30).

One writer, when he obtained the ratings of extracurricular activity leaders, found the following characteristics: self-confidence, motor (muscular) impulsiveness, finality of judgment, and speed of decision (37). He found that fellow students rather consistently judged these leaders as aggressive and kind. Fellow students did not think them outstandingly persevering or mentally superior. There was a slight tendency for professors to regard these leaders as aggressive, but no tendency

for them to view the leaders as self-confident or interested in intellectual pursuits (38).

Prestige and popularity. Most discussions of leadership call attention to the prestige which the office gives to the individual. Members of the group frequently ascribe to the leader traits which he does not have. The halo is placed above his head, and it is assumed that he is superior in most characteristics. This is a serviceable by-product. If he makes use of this attitude, the leader can mold the opinion of the group and develop unity out of confusion. He becomes the bearer of authority, the symbol of the group.

The systematic studies of leadership prove that leaders show characteristics of their group (12). For example, an admiration score indicated that the degree of an individual's popularity correlates quite highly with leadership (+0.82-+0.58) (16). When ratings by leaders themselves and ratings by their associates are compared, a disparity is sometimes found. A group of leaders who thought themselves introverted were rated as extroverted by their associates, who usually considered extroversion more desirable. Those who thought themselves inferior were not so characterized by their followers (5). Girls who voted for the gym class leader and later voted on the popularity of members of their group (14) also demonstrated a correlation of 0.60 between popularity and leadership.

When students are asked to give the characteristics of their leaders the prestige factor is clearly evident. They mention all possible desirable physical, mental, and social traits. Below are the attributes ascribed to the gym class leader: obeys; plays fair; is honest; plays the best she can; can control her team; plays and does not quarrel; is capable; can be depended upon; knows her business, and watches what she is doing. These are only the 10 most frequently mentioned characteristics, yet they illustrate a wide range of admirable qualities (14).

Gifted children as potential expert leaders. Besides participation in as many extracurricular activities and holding about twice the number of offices as average children achieve, gifted children furnish us with our potential expert leaders (39, 40). We consider as gifted children those who have intelligence quotients above approximately 140. They represent about 1 per cent of the population, the average of which has an IQ ranging

from 90 to 110.* These children are very outstanding in school work and are noticeably bright even to casual observers. They have the mental equipment to master and to create in the most complex vocations. They maintain on the whole their general superiority over the periods of years they have been studied (41).

Extensive studies show that the gifted child is from a good family background, has good health, good intellectual ability, wide interest and motivation, and pleasing personality traits (26, 42). With this combination of traits these individuals are capable of success in the more difficult fields, such as the professions and the arts and sciences, and can contribute to society the knowledge and skills that are necessary for progress. Some of them will become our executive and dynamic leaders. Others who lack the strong compensatory motivation or superior social qualities will quietly and modestly master some field and make an unostentatious contribution to society. The success that the typical gifted child wins in school work, in hobbies, in reading, and in the more profound interests causes him to spend much of his time in these pursuits rather than in the cultivation of social traits, which are necessary qualities in executive leadership (8).

Some of these gifted children, who possess some special skills of a motor or artistic nature and the most important element—motivation—in addition to outstanding general ability, will be recognized as geniuses, particularly if their strong motivation leads them to excel in a field in which society awaits a contribution.

General principles of leadership. *The function of the leader.*

Let us now turn attention to the processes and conditions which are common to most of the varieties of leadership discussed above. There are certain axiomatic generalizations which are true of all varieties of leadership. Leadership is inherent in group organization. The masses need a leader. The lone individual can direct his behavior in terms of the stimulus that presents itself. However, when he joins a group in which each individual views the stimulus differently and tends to act in a different fashion, confusion results. He is stimulated not only by the situation but also by the behavior of his fellows. This

* IQ is the ratio between the mental age of a child and his chronological age.

confusion is heightened in a crisis. At such times the individual becomes emotional and impulsively active, but his activity is disorganized in character. He must act; he wants to act correctly; the situation confuses and overpowers him, and he seeks a course of action. Finally, a forceful leader appears and commands the attention of the group. Individuals, eager to act, welcome the leader. Their universality of response serves as reassurance to him as well as to each one of the group. The leader not only serves as a *common stimulus*, but his fellows who join each other in their agreement with the leader also serve as *interstimulation*. This activates the group and gives the leader an additional responsibility. The leader, then, is a necessity in group life, particularly group life of an emotional nature. Not only is a leader necessary, but also the quality of the leadership has been found to affect the morale of the group. Officer-man relations and the quality of the leadership seemed to be the most important single determinant of morale and performance in military life (43).

Prestige in leadership. Another universal characteristic of leadership is *prestige*. The word originally meant "delusion" or "illusion," and in some languages the old meaning still is retained. However, in English, "prestige" is used to mean a social advantage, whatever its source.

Prestige differs from leadership ability. It is the name given to those qualities which are attributed to the leader by the group. They are sometimes inherent in the office which the leader pre-emptes rather than in the leader. The man who assumes leadership frequently acquires, irrespective of his own desires, a symbolic position which causes him to be worshipped by his followers. Myths and legends grow up concerning his origin, development, and characteristics. As a leader he transcends in the minds of his followers all the qualities that he possessed as an individual, as we saw above in the ratings given to leaders. Some institutions take advantage of this human proclivity and provide the individual with symbolic apparel and appurtenances which have been handed down from leader to leader throughout the history of the institution. The soldier has his uniform, the judge his robes and wig, the priest his vestments, the nobleman his coronet and ermine, the physician and academician his titles. After years have passed it is difficult to

view our presidents as men, although, before their attainment of the office and in the eyes of their enemies, they had and have all the shortcomings of the human being. Kings, because they are born to their leadership, possess this prestige throughout life.

Some leaders possess what is sometimes called *personal* prestige rather than acquired or artificial prestige. They are relatively rare. They are persons who seem to draw other human beings toward them, influence them, and control them through inspiration or fear. Certainly Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed, and Napoleon had this characteristic, and it is found to some extent in many executive leaders of today. Theodore Roosevelt possessed this personal charm which drew persons to him, as undoubtedly did Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mussolini, Gandhi, Lawrence of Arabia, and Huey P. Long.

The leader is a symbol of his group. The leader is intimately bound up with the group he leads. The nature of the leadership varies with the nature of the group. In the first place he must be one of them. He must have *similar attitudes and habits*. He must feel and act as they do. He must be clearly conscious of the strongest attitudes and wishes of the group, and, to a certain extent, he must be a symbol of their satisfaction. The staff of an institution for boys, for example, differ from the boys in their choices of boy leaders (44). Similarity of aims has been pointed out as one of the principal qualities of the leadership process (12, 45).

Herbert Hoover has all the requisites of a leader, according to some textbook discussions of characteristics of leaders. He has excellent appearance, experience in handling men, and ascendancy. At the time of his election he was extremely popular, owing to some extent to his past successes during World War I. His victory over a very strong opposing candidate, Governor Alfred Smith, was overwhelming. At the time of his election he represented to "prosperous America" the symbol of their desires: success in business; a handsome, rich businessman who had numberless influential contacts; a symbol of that which every American would like to attain.

Then there occurred a change in the character of the group, brought on by the financial depression. Instead of a group which was unified by a common loyalty to "prosperous America" they were divided in a class struggle. The wealthy were desirous of retaining as much of the paper success they had attained during the boom period and therefore made drastic financial retrench-

ments. The poverty-stricken, who lacked sufficient food and clothing, clamored for jobs and physical security and were envious of those who had plenty in comparison. This divided the group. Mr. Hoover represented the "better" of these factions and therefore antagonized the other. He lost sight of the change in the character of his group, did not adequately represent them as a whole, and he did not represent the majority. He favored the minority and lost his position as leader in spite of the fact that he retained all the individual traits he possessed when he entered office.

Franklin D. Roosevelt was more conscious of the sentiment of his group, particularly in view of his re-elections. His speeches and recommended legislation faced a need which had been vocal for some time in America—economic readjustment and social security. He assumed the role of the champion for the satisfaction of these needs and acted in a fashion compatible with the strong attitudes they aroused. Later he comprehended the international crisis and its implications and marshaled public opinion in the direction of action. He retained his position as leader despite errors on his part and vehement criticism from a powerful minority.

Hitler's rise to power can be explained by a similar realization of the stronger wishes and attitudes of the members of the group. He realized the desire of the German people for a strong Germany, the repudiation of an unjust treaty, the re-establishment of the country as a world power, and a bold and confident attitude toward foreign and domestic enemies. He provided an outlet for strong emotion through the discovery of a scapegoat. He convinced the people that the pernicious influences were responsible for their plight. The unthinking masses readily accepted his simple solution. When he gained power he retained his supporters and forcibly crushed any change in sentiment.

When Boy Scouts were allowed to choose their own leaders for numerous small groups, the characteristics associated with their choice of leader varied with the character of the group. For example, if the accepted thing in the group was for the leader to have been with the group for two years, the tradition colored materially the choice of the group. The correlation between leadership and factors such as appearance varied with the group from 0.60 to 0.91, depending upon the attitudes of the group (19).

Much of that which we have discussed under personal prestige and characteristics of leaders gains greater significance in the light of the present discussion. The characteristics which are important in executive leadership are those which make the

individual a *better symbol of his group*. This can be readily seen in the case of age, popularity, knowledge, physique, extroversion, and energy. Intelligence enables the individual to perceive the character of the group he is to represent.

Does the leader mold events or do events mold him? A realization that the leader is the symbol of the group throws light on the perennial questions: Does man make history or does history make man? Does the individual leader shape the course of history, or is there a general tendency independent of particular persons? Do individuals merely act as vehicles for the expression of this general tendency? Would history be the same if our famous men had died in infancy, or has the course of history been influenced by Cromwell, Napoleon, Jesus, Mohammed, Clive, Caesar, Alexander, Darwin, Newton, Galileo, Beethoven, Goethe, Rousseau, Nietzsche, and others?

Certainly there are general trends in history and particular individuals are the vehicles, but these general trends have been influenced by specific individuals. The trends can only impress themselves on the minds of the specific individuals. The freedom of individual leaders is limited greatly by the characteristics of the group. Likewise, the attitudes of the group are limited in terms of the power and the attitudes of the individual leader (46). The group and the individual are two aspects of a single process, and to separate from the individual all that he has gained from the group is just as impossible as to separate from the group that which can be attributed to certain individuals.

Leaders shoulder many responsibilities. Leadership is said to "polarize," that is, a few leaders will hold offices in a number of groups. There is often a circle which seems to consist of leaders of numerous organizations.

There is also a correlation between leadership and the number of groups to which an individual belongs. The important American and European labor leaders were found to be affiliated with a greater number of groups than less important leaders (47). Likewise, extracurricular leaders in school are found in many activities (48, 49). It is not difficult to see why a person who belongs to a number of organizations and who assumes some responsibility in each would eventually hold an office in one of them. His membership in groups extends his influence and increases his experience in dealing with others as well.

The leader is a good follower. There are several other general principles which are true of most forms of leadership. There is no clear-cut distinction between a leader and a follower. We cannot set up two classes with leaders representing one mode and followers the other. Every leader is a follower, usually a follower in many groups, and some followers are leaders in other groups. Furthermore, the best leader, as we have shown above, must be a good follower. He must follow the group as a whole in his attitudes and wishes (50). These generalizations can be supported by reference to some of the studies cited above.

For example, among 34 pre-school children only 3 were never observed as followers. All the others, including those who quite frequently led, also followed others in the same group. Reciprocal leadership was found to be quite common (10). Similarly, Boy Scouts who were divided into groups at random on several occasions were allowed to choose their leaders for the group. Their choices did not divide the group into leaders and non-leaders. Instead, there was a continuous distribution of degrees of leadership ability which ranged from those who were seldom, if ever, chosen as leaders of their group to those who were chosen as leaders in almost every group in which they found themselves. Most of the individuals were sometimes leaders and sometimes followers (19).

The development of leadership. Leadership develops as do the many related traits, such as friendship, ascendancy, and extroversion. We saw that various qualities allow the pre-school or grade school child to assume the role of the social leader. He learns early in life that he can influence others. He then assumes an aggressive attitude. Unless he has highly vivid experiences of failure or fear in social groups this attitude will continue later in life. There is considerable empirical evidence that this is true.

The graduates of a Midwestern high school during the period from 1914 to 1919 had been out of school from 10 to 15 years at the time of the study which is quoted. They were divided into three groups: leaders, 25; scholars, 32; and random control group, 32. The criterion of leadership was based on consultation of the school annual and teachers' opinions. Scholars' names were taken from the honor roll. The remaining group was selected at random. All the students were interviewed if possible. The

leaders were easiest to find in later life. Success was measured in terms of income and special honors and awards. The leaders had acquired the most money, the scholars the least; the leaders and the random group had more Ph.D.'s among them; the leaders were ahead in evidences of community service. The random group and scholars were about equal in evidences of community service. The author states that there is evidence that the person who does not stand out in high school may attain some leadership in later life. The high school leader, however, seems to have a better chance of doing so (51).

Probably one of the most interesting examples of transfer of leadership to a new situation is a study of boys in camp. Boys whose standing as leaders was definitely established in their own groups were taken before groups of boys who had never seen them before. The new group was asked to rate the visitors on their leadership ability on the basis of hearing their voices behind a screen; later seeing them, hearing them, and speaking to them at the same time. The leader stood out from the other boys in the votes received. Even on the basis of voice alone there was a relationship between the votes from strangers and from his own group. The votes he received in the strange group were not related to his height or weight. They were somewhat related to his age but were related mostly to the rating he received as a leader in his own group. There was apparently certain behavior which the boy had shown or developed in his own group which was recognized by the strange group as indicative of leadership (19).

The evidence to date, then, would argue for transfer of leadership from one period in life to another. Leaders in grade school are more often leaders in high school and in extraschool activities (52). Those who have developed skills which are important in the group are more likely to be leaders than others. This justifies the school systems' emphasis on training in leadership by practice in beneficial extracurricular activities compatible with the student's interests and talents.

Can one train for leadership? A project which set out to train leaders by means of lectures and conferences resulted in only slight increases in leadership ability in the subjects after the training interval (53). It is doubtful whether precepts which concern leadership can be compared with *actual practice*. No

doubt an individual can, while practicing leadership, profit by reading what is known about it. But the knowledge must be converted into overt reaction patterns of leadership to be of value (54).

A group of 4-year-old children was trained in ascendant behavior. This type of behavior is found frequently in executive leadership. The children were put through an experimental training period. The five least ascendant children were selected and submitted to three training situations in which they were given information regarding, and opportunity to use, toys and materials which were used during play with other children. After the training situation they were paired with other children. Four out of the five children made a gain in absolute score, and all made a relative gain (55).

Suggestions for the development of personal leadership. The college student who has rarely assumed the role of the leader asks: How does one develop leadership? We offer the following suggestions in the light of the previous discussion.

Realize that there is a need for many leaders. He who is eager to make a contribution of outstanding value should not be discouraged by the fact that there are many other leaders. There certainly are not too many leaders today. Every problem that confronts us calls for leadership, and, although many problems in the physical realm have been solved, problems in the social realm are legion. There is need for many leaders. The average individual's behavior is multiplex and touches upon many fields of endeavor. One individual cannot possibly lead in all of them. He must be a follower in most of them. He should be willing to follow those who have specialized and who are qualified to speak authoritatively in their fields. On the other hand, he should also qualify *himself* to speak authoritatively in some field.

Determine the kind of leadership you can assume. If you are introverted, submissive, non-social, if you prefer to work with things and ideas rather than with people, it would be unwise for you, after maturity is reached, to attempt to change your personality entirely when a certain variety of leadership can be achieved with your present attributes. Yours may be a leadership gained through creations, through expert contributions. It will be a leadership through advice and knowledge which you

can give to others rather than a face-to-face control of groups of people. No matter who you are, you can serve in some capacity—you have some skills. The swimmer can coach others in swimming, the linguist can teach foreign languages, and the socially adept can form committees of various types.

We should make a distinction between our wish to lead and our capability to lead in a given area. A study of 100 Officer Candidate School students by psychiatric examination and tests showed that the leadership in that type of situation is related to *emotional maturity* and a *sense of reality*. One may be able to make contributions in the background through his achievements in writing and inventions and yet be totally unable to function calmly and with judgment in a realistic social situation (56).

Identify yourself with an important problem, movement, or issue. One of the outstanding attributes of a leader is that he solves the problems of his group. He satisfies their strongest motives and symbolizes their attitudes. Few men become outstanding leaders because of any qualities with which they were endowed at birth. Rather, leaders are individuals who intimately and actively identify themselves with important problems, movements, and issues. They give their energies to the solution of these problems and the perpetuation of these movements. Some persons become leaders only by dint of hard work of an uneventful nature, but they fulfill a need. They affiliate with some group and become good followers and workers.

Acquire knowledge and practice in required activities. Usually the leader knows much more about the group than the average member. His knowledge may be the skill represented by the group. The captain of the team may be the best player, the president of the dramatics society the best actor. The leader may, moreover, be adept in social skills. He may be successful in obtaining the viewpoints of all the group members and in formulating the most popular policies. He may find it easy to form forceful movements within the group. Finally, the leader's knowledge may be in terms of the business of the organization. He may be best acquainted with its bylaws, budget, or history and therefore be capable of guiding the other members at meetings. All these functions must be performed by someone.

A practical problem in leadership. We have seen the characteristics of a leader. We have seen what the process of leader-

ship involves. Now let us consider a concrete problem and see how leadership may operate. One author has analyzed this into planning, organizing, and persuading (57).

Suppose you as a student feel that you have many qualities of the dynamic leader. You think the general emphasis in your group is too superficial. Suppose you are a regular fellow and enjoy typical student social life, but also enjoy more mature activities. You feel that too much time is spent at parties, soda fountains, and in fraternity club rooms. You see very few trends in the direction of scholarship, intellectual curiosity, and interest in current events. Must you say, "I am merely one person and therefore can have little influence on the group"? Must you think that others will laugh at you for your enthusiasm to tackle an "impossible" job? On the other hand, can you realize that many movements, even those of historical influence, were initiated through the efforts of single persons or small groups? What steps should you take?

Suggested practical steps for leadership in college. 1. Determine the value and nature of the goal toward which you strive.

If your goal is superficial or impractical, or if it affects existing conditions only slightly, the work required in its achievement will not be justified. You must first determine that your goal is valuable. To do this, you must be convinced of the following: that it is possible and desirable for college students to take an adult interest in serious current affairs and cultural pursuits; that a program for the broadening of campus interests is one which under certain conditions is stimulating to the average college student; that the attainment of this goal is worth the effort that will be necessary. After you have discussed the matter with qualified persons and have read of conditions in other colleges and possibly visited other campuses and groups, you will be ready to continue with your program.

2. Resolve that you will persist in your efforts to reach the goal you have set.

Envisage ahead of time the difficulties you will encounter. Realize the length of time that will be required to achieve the goal. Be cognizant of criticism you will receive. Knowing all this, if you still feel that you can continue to fight for your goal despite discouragement, launch your program.

3. Discuss your goals with other students.

A leader must have a following. He must have a powerful nucleus, either at the beginning or during the early part of his pro-

gram. The leader who has no following is ludicrous. It is necessary, then, to find all the students who feel as you do. Ascertain the extent of their conviction. Find out how much they will help in your plan. Learn their opinions about the matter. Obtain from them any facts they may have. Seek particularly the critical student who will help you to see both sides of the issue. Do not neglect a single student whose opinion may be of value. Next, it might be well to talk the matter over with students who are at present influential. Possibly you can win some to your side and forward your program through them. At least you must know their feelings on the matter.

4. Plan the program.

Suppose you have considered critically the importance of directing your group's interest along more substantial lines. Suppose you have secured valuable substantiation for the worth of this goal, and suppose you have discussed the possibility of inaugurating the program with a cross section of the group and know the local attitude toward it. You are ready, then, to plan your program. You have gathered about you a good nucleus of persons who feel as strongly as you do about the matter. They have contributed their suggestions. They have volunteered their services. You have seen the pitfalls and possible discouragements that will arise, and on the basis of this information and of the volunteered assistance you are ready to plan your program.

Your program should be *specific*. To create more cultural interests in your group, you may possibly plan lectures which appeal to students, vivid exhibits of books in the club rooms, and discussions led by popular persons. Debates, forums, book reviews, and lectures should be given more publicity and prestige and should be planned on popular but substantial issues. The concrete method of achieving these aims should be planned.

5. Provide opportunities for your program to be criticized constructively.

Remember that you want a practical program. You want to discover all flaws or impractical aspects early. For this reason it is well to allow the members of your group to criticize it in its early stages. The leader must know the sentiments of his group. Furthermore, it is a rare leader who cannot profit from counsel with members of his group. A dictator chokes off all criticism. The democratic leader anticipates criticism, prepares a nucleus of his group for it, evaluates it objectively, and prevents its presence from jeopardizing his program. Debilitating criticism should be guided in its significance for a program of action, not accepted as a rationalization for abandoning the program.

6. Launch the program with vividness.

One writer, when she discusses the change of group patterns, suggests the following means of making the campus conscious of the initiation of a new movement (58):

Student editorials.

Student addresses before student groups.

Conference to sponsor an outside speaker.

Informal discussions by student leaders.

Class discussions.

Tentative plans submitted to the group.

7. Repeat your objective and methods often.

Do not drop your plan because it is not immediately effective or because it is not popular. Encourage the minority to continue its work.

8. Stay in the background if necessary.

Very often the person who has the seriousness of purpose to initiate a program of this type is not an individual who is suited to become the head man. In that case, find a head man. Select someone who is popular, who sees value in your program, and who has a large following. Let him assume titular leadership of the group.

Social conflict within the individual. The subject of the conflict between ideas and tendencies of behavior continually arises in a volume devoted to human adjustment. We saw in Chapter 7 that prolonged and deep-seated conflict may have serious repercussions. Before we discuss conflicts between peoples let us see how conflict of a social nature may occur within any of us.

On page 383 we presented a brief history of Harry N. and showed how a number of people with different ideas contributed to his final attitudes. A conspicuous trend in Harry's attitudes was the conflict between opposing views that had grown from these differing influences in his development. Living as we do in a democracy, conflict between varying standards is inevitable. It occurs even though the individual's parents have been somewhat successful in insulating him from cultural influences other than those in his specific social stratum. Though he may live in an estate area, may have been transported by chauffeur to a private school, may have played with carefully selected companions, may have read only magazines with a certain view-

point, and may have attended a church which represents a community of his peers, his life will not be impervious to influences from other cultures. He will probably see some movies, go to some sports events, listen to the radio, and, even in a careful selection of magazines, observe the cultural life of the other strata. If in later years he engages in the production or distribution of goods, he or some of his representatives must know the mind of the typical American.

As members of one of the heterogeneous groups in a democracy, we assimilate and introject during our development ideas that conflict. We may start with the biases of our parents, but the attitudes of a playmate, teacher, or an admired personage in history will surely diverge from theirs to some degree. A nationwide mobilization of men for an army will throw together individuals from divergent cultures, expose them to commonly shared, deep experiences, and give them opportunity to assimilate each other's different attitudes and ideas. The World Series, political campaigns, church activities, town meetings also produce interaction of persons with some ideas in common but many differences.

As pointed out previously, this heterogeneity of attitudes strikes the individual in high school. He sometimes tries to insulate himself from these other cultures by forming cliques. Usually the cliques consist of individuals of similar background, thereby producing in-groups and out-groups and the snobbishness and feelings of rejection which result from such groupings.

The implications of social conflict within the individual and between groups pervade the phenomena discussed in this and in the preceding chapter. The leader must represent the attitudes and viewpoints of his followers. If his following is heterogeneous he must in some way integrate the diverging viewpoints. Some office holders in the recent past have been able to do so most adroitly. Social proficiency also involves guiding the behavior of others by accepting some of their attitudes. All of social adjustment—popularity, friendship, and affiliation with groups—entails some type of social interaction. This usually means gravitating toward persons of similar attitudes, but sometimes it involves other processes such as competition, accommodation, assimilation, or cooperation (59). All of us who attempt to make any broad adjustment to other people have the problem

of understanding their differing attitudes, accepting them at times, and yet remaining true to that which we feel is basic to our own personal philosophy. We have discussed this to some degree in Chapter 8.

Adjustment is more difficult for those individuals who move from a somewhat homogeneous group with a narrow way of life to one which brings together persons of widely divergent backgrounds. Many a student entering a large university with a background of a small, provincial community, a strongly sectarian family, a self-conscious and self-righteous economic or social group, has a very difficult adjustment to make. This is particularly true when such students find new acquaintances who are very attractive, highly satisfying in many ways, and yet hold viewpoints that are incompatible with strong, deep-seated attitudes. We have discussed the problem of a stable adjustment to differing views on pages 295 and 296 and have emphasized the importance of making a slow, substantial rapprochement by emphasizing the values that are common in our old and new standards. Sociologists have written quite extensively about the interaction of groups and have assembled some evidence that it is disturbing to the individual for these changes to occur too abruptly (60). Adjustments that grow out of the interaction of groups with different backgrounds will vary. There are times when both groups and individuals will assimilate and integrate the new attitudes of other groups into their thinking, cooperate on common enterprises, compete with each other, or engage in open conflict.

Few problems are more important to Americans than the adjustment of groups that differ widely in background. The issue is current. It involves the relationship of the majority or in-group to the many existing minorities.

Simply stated, the problem for the individual is that of working out his personal philosophy so that he will be able to be true to those viewpoints he holds most valid or defensible and yet be able to accept on some grounds those persons who differ from him but to whom he must adjust. This adjustment entails cooperating on certain grounds, assimilating differing attitudes, perhaps competing to demonstrate the validity of some of his standards, and at other times engaging in open but fair conflict.

More concretely, the individual who holds any convictions or

standards in politics, religion, morality, vocation, economics, and human relations cannot escape meeting groups and persons with different ideologies. There will be times when he may have some misgivings about the motivation and validity of his own viewpoints and yet cling to them. At other times his opposition to a group will reflect his fight within himself against his own origins. Again, his conflict will consist of his support of some of the attitudes of his adversaries and his opposition to others. Certainly there must be some clear understanding of the basis of our own personal conflicts which cause us to be aggressive toward others before we can make a stable adjustment. We must comprehend whether our prejudices are based on our own feelings of insecurity regarding ourselves or regarding the class with which we are identified. With some thought we may discover that our prejudices and hostilities are involved in our attitudes about race, religion, or politics. They do not reflect conviction that the ideas of the opposing group are invalid, but that the opposing group will jeopardize our superior position or unmerited special privilege. There are times when the underlying factor in prejudice and hostility may be our own guilt for our part in the mistreatment of a certain minority group. When this is so, making a scapegoat of the minorities affords an easy relief.

Our discussions of social strategy, leadership, and personal philosophy provide the groundwork on which you can resolve conflicts of this type by clarifying your own thinking and making those adjustments to other individuals which will best benefit you and society.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

AFFECTIONS and CONVENTIONS

INTRODUCTION

There is probably no question which we in America have evaded more consistently than that of sex. Well-meaning parents have refused to instruct their children about natural biological phenomena. The well-bred girl of a generation past was "sheltered" from any such knowledge, and her ignorance of these matters was regarded as a mark of refinement. The result has been a heightening of children's curiosity so that they have sought their information in less desirable quarters. American parents have acted either as though there is no problem or as though any problem of sex is in itself unwholesome. This blind attitude has been especially culpable since movies, current literature, conversation, and other influences constantly stimulate the curiosity of those for whom the problem is unsolved.

Rather than to ignore sex, it is far more sensible to admit that there are vital problems in this important realm of life and that these problems influence our most cherished and exalted sentiments, those built around love, home, children, and family. It is necessary, then, that we face these problems frankly, understand their origins, and attempt to solve them effectively in our culture.

We shall first deal with our *primitive beginnings* of affections and show the *factors which mold* and direct these original and vague urges. Then we shall discuss *conventional standards*, youth's *attempt to meet them*, and the *problems involved*. Most of the problems—masturbation, crushes, unachieved heterosexuality, and petting and unstable love life—arise because of the disturbances in the development of one's affections and difficulties in meeting standards. We shall in each case discuss these problems and attempt to give insight into them so that solutions may

be discovered. In conclusion, in Chapter 13 we shall deal with factors affecting the climax of affections, marriage.

DEVELOPMENT OF AFFECTIONS

Affections and sex adjustments are based in part upon the love one receives as a child. They fuse in later life, the one unconsciously affecting the other. We cannot, therefore, separate them in discussing their influences on the growing personality. Nor can we separate the development of affection from the development of the total personality, the atmosphere in the family, the relationship to each parent, and the traits these influence. The attitudes and behavior we show in our love and sexual relationships are not unrelated to our characteristic tendencies. Initiative, tendencies to withdraw, passivity, confidence, acceptance of ourselves, inferiority, hostility toward people, self-esteem, anxiety, and security all influence our relationships to our contemporaries of both sexes. The bases for these have been presented in Chapter 5.

We differ in the expression of affections in our sex attitudes. John always has a new "steady girl." Bill is indifferent to girls. Joan is "boy crazy." Elsie is surrounded by boys and does not seem to let it affect her greatly. Anne, although pretty, does not attract boys at all and is sensitive about the whole matter. What causes these differences? Are they the results of inborn temperament, the accumulation of experiences, or both? What are the experiential factors which mold our love life? A discussion of the development of affections should throw light upon each individual's present sex tendencies and problems. You may want to consider each topic with the intent of understanding how this factor influences your life.

Basis for affection. We begin life with certain constitutional or congenital tendencies which are the raw materials of temperamental traits—passiveness, general pleasant manner, activeness, or irritability (1). In addition there are both the natural tendencies to respond positively to caressing, loving, and mothering (2) and the learned positive response first to the mother who satisfies our needs and motives—hunger, warmth, dryness, thirst—then to other individuals who play with us and satisfy our other motives. The satisfactions from adventure,

curiosity, and recognition are enhanced by people. Along with satisfactions there are frustrations, hostilities, and anxieties which may be associated also with others in a greater or lesser degree. Some frustrations grow from early training in connection with feeding, toilet habits, and discipline (3).

It may be said with justification from clinical and marriage studies (3-5) that, in order for love to develop in a wholesome way, one must be loved adequately but not excessively by one's parents; one must feel that one is lovable, have self-esteem, a feeling of worthiness, and show a capacity to adjust to the desires of others. Ideally, this, together with the absence of excessive frustration, should lead to security, emotional stability, and capacity to love.

Stages of development of affection. Observation of numerous cases has led to the following hypothetical stages in the development of affections:

<i>Period</i>	<i>Expressions</i>	<i>Time</i>
Autoerotic (love of own body)	Affection for bodily processes	Early infancy
Narcissistic (self-love)	Affection for own self	Up to about 3 years
Parental	Affection for parent	Up to about 6 years
Sexual latency	Affection less prominent	Up to puberty
Homosexual	Affection for own sex	Early adolescence
Heterosexual	Affection for opposite sex	From later adolescence on

The newborn baby's life revolves around eating, sleeping, and elimination. The older baby becomes interested in various parts of his body, particularly those which yield pleasure from manipulation. The child is most strongly attached to his parents before his interest in other children develops. The boy, just before puberty, derives greatest pleasure from boys' games and "other fellows." Of over 300 collegians, 54 per cent could immediately recall a period just prior to puberty during which they felt a distaste for the opposite sex (6). Strong friendships sometimes develop in this period. Later, there is attraction to the opposite sex, and, finally, to one member of the opposite sex in particular.

At puberty we experience restlessness and expansiveness. We become more keenly aware of the world about us. Sex urges

mature at this time. Glandular secretions bring about bodily changes, growth in sex organs and pubic hair. Previously formed sex attitudes and impulses are intensified. There is no conclusive evidence that glands determine specifically *how* we shall act. The vague cravings we experience are associated with thoughts or experiences of caressing. These conditions and our *previously developed* personalities determine how we behave. We associate our inner feeling with our friends as well as with the beauties of nature. We are then building the sentiment of love. We are living in a heterosexual world which teaches us that intimacies and tender feelings occur only between persons of opposite sex. Our friends impress that fact upon us by their allusions to the opposite sex and by their behavior on dates and at parties.

This heterosexual attitude is not well established before puberty. In early adolescence mildly amorous relations to other members of the same sex may be observed. Boys put their arms around their buddy's shoulder, tickle, wrestle, and exhibit other activities involving physical contact. Girls at this period experience "crushes" on other girls and, sometimes, on older women. Such behavior is rarer in late adolescence, and usually it is unpleasant to the individual who has definitely established heterosexual attitudes. One may fixate at any of the levels before the heterosexual as a result of events in his development. A youth may show more interest in himself, his parents, or his own sex than in attractive members of the opposite sex of his age. This usually creates a problem which he may or may not see frankly. Natural tendencies toward affection, then, are modified, elaborated, and conditioned by the many specific experiences we meet during our development. The child and youth learn to experience a certain type of love in certain situations just as they learn to fear, dislike, or hate specific conditions. Romantic affections follow the same learning process that governs other personality traits. Experiences are associated with the various urges and guide their future expression.

Some of the more important experiences influencing the development of affection are (1) parents and adults with whom we associate as children; (2) our relationship and attitudes toward them; (3) the sex attitudes they give us; (4) our playmates and friends and our relationships to them; (5) the impressions

we gain about ourselves during play; (6) the romantic experience we enjoy at adolescence; (7) the sex experiences that occur; (8) the daydreams we conjure; (9) the later social life we lead; and (10) courtship. We shall discuss each of these in detail.

The importance of some of these factors has been shown through the studies on adjustment in marriage and will therefore also be discussed in Chapter 13. Since the nature of one's affections and attitudes toward sex are influenced also by one's total personality development, a review of Chapter 6 at this time would be pertinent. Trends such as jealousy, antagonism toward or lack of interest in the opposite sex, anti-social attitudes, immaturity, anxiety, lack of confidence in oneself and one's attraction for the opposite sex, tendency to play an active or passive role—all are developed in one's life history.

The Family. Studies dealing with marriage indicate that probably the major factor influencing the love life of a youth or adult is his *relationship to his parents*. The parents create an atmosphere which may be accepting and warm or may be critical, dominative, neglectful, or rejecting. In the former instance, the child emulates the parent and introjects his traits. In the latter, he turns elsewhere for a model and retains hostility which may show itself as late as marriage (4, 5). A boy may grow up in a family which is dominated by the mother. He may build up hostility for her, select his father as a model, develop masculine traits, but retain the hostility and resentment which he directed toward his mother, even into marriage. All during his youth in relationships with girls, he may have resented suggestions from them or any attempts on their part to influence him. The climax may come in marriage when he shows open hostility toward his wife, develops countless complaints about her, or refuses to cooperate in any venture in which he is not dominant.

The various roles the boy or girl learns to play in love or hostility are numerous and can be related to the family constellation. An older brother or sister who has been loved or resented can influence later relationships. Overprotective grandparents or aunts may enter the picture. The absence of one parent through death or separation may be influential.

There is a well-known pattern of lack of interest on the part of the father for a child, perhaps a boy. As this son becomes rebuffed he turns to the mother for affection and recognition,

introjects her feminine traits, and, for the period during which she remains his most influential model, he acquires attitudes and behavior of a feminine nature. A girl may withdraw from a dominating or neglectful mother to a warm, sympathetic father or older brother, become his pal, and introject masculine traits for a period.

Sex education influences affections. Sex instruction of some kind was mentioned more often in personal histories by people who were adjusting in marriage than by those whose marriage was less stable (4, 5). A good, confidential relationship with parents is known to produce a better adjustment in adolescence. When sex is regarded as shameful, tabooed in discussions, and is a subject for anxiety, there is a strong likelihood that the child will not develop the proper attitudes toward it or obtain from wholesome sources the information that he should acquire. He is forced to gather his knowledge from the street, where reproduction and associated processes will not be presented as related to love, the home, and the family. In the past too many youths have acquired negative attitudes toward sex because of inadequate information concerning it. For example, only 37 per cent of a group of college students said they had received adequate sex instruction, and 14 per cent had acquired shocking sex knowledge during the high school period (7). When some young people were studied in 1938, from 8 to 15 per cent had secured information from a professional source and 21 per cent of the boys and 56 per cent of the girls had received it from a parent (8). College graduates have gone on record as favoring sex instruction to be given by parents or a professional person during adolescence (9). Evidence shows that a confidential relationship with the parents is extremely important for the developing adolescent (10). When this does not exist and the relationship to the parents is a source of conflict, the development of the individual may be jeopardized. One study of neurotic women shows that they did not differ from the normal in terms of what they had done or what had happened to them sexually in childhood, but their attitude toward the experiences was a more anxious one, toned with guilt and strong emotion (11).

Writers concerned with child guidance recommend that instruction be given early in a somewhat *natural*, pleasant fashion so that early superficial *curiosities* may be *satisfied*. Later, as

opportunities present themselves, more technical information may be furnished. Facts must be coupled with the proper emotional attitude as well as with the accepted conventions and attitudes (12).

The older child should be taught to become sensibly conscious of persons of both sexes who have a lewd and perverted attitude toward sex. He probably also should understand the person who is struggling between the acceptance of sex ideals and a self-stimulated sex urge, these attitudes alternating in their occurrence. Certainly, in the attempt to guide sex impulses rationally, it is unwise to inculcate ideals of sex without giving information about pitfalls.

Too often passion and love are separated so that neither is complete. Unless the parent consciously guides the thinking of the child an unwholesome view of sex may be gained. The adolescent should appreciate the *naturalness of sex* on the one hand, and the *importance of social standards* on the other. Knowledge of these emotions, the modes of controlling them, and their role in enriching our affective life is important for future happiness.

Students who were studied in a large Midwestern university were classified as (1) serious students, (2) socially well-adjusted students, (3) students who were badly adjusted, depressed, and confused, and (4) those who were poor in social adjustment. The percentage of men who had sex instruction in each of these groups are 74, 72, 27, and 36. The differences among the women were similar but not so great. One cannot say that sex education or the absence of it caused the difference in adjustment in college, but it probably reflected parental attitudes that differed in these groups (13).

Playmates and friends. *Early play.* There is also some case study evidence that the later relationships with his own and opposite sex are dependent to some extent on those with whom the individual plays in childhood and adolescence. The boy may play with girls and smaller children, and the girl may play with boys, thereby obtaining attitudes of the opposite sex which may or may not be valuable, depending upon the extent to which they are acquired. The individual may have difficulty in overcoming an aversion to the opposite sex resulting from early teasing by them or jealousy of them. This, together with some

factors, such as shyness or segregation, which block the natural interest in them at adolescence, may prevent a growth of interest in the opposite sex (14).

Child and adolescent social and self-impressions. Sex attitudes cannot be separated from social life and self-impressions. If a child's sex experiences, or the experiences he acquires in associating with his playmates, cause him to *think himself inferior* to others, he is disturbed. Inability to play the games that other boys play, shortness of stature, being the butt of jokes or raillery, physical unattractiveness and its attendant kidding, "insufficient" stylish clothes or possessions—all affect the individual's impression of himself. They make him feel less the average boy and, in late adolescence, less the man. The same sort of experience occurs in the girl who is less attractive, different in some way, obese, of a minority race or religion, or more shy and less sociable.

On a background of inferiority feelings, the problem of masturbation, improper sex proposals, sex play, vivid sex thoughts, sex dreams, teasing by others about one's sex life, or any similar experience may be magnified until it reaches disturbing proportions. Of a group of college students who were studied, 33 per cent say that they have been afraid that they were inferior to most people sexually and 18 per cent admit strong feelings of sinfulness and guilt (7). The specific nature of these fears is probably that the individual feels that he differs from others in organic structure, strength of sex drive, sex habits, development, fertility, or morality; he may believe himself intrinsically very unattractive, or from inferior social stock, or believe that no one of the opposite sex could love him.

Sometimes these fears arise from *parents who frighten* the child when masturbation or sex sophistication is discovered. Sometimes they are implanted in young minds by older children or by quacks. Such feelings are thwarting to the individual, cause him to worry, or sometimes to overcompensate in order to redeem himself. There are cases of individuals who have carried erroneous ideas about their sinfulness, their weakness, and peculiarity through life and who suffer as the result of these ideas. There are other cases in which the individual has been spurred in part by these unhappy thoughts to notable creative work.

Attitudes toward oneself as an object of love and affection are also influenced by experiences with the opposite sex on dates, at dances, and at social gatherings. Factors which *enhance the social value* of the individual, such as clothes, luxuries, generous allowance, car, family wealth or influence, are all effective in causing one to believe that he or she is worthy of the attention of certain members of the opposite sex, or able to attract them. Undue shyness, acne, beliefs that one is not attractive or likeable influence negatively one's attitudes toward the opposite sex. They also affect attitudes toward one's personal sex nature.

Romantic experiences as they influence affections. The child learns to expect romance from casual remarks, the movies, the fiction he reads, and from adolescent companions and bull sessions. He realizes that as a human being it is the normal thing for him to fall in love and to be loved by another. Many children in grade school talk of sweethearts and are jokingly encouraged or teased about attention from a member of the opposite sex of their own age. Forty-five per cent of college students say they had the experience of "puppy love" in grade school (7). There were probably more who had it but did not wish to admit it on a questionnaire. These experiences include a strong affection for the opposite sex. Sometimes it involves the showering of gifts and favors or compliments on the loved one, sometimes kisses and caresses, and usually considerable daydreaming. Sometimes, however, they include merely observation and admiration from afar, supplemented by young hopes.

Exactly how these early, often vivid, experiences influence later love life is known only through casual reports in autobiographies. They seem to fuse with later experiences. The composite experience determines in part those to whom we shall show affection when sex urges mature.

Personal inner life. *Sex experiences.* Our affections are so intimate that we often try to disguise the effect an experience has upon us. Later, when alone, we go over the experience with disgust, pleasure, or at times a conflict between both. Let us turn to some of the experiences which have their greatest effect on the life of the individual, and which are not often shown in his overt behavior. A considerable percentage of persons pass through childhood and adolescence without any actual

sex experience other than occasional petting and possibly masturbation. A certain percentage of individuals, more than is usually suspected, some of whom are prepared and others unprepared for the events by their elders, have various types of experiences with differing results (15-18). These experiences are sometimes the curious experimentations of children who have been uninformed of sex matters or of those who have gained information from lewd sources. The child may be initiated into masturbation or some other form of sex play by an older child or, in rarer cases, by an adult. Some idea of the extent to which this type of initiation exists among the upper classes is seen from a questioning of 1000 married women before 1931. Twenty-five per cent admitted sex play before they reached fourteen years of age. *Of these*, 15.7 per cent admitted to emotional relationships with other women, with physical expression, 39 per cent to spooning, and 7 per cent to intimate sex relationships with men. Except for the spooning, which varies from mild kissing to less frequently occurring but extensive intimacies, these percentages are not large (19).

Sometimes, as case studies show, such experiences color the attitude of the individual toward sexual relationship even into adult life. Other times the effects of these experiences are "out-grown" (20). They are covered by more acceptable and conventional expressions of emotion which influence the individual so that he has neither a strong aversion for nor an unwholesome attraction to specific sex acts. All these experiences influence our affections for others to some extent and fuse to make up the adult's sex attitudes, urges, and practices.

Peculiar sex tendencies often grow from sex experiences. The various aberrations of sex may be traced usually to childhood or adolescent experiences. The compulsion toward peeping, exhibition of self, and various fetishes, such as excitement at the sight of certain types of hair, of certain facial features, of objects of clothing either in the opposite or same sex, are examples. A normal case taken from a college student's autobiography might be used as an example:

"I was just fourteen and girls interested me little. My father and I were vacationing at a resort, an experience which in itself was very pleasant. There sat at a table near ours a beautiful girl about my age, blonde, blue-eyed, demure, and reticent. I watched her

for several days and thought of her when I was lonely at night. One beautiful moonlit night we were introduced. I shall never forget how she looked at me with those large, modest, blue eyes. We talked on the large veranda and then strolled through the thickly wooded grounds of the hotel. At about three hundred yards from the building we sat on a bench and talked. I have a picture of that spot yet, a cool, wooded area, lit here and there by the moon. I remember how the pine needles felt under my feet. We sat close and soon I had my arm about her, but she objected and I had to be content with fondling her hand. It was the first time I had ever felt passion, and I was as emotionally wrought up as I have ever been. I held her hand, caressed it, idolized it in the moonlight, became eloquent over its beautiful shape and lines. To this day women's hands fascinate me; I become emotional and have an urge to hold them, caress them, follow the lines in them. Sometimes this urge is so great that I want to hold the hand of the girl next to me in class. I trace my compulsion to hold hands to this experience which I daydreamed about for months. I became as conscious of girls' hands after that as most men are of their faces."

Just as this normal compulsion can be explained in terms of past, vivid experiences, so can the abnormal. The sex pervert usually has had early sex outlets similar to his present perversion. The peeper, for example, was aroused early in life by some event he saw through a window. This may be followed by an orgasm (the emotional sex excitement) and sometimes frequent repetition of the experience in actuality or imagination.

A boy who had exhibited his genitals in public places before girls discovered in conference that the practice grew originally, in part at least, from childhood experiences. The act then shocked a friend of his sister of whom he was jealous. His exhibitions were aggressive as well as sexual in nature.

Daydreams. When the individual has had a vivid sex experience in childhood and this experience is opposed to the training he has received, there is a conflict, a feeling of guilt and remorse. Sometimes there is a fear that the experience will occur again. There may be an aversion for the person who presented the experience to him, or other persons who show some similarity. These anxieties and aversions may cause the child or adolescent to worry unduly about the experience, to dream about the consequences, or to plan compensatory acts to redeem himself.

When a conflict does not exist or is not strong, the adolescent

may supply through his dream world a perpetuation and elaboration of the early experience.

It is known from case studies that daydreams occur and influence the life of the individual. This influence is much greater if the normal outlets of the individual are *blocked*, that is, if he does not live a full life which involves creative work and contacts with other persons, particularly those of the opposite sex. Even when a youth has a healthy outlet for his affections for the opposite sex, daydreams occur. He supplements his experiences with his loved object by dreams of experiences with her, of later life, and by dreams of what he would like to do for her. Dreams of possible accomplishments and their impression upon one's fiancé are common.

Unhealthy daydreams are those which concern happenings which are grossly *incompatible* with the dreamer's *ideal*. These dreams may consist of the elaboration of a childhood sex experience which he condemns some of the time and yet enjoys in dreams at other times. They may also consist of unpleasant worries over the consequences of early behavior which the individual has never discussed with anyone. Such dreams often color the conception the individual has of himself as a possible lover.

Courtship. *Courtship is a stage in the development of affections.* Courtship may be viewed as the final rise toward the climax in the development of affection. At this time under our conventions the individual has tentatively chosen the lifelong object of his love. It is the period during which there is a fusion of the *natural affections* which have been individualized by environment, the awareness of the vague sex urges that are arising, and the many *sentiments* that have been built around his loved one. These all are amalgamated into "love."

Background of courtship. We in America take for granted romance in relation to marriage. Many assume erroneously that such is the attitude the world over and has been from time immemorial. In many places today romance in marriage is non-existent. A romantic attachment between mates is foreign to many primitive peoples. Marriages in many European countries are arranged by the families of the individuals concerned. These decisions are made on the basis of similar cultural, social, and class interests rather than personal attraction between the

principals. Some sociologists decry our tendency to *overromanticize* marital relationships and to ignore those traits which lead to a more stable home life.

Some American youths think that they have been destined to meet, that their bliss will continue through all the problems of living together. Under the influence of this blind attraction all the incompatibilities of temperament, habit, attitude, and station in life are overlooked. We shall see evidence in Chapter 13 that the ideal marriage is probably a fusion of a *practical* and *romantic* match—*harmony of psychological make-up plus mutual emotional attraction* and discovery of psychological compatibility (21). This can be achieved through a sensible courtship, a custom which has arisen in complex civilization, in which the average age of marriage is postponed.

Activities during courtship. In urban American culture we find that the practice of dating usually precedes the "steady" relationship which in its turn is preliminary to the engagement. Dating sometimes grows out of the boy-girl crowd and the tendency to pair off when the crowd is going places. There are marked individual differences in the extent to which an individual dates before going steady. These differences seem to depend upon the degree of initiative and sophistication of the youth.

Mr. A. meets Miss B. in class, at a dance, at one of the many young people's *rendezvous*, or at a fraternity or sorority house. He telephones her for an afternoon or evening date. He may take her to one of the accepted places where young people meet, have a "coke," and dance. They talk about many superficial things. Maybe they will walk across the campus or in a nearby park, sit on the porch, play the radio or records, or go to an afternoon show. If they appear congenial, if she doesn't seem too "high hat" or naive, or if he doesn't seem too crude or immature, and if there is mutual physical attraction, the relationship will in all likelihood be continued. Sometimes a boy will persist even though the girl has indicated by her sudden unavailability that she is not very much interested, but most times he "won't stand for any girl to give him the run-around." This sort of dating may occur with several different members of the opposite sex as an accepted boy-girl relationship.

If a boy and girl find themselves congenial and affection develops between them, they will be found together quite often.

This relationship culminates in some sort of public declaration that they are not dating other members of the opposite sex. In college this is done usually by the acceptance and wearing of the boy's school pin or ring. They are "going steady." Afterward, and sometimes before this time, the pair engage in much work and play together, such as dining, attending classes, movies and concerts, and studying. Many of the pleasant experiences that are available they enjoy together. Together they appreciate the change of seasons, the beauty of the surrounding country, the latest music, jokes, books, and gossip. From the experiential viewpoint, the emotional attraction, which may be based at first on a few physical features, later is embellished by many commonly shared, emotionally pleasant experiences. All these pleasant experiences become fused and associated with *her* or *him*. Caressing is under the control of the ideals of the pair.

Value of courtship. From the adaptive viewpoint, there is a *testing of compatibility* during this period. There are disagreements. He learns her habits, her moods, her likes and dislikes, her aspirations and dreams, and she learns his. They learn the roles each prefers to play and the extent to which these roles are compatible. They see to what extent each is dominant, submissive, protective, or jealous. An initial attraction does not last long if there is frequent bickering and disagreement. Pins and rings are returned and relationships terminated when interest seems to wane, or when one or the other is dividing interest and time with someone else. The affair may end with a quarrel or during a vacation period when they are separated and other eligibles appear.

The pair usually learn not only each other's *habits* but also each other's *ideals*. They learn the attitudes of the other on every important subject—religion, family, politics, and education. They gain knowledge of the emotional life of the other. They sometimes gather more profound knowledge, such as whether the loved one will "wear well," grow mentally, or can "take it." It has been stated that if this most intimate prying has been preceded by a well-cemented relationship it will be less dangerous. Mental intimacy is highly valuable. Physical intimacies, even as found in petting, are controlled with greater difficulty and are apt to gain undue attention, to produce selfishness rather than pleasant emotions shared in common. Physical intimacies may

produce mental conflict and guilt in one or both. In no case should such relationships precede a well-grounded psychological fusion of personalities.

The delay of sex relations until conventional marriage is a part of this type of courtship. The attraction for one another is associated with the many pleasant activities which make a full life and enrich the relationship between the pair. The relationship becomes not only biological attraction but also a *complex emotional experience* centering around the love object. From this grows one of the finest emotions human beings have experienced; the self falls in the background, and uppermost in the mind is an appreciation and *sacrificial consideration* of the person loved. Man has achieved this infinitely richer and more enduring experience through self-restraint by *delaying* sex gratification on the impulsive level. He has in this aspect metamorphosed from a primitive man to a gentleman.

Bases for sex attraction. Adolescents' answers to questionnaires indicate that in attraction to the opposite sex physical beauty, especially of the face, is the most potent stimulus. Some find other anatomical patterns more important—beautiful hands and feet, bodily contours and build, specific details such as eyebrows, ankles, and mouth, and others refer to clothes rather than to the person. Intelligence (education), personality, honesty, affection, and good manners follow good looks in the order named as qualities which adolescent boys think their ideal girl should possess.

Whatever is in vogue with regard to costume, hairdress, cosmetics, manners, and speech constitutes sex appeal for the generation then on the scene (22). The truth of this generalization can be casually noted by the conformity in style in high school and college of the boys or girls who are the most popular.

"Disposition and personality" is voted first place and "health" second place by college students. Parents, however, place "health" and "same religious faith and moral standards" high in the list of desirable qualities in the prospective in-laws (23).

Despite the relative importance of these factors, the person who attracts us is usually one who lives near us. He has been subjected to influences similar to those that have molded our behavior. He is selected to some extent because he has been available and it has been possible to know him well. This pro-

pinquity factor is particularly important in the lower economic group (24, 25).

It should be added that the attractive individual follows the vogue with respect to clothes and grooming and usually is "up to the minute" in repartee and behavior. He is popular and attractive. The factors of *novelty* and *uncertainty* are in the background of sex attraction. Those young people who are not easily figured out or who are new on the scene are at first very attractive to others. No doubt these factors are important in flirtations.

Sometimes a specific social structure restricts the choice of an eligible mate. A boy feels that he must marry within certain families, date persons from certain sororities. It is alleged that in some groups fines are levied against members who do not bring girls from certain rating sororities to the fraternity dances. It might be well to raise the question of the effect of this "rating and dating complex" on the choice for a stable marriage (26). It certainly weights heavily such superficial matters as prestige-bearing relatives, membership in certain organizations, and stigmatizes externalities which fall short of the social ideal.

CONVENTIONS

Emphasis on chastity. In America we emphasize chastity as an ideal. The church requires a chaste life of its members; society penalizes obvious deviations. Youth is told that chastity offers the greatest happiness and allows the most favorable later sex adjustment. Psychologists are unable at present to offer conclusive objective data to substantiate or disparage the chaste life in a society which regards it as ideal. However, there are some data regarding the attempts of people in our culture to control sex and the desirability of certain kinds of control in achieving marital adjustment and happiness.

Sex control. Before we discuss sex control, let us point out what is conventionally meant by it in this country. Few would recommend for the average man complete, lifelong celibacy. Similarly, few would deny celibacy to those who wish it and who demonstrate their ability to adjust to it by living a sane, stable life. History is replete with the names of persons who have professed celibacy and who have helped in the direction of

man's destiny. These personalities are not limited to monastics but include many who live beyond the cloisters in an active, social world with human problems impinging daily upon their consciousness. Among the rolls of influential well-balanced teachers, religionists, social workers, statesmen, and writers will be found the names of many who ostensibly lead a celibate life.

The average young person in America today wants a deeply satisfying, happy life. Love is part of it. The wish for a happy marriage is widespread. The goal, then, in sex control is the enrichment of love life and the prevention of an unfortunate marriage, sex perversion, promiscuity, mental disease, crime, venereal disease, and the abject misery that may grow from ostracism and guilt due to sex irregularity.

To reach these goals there is no need to deny our basic biological urges or sex impulses or to attempt to build sentiments of pure love devoid of an organic background. An individual who is technically pure but seething with repression, conflict, and fanatical hostility toward his fellow man is not the model of the chaste individual. Nor should we hypocritically put the total blame for sex irregularity when it occurs on the offending individual and allow the rest of us (society) to feel self-righteous. We must see that love grows out of an organic source and is rich and beautiful because of this origin, not in spite of it. We must see also that our early life determines in part the ease with which sex control and maturity can be attained. When these realities are frankly faced, sex growth toward love and happiness is a more certain result.

Many compromises are sought when lack of sound sex education has left the individual unprepared, without a frank, creative, social attitude toward sex, romance, and love. In attempting to meet the ideals of society and to cope with the physical impact of sex, many substitutes are employed with attending problems.

Excessive occurrence of erotic night dreams, petting, masturbation, crushes, and sentimentality toward the same sex are usually due to the blocking of the sex urge. They represent the individual's compromises in the conflict between biological urges and the pressures of the social structure which he has accepted. There are times when some of these make-shift solutions for sex tension have been directly learned and are accompanied by a disavowal of the ideal of sex control. However, many times the

individual who is searching for satisfactions for deep affection and recognition has been blocked in his efforts to find them, and he turns to these compulsive acts as an inadequate solution to what seems an insolvable problem.

Sex control for the average man or woman who plans to marry, rear a family, and lead a conventional American life refers to *sex continence before marriage and limitation of experiences to the mate*. This is an ideal condition which is not easily attainable or universally existent (17, 27). There is evidence that, at least for the male in our culture, sex output is rarely curbed entirely (17).

Traditional motives for continence. *Disease.* In the past those who emphasized the desirability of chastity as a way of life offered a number of *negative arguments*. This resulted many times in viewing continence not as *an ideal conducive to happiness* but as a necessity to prevent abject unhappiness. An emphasis was placed on venereal diseases which are a result of promiscuous sex life. The pernicious nature of these diseases was stressed. The role of venereal infections in mental disorders, in blindness, and in bodily deformity provides a dramatic means for pointing out the danger accompanying promiscuity. Although there are prophylactics available today, the impulsiveness of lust causes the venereal rate to remain rather high.

Disgrace. Fear of the "disgrace" which accompanies impregnation, abortion, illegitimacy, and forced marriage also had a strong deterring effect in past generations.

This fear, though it remains justifiable, is similarly waning in its power to control behavior. Knowledge regarding the use of contraceptives is quite widespread. In addition, it is less difficult today in an age of rapid communication to move temporarily to another community in case of impregnation and subsequent confinement and to escape loss of standing in one's own group. Adoption agencies afford a means of providing for the future of the child, thereby lessening forced marriages with their subsequent evils. Finally, the attitude toward illegitimate children is becoming more reasonable and humane.

Disgust. Besides these two general sources of fear which have been widely used in urging chastity, disgust for sex has been instilled in youth by parents. Girls have been taught to look upon sex as an abhorrent aspect of life. A one-sided presenta-

tion has been given regarding it, often to the extent of jeopardizing later marital adjustment. Today wholesome sex education does not emphasize disgust for sex as a means of control.

Fear alone has negative value. It is doubtful whether inculcated fears such as those mentioned above, were ever a wholly sound means for preserving chastity. These conditions, which many of us should fear, cannot be ignored even today when they are less imminent. Disease, disgrace, and undesirable marriages are sources of deep unhappiness and of distorted personalities, and, although they are negative means for guiding behavior, they cannot be disregarded. The psychologist, however, who is interested in the learning process, in character building, and in personality development constantly urges us to think of *positive* in addition to negative motivation. He suggests presenting stimuli which arouse desirable action as a frequent substitute for and supplementation to punishment for an undesirable act.

Fear is one of the strongest negative motives. The study of abnormal individuals has shown us the dangers of inciting strong fear. It causes a withdrawal reaction and paralysis of behavior rather than redirection of it along wholesome channels. Fear is a frustrating experience. At times it may be necessary to appeal to it in order to break sex compulsion. However, since anxiety may be associated with repressed hostility, we might raise the question whether it is compatible with the development of love and the direction of sex impulses toward a satisfying, creative experience. Therefore, fears should be subordinated to more positive arguments in urging chastity.

Positive motives are more satisfactory. The positive appeals or motives for conventional behavior have been less effectively presented than the negative. Too frequently these positive motives have been advocated by overly sentimental persons whom virile youth could not respect. Briefly stated, *sex control as an ideal is presented as a code which integrates the personality, enhances self-esteem, promotes love and attractiveness as a person, and leads to a full, happy life.*

Ideals integrate personality. Conventions provide an attitude to govern our relations with the opposite sex. When ideals are effectively built up, they facilitate the behavior compatible with them and tend to prevent behavior which will be followed by regrets. They define what we should and what we should not

do. With effective ideals the relationship between us and the opposite sex is normally one which is very pleasant. The whole force of one's personality is behind these satisfactory acts. We can associate them with all the other pleasant aspects of our experience rather than suppress them from association with that which we approve. Let us be more specific.

Bob holds chastity as an ideal and seems capable of preserving it. He regards attractive girls emotionally but without conflict. His attractions are wholesome and natural, and they lead by his own regulation to conventional and socially acceptable behavior. Courtship and marriage are his goals. His affections grow relatively slowly and take a natural course. If his sentiments are reciprocated by the girl, the pleasure is enhanced. If he finds his attitudes, interests, and motives are similar to hers, his attraction is facilitated and increased. Under these conditions they develop a highly pleasant and stable relationship.

The exquisite emotions that arise from such a relationship are not hampered by negative attitudes or by conflicts of standards or ideals. The relationship is, instead, constantly enhanced by other pleasant experiences which he can continually associate with his romantic experience.

Self-esteem demands discreet choice of sex partner. Mating or sex intimacy, as one author has brought out, involves the choice of a sex partner and all the consequences thereof, regardless of the circumstances under which it occurs (28). The sex act is most intimate. It consists in setting aside all barriers, a move that the individual who has self-control and respect makes only when he has found a true mate. Intimacy that is the exploitation of another person through the arousal in that person of feelings which are not reciprocated is crass. The choice of a partner who is inferior in social, cultural, and personal status involves conflict.

In our culture sex intimacy to the average person with standards constitutes a major psychological step which involves all the partner's values, strongest attitudes, and innermost feelings. These inner experiences are the most sensitive aspects of the personality and cannot be treated lightly. They have been built up over a period of years and are not changed by single events. It must be remembered always that attitudes, values, and sentiments involve neural structures. They also involve muscular,

glandular, and visceral changes. Tampering with these attitudes is tantamount to experimentation with vital organs.

Sex control enhances love. There is considerable evidence in individual testimony to indicate that sex experiences may or may not be pleasant. To some women and men, sexual intercourse is unpleasant or merely mildly pleasant. Sometimes in marriage, months will elapse before the sensitive individual, more frequently the woman, will derive unalloyed pleasure from the sex act. Impulsive young people frequently feel bitter disappointment with the pre-marital experimentation, which must occur under extremely undesirable conditions. *The physical act of sex expression is not in itself the basis for the rich experience* which accompanies sex relations under the best of circumstances. Rather, the mental component is the more important aspect. This is particularly true of women, whose attitude toward this aspect of life is more sentimental. Too frequently individuals do not find in compulsive sex behavior satisfaction of the deep motivation that impels them. More simply, they don't get what they go after.

Sexual intercourse in married love is the *fusion* of emotions and sentiments of *two personalities*. Sex is a personal matter, and intimacies are not only physical acts but also a mutual subjective experience that is very rich and complex. Intimacies involve many psychological factors, some of which are respect, companionship, security, trust, envisionment of the future, memories, and mutual enhancement of common motives and experiences.

The most enduring happiness, it is conceded, grows from a relationship of this type rather than from the sexual fling or orgy. The orgy results in momentary physical gratification without all these other psychological satisfactions. It may be followed by guilt and depression (29). Few persons can experience the physical gratification divorced from the psychological without being keenly conscious of shallowness and sometimes sordidness and cheapness. Physical gratification may establish a strong sex habit, but this experience may be a compulsion rather than a rich emotion.

It has often been said by those who argue for sex control that an early sex experience may act as a short circuit and prevent later emotional development on a higher level. It is to be ex-

pected that the adolescent who has been subjected to unsavory adult sex experiences will establish his sex life on the physical level. He is impatient with the "romantic stuff." He may never know the rich emotion from such slight events as the touch of the hand of a member of the opposite sex, a smile, a letter, a walk through the park. Many of the other symbols which are associated with sex and which occur before marriage and sex intimacy will remain outside his experience. Those who so short-circuit their sex life usually do not allow the many intervening stages to occur before sex intimacy. As one writer has stated, "*The best insurance of chastity is the love of a high-type member of the opposite sex*" (28).

Love differs from lust. Love and lust are not synonymous. Love is *more complex* and *less impulsive and intense* than lust. Love *involves the sentiments* mentioned above; it is a *pervasive, integrating* experience. Love is selective and unselfish; lust promiscuous and selfish. Love is probably the most valued experience known to man. It does not develop naturally in all people. It must grow from physical attractions, ideals, and sentiments. Genuine love goes further than this. It involves the enrichment of the physical with sentimental values. It is enhanced by reciprocal emotions from the loved one. Sex control, then, results in delayed satisfaction. It allows these sentiments to develop. *The enhancement of one's love experiences is indeed a powerful argument for controlled sex behavior* (30, 31).

Incontinence is neither a masculine necessity nor a necessity for feminine popularity. There is a common belief, almost a superstition, which appears mainly among the lower economic urban groups, that continence is effeminate. Those who hold this belief usually say that certain overt sexual expression is necessary for health. They regard it as a biological necessity for men and regard suppression (often control is meant) of sex as ill-advised. Accompanying this view is the thought that nocturnal seminal emissions or "wet dreams" are unhealthy. All these beliefs are false. A specific overt sex expression is not a biological necessity in man. True, in the male human, some sort of sex outlet seems to occur periodically (17). However, individuals differ greatly in frequency and kinds of sex outlet. Nocturnal seminal emission, if it occurs naturally at intervals, is normal and is a means of achieving the release of tensions. Usu-

ally, those who hold these beliefs regarding the necessity for certain outlets lead lives uncolored by interests, hobbies, or creative ventures. Instead there is constant stimulation of sex impulses through conversation and stories. It is highly possible that this verbal stimulation rather than physiological factors are major causes for the tension and the desire for expression. Furthermore, these individuals usually have not acquired the highest moral standards and are not much affected by the guilt and social stigma of sex scandals.

Sometimes a young woman may entertain the idea that submission to the demands of her date will make her more desirable. This argument is the "line" of the roué who threatens to reject the girl who does not accede to his demands. She may be sure that rejection will probably be more certain should she surrender completely to him. No one has ever produced evidence that promiscuity leads to *popularity*. It yields notoriety and solicits the lustful but does not benefit one's reputation or produce popularity.

Sex control requires in the realm of sex behavior qualities which are demanded of men and women in other realms of living. Self-respect, conscientiousness, idealism, honesty, and responsibility are qualities that are demanded of the individual of superior caliber in vocations, sports, and other avocations. The standards of behavior in the realm of sex are not different from those in other relationships.

Individual differences in attitudes toward sex control. *Examples of individual differences.* As in other traits, individuals differ in their desire and capacity to lead a chaste life. These differences seem to be due to the type of sex education the individual has received, his ideals, associates, recreation, and the extent to which he is striving to satisfy other dominant motives. For those who have enjoyed a wholesome education, a happy family life, a childhood filled with absorbing interests, who are imbued with a rather high code of ideals and who are striving in various realms, sex control will have a stronger appeal than for others. To these people arguments for sex control will have more meaning. In addition, the ideal will be more easily reached by them. A person who expects to remain continent must have a wide range of stimulating and absorbing interests. We might look at the attitudes of three different students.

Jack has had a wholesome sex development, with sensible sex education. Sex control has been associated with highly satisfying romantic love experiences. He believes sex control the best basis for stable romantic love. He has sex urges but associates them with later wholesome satisfaction through marriage. He is strongly attracted to girls, but his relationships with them consist of dances, companionable discussions and study, hikes, outdoor games, and coke dates. The caressing he has expressed was sincere and not an exploitation of the girl as a compulsive sex outlet. His physical attraction to girls is always somewhat in the background and colors favorably all these relationships. It is controlled, and its expression indirect. Once or twice he has thought himself in love with one of his many friends of the opposite sex. Each time, after a longer acquaintance with the girl, he has realized that they were not psychologically compatible.

Paul's sex life has developed without systematic guidance. He was exposed to sex experiences early in life and has come to view the opposite sex almost entirely as a source of physical satisfaction. He asserts that there is no difference between lust and love; this means that *to him* there is no difference. He has never acquired ideals of sex control. He regards continence as unhealthy and unnatural. He has an unsavory reputation on the campus. Up to the present he has avoided scandal by choosing equally indiscreet and "sophisticated" partners.

Henry's attitudes are the result of a puritanical rearing. He inhibits all thought of sex, considers disgusting anything that is physical, and limits his discussion of the opposite sex to empty, sentimental symbols which are divorced from anticipation of later physical contact.

These three examples represent only a few of the many sex attitudes and behavior patterns found in society. Although all three cases are young men, similar attitudes are found in young women (32). There are other reasons for incontinence besides the ones shown in these cases. Impulsiveness, curiosity, fear of being sexually abnormal, influence of alcohol, desire for inordinate attention from the opposite sex, and social pressure from associates are a few other factors related to incontinence.

Adjustment to differences in standards in associates. It is argued that a college student should expect some of his associates to differ from him in sex behavior. He accepts differences in eating habits, neatness, conscientiousness, speech, use of money, and other patterns without too much disturbance, and

so should he accept these other variations from his standards. He should know that some have few sex inhibitions, others are strongly inhibited, but most are balanced in this respect.

Certainly a college student should accept the attitudes of his acquaintances with caution, since the codes which they find workable may cause great emotional upheaval in his own case. The acceptance of differences in sex behavior in one's associates, along with some understanding of why these differences occur as suggested by the factors stated above, will prove helpful to one who is attempting to reconcile his own attitudes and behavior with those of his associates.

It must be realized further that chastity is an *ideal* state and as such it is not reached by all persons or attained easily by those who do. It requires parental and educational foresight as well as individual effort. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that it is attained, along with personality adjustment, by a large group of persons of high standards. Fifty per cent of male and 75 per cent of female college students stated on an anonymous questionnaire which was circulated about 1937 that they had never experienced sexual intercourse (32). Statistics of this kind vary with groups and are influenced by the methods used to collect them. Some groups show frequencies above and below these (17).

Sex control is more appealing to those who think through their behavior. Most of those who characterize standards of sex control as "a lot of bull" refuse to discuss the matter logically. If they do discuss it they usually admit that their motives are selfish and justify their action on the grounds of self-pleasure or "natural urges." There is little *consideration on their part for the other person involved.*

To be sure, chaste or unchaste behavior usually is not deliberately chosen in a cool, rational mood. Instead, unchaste behavior is usually the consequence of impulsive acts. If we are made vividly conscious of all that the two courses of action mean, if the events of the moment are not too compulsive, and if we have a fairly stable background, most of us no doubt will choose the chaste course.

Mary's ideals of behavior are gradually being altered by a boy of whom she is very fond and whom she dates frequently. Her opinion of what constitutes permissible petting has broadened con-

siderably from her original standards. She is one of a group one day whose conversation turns toward a girl they all know. The gossip concerns the girl's furtive affair. Each one has some detail to add until Mary is appalled by the picture of sordid meeting places, use of fictitious names, and distasteful and shocking details which the whole story presents. As a fastidious person, she is deeply shocked when she realizes she has been considering the same climax to her own affair.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the sex ideal and all that ideal represents must be associated with the *specific acts* leading to chaste or unchaste consequences. For this reason it is argued that an attitude, mental set, or ideal of chastity must be built up before adolescent sex experience. This ideal should be *realistic*—one based on events as they will probably occur in our lives. An ideal which does not prepare one for real experience will be easily discarded.

To be more specific, it is argued that if the boy (or girl) realizes the subsequent attitudes that he and his partner will have toward their behavior and toward each other, and the remorse and anxiety which will remain in their minds for some time to come, he will be less impulsive at the critical moment. If he realizes at the initial surge of passion that after the excitement has subsided there will follow a depression during which many of the following questions will rush through his mind with their unpleasant trail, his conduct will tend to be affected:

What does she think of me? What kind of person is she? Does she behave like this with all boys? Does she think I behave like this with all girls? What attitude shall I take when I see her next time? Will she be disgusted with me? Have I contracted any disease? Will any consequences result? Does anyone suspect? Does she love me, or was she merely swept off balance by emotion? Will she discuss this with parents or confidants? Do I love her enough to have justified my behavior? Am I obligated to her as the result of our experience? Have I started something that I am not willing to continue? Have I broken any of her strong ideals? Will she expect affections that I do not feel? When I reveal that I am not in love with her will she be greatly disillusioned and disturbed? Am I an intrinsically immoral person? How can I have done what I did, when I am so disgusted by it now? Do I have little will power and poor character? Is this girl enough like me so that we could be life mates? Have I been blinded by lust to other personal qualities which I could never learn to love? Will I have the character to meet any responsibilities that result from

this? How long will I be disgusted with myself as I am now? Does the behavior that I have shown fit in with the rest of my personality? What will my mother, father, sister, and best friends think of what I have done?

Chastity does not assure the development of love. Love develops in part from a balanced attitude toward physical intimacies. Early physical intimacies may jeopardize the development of enriched love experiences. On the other hand, complete lack of interest in physical intimacies with the opposite sex does not give promise of later enduring love. There are some individuals who have developed an abhorrence of the physical side of sex because of some early training or experience. In compensation for this they build up a wealth of sentiment. They talk of pure, beautiful relationships untouched by the crassness of the physical side of love. Love has an experienced or *anticipated* physical aspect regardless of how mild or implicit it may be. It is doubtful whether true love for the opposite sex ever exists without a biological foundation. A marriage based on sentiments dissociated from sensory experiences will rarely satisfy both partners.

There is some evidence that, when a physical interest in the opposite sex does not develop during youth and early maturity, it seldom develops later. It is well then for the individual who is totally uninterested in the opposite sex to place himself in an environment, and through counseling gain insight and release, which will be conducive to the development of such interest. This subject is discussed in detail on pages 520 to 522.

Meeting sex conventions is an aspect of personality adjustment. *Strong student attitudes toward conventions.* Several surveys of students' attitudes indicate that they as a group are not more tolerant than the population as a whole, at least when expressing themselves on attitude blanks. Five different studies among college and high school students show sex irregularities to be rated first among the primary "crimes," "sins," and bad practices. Certain sex offenses are rated lower by both sexes than offense against life. On a scale from -10 (bad) to +10 (good), illicit sexual intercourse was rated -9.1 by women; -6.9 by men (33). In another study, the rank order for crimes was: first, rape; second, homicide; third, seduction; fourth, abortion;

fifth, kidnapping; and sixth, adultery. Sex crimes headed the list of 19 (34).

Although there are individual scandals, cases of irregularities found in fiction, boasts of personal exploits and unconventional standards, rumors of irregularity in the lives of acquaintances or persons in the limelight, advocacy of sexual freedom by some writers, and greater tolerance for some formerly disapproved behavior, the people of our culture continue a strong defense of conventionality in sex life (35-38). There is a temptation at times on the part of many individuals, and always on the part of some, to exaggerate the frequency of unconventionality in order to support their own wishes for it. The studies of marriage, however, show prevalence of the desire for the conventional and the importance of a regular sex life for marital happiness.

Realize that most young people have the same problem in the main as you. One helpful attitude for the young person who is trying to live up to standards which he has rationally accepted is the realization that *many others whom he admires have similar problems*. This attitude is helpful regardless of the conventions he is trying to meet or the problems with which he is battling. He will find that there is a certain percentage of the persons whom he knows who are either striving with identical or similar problems at present or have in the past. Furthermore, in addition to those fighting the problem, be it masturbation, incontinence, crushes, or some peculiar sex tendency, there is a *greater number on the fringe of the problem*. They are not actively disturbed by the problem all the time, but they have mild forms of the difficulty or are troubled by it some of the time. The civilized human being, particularly the idealistic male, is besieged by the biological urgency of sex, however vague, on the one hand, and by the social pressure of standards on the other hand. The result is a compromise, with some resultant emotional upheaval.

THE QUESTION OF PETTING

Nature of petting. "Petting," "spooning," and other names applied to practices of love making vary greatly with time and locality. No statement can be made concerning these practices

until it is clear what the term includes and what practices are subsumed under the topic.

To some the term means *lust* practices—"play-at-love," promiscuous and selfish, with little thought of the partner as a personality. The relationships in such cases are ephemeral. The individual holds no great enduring respect for the other. The relationship tends to increase in sexual intimacy and to be followed often by remorse or disgust. In such cases all other attitudes, motives, and personality traits of oneself and the other personality are ignored. It is a sexual affair approaching the primitive.

To others, the term means caressing that involves the *association of the higher ideals* which usually occur in the courting stage. Sometimes a stable relationship has preceded the petting, and the individuals show consistent deep affection for one another. They give all public indication that they are sincere and compatible in interest and attitudes as well as affections. Their love making is controlled, as much as strong emotions can be controlled, by their ideals.

These represent two extreme relationships, but there are numerous variations between the extremes. All the physical components of these widely different relationships are usually called petting.

Questions aroused by the problem of petting. How can we evaluate this behavior from the point of view of the effect it has upon the individuals involved and upon society? Does petting spoil one's tastes for the finer relationships experienced by some couples? Does it lead to greater intimacies? Is it preparatory for marriage? Is it a method of testing love? Is it natural? Does it supply experience that can be used by the individual? Does it produce an emotional conflict in the mind of the person of high ideals? Does it lower one's resistance to further promiscuity? Does it lessen the respect of the pair for each other? Should not youth taste life in all its phases? Without testing mutual responsiveness of a number of persons of the opposite sex, how can one be expected to make an intelligent choice of a mate? Does not a limited intimacy, particularly among engaged couples, serve to release sex tensions and sublimate the entire relationship? These and other questions arise and must be considered in any valid evaluation of the phenomenon. Unfortunately very little pertinent data are available on the sub-

ject, and professional opinions rest largely upon experiences in clinical practice and theory.

Consideration of "arguments for petting." One well-known writer for the American Social Hygiene Association states frankly the "arguments" that have been presented by petters to justify petting and refutes them on medical and psychological grounds. Let us summarize and discuss his refutations (39).

Social freedom is wholesome, sexual freedom is not. It has been suggested that, although freedom between the sexes in their social life is wholesome and should be encouraged, freedom in physical intimacies often means allowing strong emotions to run their course. Freedom of strong emotion is tantamount to lack of control. When strong emotions run their course they dominate the personality. Standards, ideals, attitudes, and traits of character are temporarily in abeyance and cannot aid in the regulation of behavior. The strong motive of lust seems to force itself toward satisfaction. Instead of freedom, then, there is domination; the individual is *dominated*—controlled by unchecked physiological urges. His personality in one sense is *less free* than it would be if he had several alternatives from which to choose.

Rational man, it is suggested, has realized that he must *impose checks upon his stronger impulses* at moments of strong emotional excitation. In most aspects of life we have come to consider indiscreet the individual who rashly endangers his future for present thrills. Those who feel they must seek greedily all the pleasant sensations available to mankind are likely to lose real happiness in their aggressive search for it and gain disappointing and perhaps painful consequences in its stead. Philosophers for ages have spoken of happiness as a by-product of a full life, and not a state to be directly sought in sensuous indulgence.

Only psychological compatibility should be tested. Young men and women should test their compatibility with one another, but this testing, it is suggested, *should involve the harmony of tastes, feeling, desires, aspirations, appreciation, and temperament* rather than an unrestricted experimentation with physical attractions. Physical impulses are by nature of such a quality that their arousal is likely to blind one to discernment of the personal qualities just mentioned. It is usually the finer mental

differences that cause most marital disharmonies and not the predominantly physical factors. We have shown in the sections on chastity that the greatest component of the sex experience is the mental rather than the physical. Physical gratifications require little of the individuality needed in harmonious mating. The question might be raised whether the individual is really *thinking of his companion* or testing compatibility by petting. Is he thinking at all, or is he disguising an impulse to self-gratification and self-pleasure with a plausible reason?

To call petting natural is not to justify it. When we ask "Isn't petting natural?" we imply that anything natural (innate and uncultivated) is *correct* and *desirable*, when in fact such an implication is distinctly fallacious. Petting may be natural, but that characteristic does not justify it. It is suggested that the natural way or the primitive way to eat is to grab one's food away from others and run to the rear of the cave or into the bushes. And it might be added that it is natural and primitive to fight with weapons those who disagree with us, to tear them limb from limb if we can. It is natural, during a shortage of food, to strike one's brothers on the head with a club and take their food from them. Other natural forms of behavior include lack of cleanliness and physical crudities. Human beings found in the forest untutored by other men behave in the "natural" manner. What we call human and what we respect in the adult civilized man is not "natural" but *cultural* (40). Civilization has lifted us from natural behavior to more desirable behavior, behavior leading presumably to a "greater, richer, more enduring satisfaction on a higher level of life."

The love attitude differs from the petting attitude. The attitude assumed in most petting, particularly the promiscuous variety, is usually opposed to that ascribed to the love attitude. Most petting involves a *careless promiscuity*. It is an attempt to experience thrills. It is not the interplay of two personalities. It is rather, as a rule, an exploitation of another for personal satisfaction. In love one wishes to make his loved one happy. He assumes the attitude of gratuitousness rather than of exploitation. The person in love *gives* rather than *takes*. In love, physical intimacies embellish and serve the many other pleasant, long-enduring, non-physical relationships. They are part of a

full relationship between two personalities. They are not ends in themselves.

Petting is not a release for sex tension. In using petting to relieve tensions, a deep-seated emotional response of a tumultuous character may be aroused which the individual or his companion may be unable to control. A better solution of the problem of physical tension is to remove the cause of its arousal. This differs in individuals. Erotic literature, pictures, daydreams, and lack of absorbing interests are among the many factors which result in preoccupation with sexual gratification.

It is highly doubtful whether the tension which cannot be released other than by petting can be released by anything short of a complete sex act. Many persons release tension by play, by conventional games with the opposite sex, and by frank discussions between the couple. Petting is *preliminary to the act of mating*, and not a consummated act in and of itself (41).

Opinions of a group of young people regarding petting. A group of adolescent girls who admitted having experienced light caressing give the following reasons for their behavior (42).

Infatuation	52%	Lack of courage to resist	12%
Curiosity	40%	Desire to please	12%
Others did it	30%	Fear of unpopularity	11%

All but 3 of a group of 28 boys and all but 9 of a group of 27 girls approved of a mild form of petting at some time or other. Reasons given by men for refraining were: lack of opportunity, fear of response, common decency. Girls refrained because of common decency, physical repugnance, social disapproval. Twenty of the 28 men regarded it as pleasant, as did 9 of the girls (43). Another questionnaire filled out by several hundred girls indicated that only 23 per cent of them thought it part of a girl's routine in her relations with boys and practiced it. Of these girls, however, 92 per cent classed sex relation outside of marriage as immoral (44). The majority (60 per cent) of young male college graduates in one study asserted that petting increased the sexual impulse, and 51 per cent said that it was a quickly passing enjoyment. Smaller percentages of men referred to the experience either as "great enjoyment" or "little or no enjoyment" (45).

It is obvious from these replies that some of the sex play is *unsatisfied curiosity* that may be curtailed through education. Some is of a social nature, since both sexes believe it is *expected of them*. If other interesting activities were planned the petting would probably decline.

STABILITY IN AFFECTIONS

Impulsiveness in affections. The question is often asked, "Is there such a thing as love at first sight?" If it is not answered immediately, the questioner will go on to relate his personal experience which may run as follows:

"I saw the most beautiful girl today that I have ever met. She has everything I think a girl needs. She is beautiful, sweet, well-groomed, knows just how to act—she has everything!"

This emotional experience did not develop fully on the spur of the moment. The boy's present experience is the emergence of a *long, subterranean growth*. The present experience merely ignited a flame, the fuel for which had been stored for a long time. He had read fiction about girls, seen movies, daydreamed, and admired girls from afar. All this was superimposed upon emotions previously experienced with members of the opposite sex. The sentimental background was established. Furthermore, at this time no doubt he was "in the mood" for affection. Biochemical processes probably had *lowered the threshold* of the appreciation of sentimental and affectionate objects. Finally, the admired person seemed *compatible with more* of these *sentiments* than anyone he had met previously. The qualities she did not have he supplied with his imagination. He does not stop at this point but continues to embellish his memory of her with imaginary traits and attributes whenever he thinks of her. If the kind of courtship previously discussed ensues, he will be able to *test* his original impression. The more realistic the situations are, the better the testing process. If he continues to daydream and reinforce his conception of her *without really knowing her* his delusions will be increased. Although we have used the boy as an example here, girls go through the same experience as frequently as, if not more often than, boys.

"Love at first sight" is highly impulsive. It is bound to be an

intense *emotional reaction* to very *fragmentary impressions*. It must be tested to prevent the emotional experience from blinding the attracted one to the real traits of the person.

Fickleness in affections. *Nature of fickleness.* Why are some girls "boy crazy"? Why do some boys always have "girls on the mind"? Can we explain the member of either sex who seems to be highly stimulated by the presence of *any* member of the opposite sex? He will be swept off his feet by one individual today and be equally enthusiastic about an entirely different one tomorrow.

This kind of fickleness is a typical phenomenon of early adolescence. It shows *emotional immaturity* or *lack of breadth of experience* with the opposite sex. The mature individual has made many associations with the opposite sex and has learned to like those who seem to satisfy or reinforce the sentiments he has built up as a love pattern. Others he learns to regard differently. Some are "just another person," "another girl," "not bad," or "a good sport." He comes to enjoy the presence of girls, but he is not inordinately emotional when they are around. He has become adapted to them. It is true that some older adolescents and chronologically mature persons show fickleness, but it is doubtful if they are emotionally mature. Some have been secluded from the opposite sex as love objects.

Fickleness is another example of impulsive affections. The individual is responding to the *emotional* side of his experience rather than to the cognitive or intellectual. He does not regard members of the opposite sex as *individuals* with many personal traits, some likeable and others wearing. He instead regards them solely as objects of love. The emotion may become so intense for a time that he does not want to experience anything else. He can think of nothing else. His only desire is to see the object of this emotion. Then, when a new personality appears and he again responds to the emotional aspect of his impressions, the first person's attraction wanes.

The promiscuous man who cannot be satisfied with one love object but must find many temporary ones has been called a "Don Juan." Case studies have given evidence that such an individual is not what he might seem—a virile, secure lover. Instead he is compelled to prove his attractiveness by having

many women respond to him. Other motivations that have been given for this fickleness are his fear of losing his loved one and an inner hostility which shows itself by the breaking of many hearts. As his hostility produces insecurity, he must have many loves to compensate for it. Some of this anxiety has been traced to a childhood in which family relationships and love have been of an unstable kind. So far as the individual is still being influenced by these early experiences, he is immature (3).

Disillusionment in affections. All of us have heard of the "broken-hearted." The victim has built strong emotional attitudes around some member of the opposite sex. He may be one of the inexperienced persons we discussed above. He may have had few dates and few experiences previously with the opposite sex. On the other hand, he may have chosen his girl because he thought she was different from the others he had known—she was perfect—to find out later that she was not so angelic. When he discovers how things really are, he has already fallen for her. She means everything to him, and she *must* fit his expectations!

This individual has deceived himself. When he finally reaches reality, he finds it extremely unpleasant. Since this happens most frequently to people who *magnify the emotional aspect of life*, it is hard for such a person to look at the matter objectively. He broods over his loss. He has fixated on this object of his affections, built up vivid emotional attitudes toward her, and now they are blocked. In extreme cases the individual loses his appetite, his zest for life, and his interest in his work.

This individual may have had limited experience supplemented with a vivid life of daydreams. He may have magnified the importance of the relationship. For some reason, this relationship *had to be* exceptional. No doubt there is much more to the matter than his affection for the girl. There may be involved a personal problem which he believed this relationship would solve.

Tim's father was a Prussian autocrat, his mother a submissive, hard-working farm wife. He had one sister whom he idolized and in whom the parental training had produced immaturity and repression of amorous interest in boys.

An officer's uniform brought out more manly attractiveness than

even Tim realized he had. The family's rigid moral training, which had been previously discounted mentally, was actively disregarded now as Tim went from conquest to conquest. He tried not to face the conflict between his training and present behavior. He wanted to marry a good girl who combined the coquetry and glamour of those he had known in his flirtations with the qualities necessary to build a family life similar to that he had known on the farm.

Isabelle was the answer. She had everything that the other girls had, he believed, and yet she was good. But he had to be sure of this, so the inquisition began. Finally she admitted that she had once loved another fellow, and what had happened between them was quite similar to the relations Tim had had with several girls in the preceding year. Tim was beside himself, first with rage, then with a general emotional disturbance. He discussed his problem excitedly with a counselor and received some relief and some insight in the discussion. The following questions may have been in the back of Tim's mind; they represent the conflict he was experiencing:

To what extent was Tim fighting his own guilt? How much of the real difficulty was due to the conflict between extremely repressive, rigid home standards and the standardless life he later led? To what extent did his sister enter the problem? He was sure *she* was different too—but maybe she had dated fellows like himself? Did he dare raise this question? Can Tim's emotional upheaval, which was out of character for a strong, confident ex-officer, be explained better in terms of his own conflicts or in terms of his disillusionment by the girl?

Sometimes emotionality over the loss of a loved one can be better understood in terms of the threat it represents to the individual's ability to attract the opposite sex. It may touch off a feeling of inferiority over one's immaturity in this area, one's falling short of a masculine or feminine goal.

Suggestions for the disillusioned. To talk over such matters with someone else always helps one's thinking about them, as shown in Chapter 7. As illustrated above, the individual obtains release and sometimes gains insight into his inner life and the circumstances that created the problem. He is then better able to turn to his normal routine, which gives him opportunities to meet new people, possibly some with similar problems, and to satisfy his basic motives. Time and new experiences will do much to give him more perspective. Insight from conferences and new experiences may help him to change some of the circumstances of his living and some of his attitudes.

CONTROLLING MASTURBATION

Meaning, significance, and origin. There are few habits which have caused more personal unhappiness than masturbation. The practice itself is not the cause of mental and physical problems; it is the *attitude* held by most people toward the habit that is the major cause of emotional difficulties.

Masturbation is usually a form of autoeroticism (literally, self-love). It includes all kinds of self-induced sex activities, from sexual daydreams to manual stimulation. The term is usually applied, however, to the manipulation of genitals. Masturbation occurs in small children almost universally. Parental censorship usually terminates the practice in this period, but it is rediscovered in adolescence. This discovery is made either accidentally, or through another child or an adult.

The experience which results from masturbation undergoes a change at the time of adolescent physical changes. It becomes a more intense and vivid experience with many of the physiological concomitants of a strong emotion. This is known as an orgasm.

Frequency of practice. Masturbation is a part of the experience of a large number of persons at different times in their lives. The reaction to the habit and its duration vary greatly with the individual's emotional background. Questionnaires answered by various groups of men and women in college and elsewhere indicate the practice of masturbation at some time in their lives in 62 to 98 per cent of the men and 40 to 64 per cent of the women (46, 47). The frequency falls in college (45). These percentages are given because so often those who continue the practice in college believe their behavior to be so unusual as to make them abnormal. This view, as we shall show shortly, is erroneous.

False notions regarding masturbation. Several generations ago, it was generally believed that masturbation caused insanity. You have no doubt heard it referred to by such terms as "the unpardonable sin" and as "self-abuse." Numerous false notions grew up regarding the effect of the practice. Some believed that in addition to insanity it caused sterility, feeble-mindedness, "loss of manhood," ill health, physical weakness, and other in-

timidating consequences. The young adolescent still picks up beliefs of this type. Sometimes he retains them and broods over them. Even if he later learns that these beliefs are false, he may continue to be influenced by them subconsciously (48).

Examples of the manner in which the habit of masturbation influences the individual in his teens and early maturity are numerous. Some young people believe that there are "tell-tale" characteristics which indicate to the world that they have been or are guilty of the practice. Different individuals isolate different aspects of their physical make-up as "giving them away." Some believe that they are betrayed by their thinness, nature of their genitals, the expression of their eyes, others by a facial blemish or peculiarity such as acne, pimples, jaw curvature, or length or shape of nose. These ideas, of course, have no foundation in fact. These beliefs and the personality pattern that allows them to perpetuate and disturb the individual no doubt have an effect upon the continuation of the habit.

Psychological reactions to masturbation. There are certain emotional and mental processes which result not from masturbation, but from the *attitude* the individual has toward it (49, 50). Even those individuals who have learned that the physical effects of this practice are negligible are somewhat disturbed because of the social taboos that exist, and the secret nature of the habit.

Frequently bodily sensations occur after an orgasm. Some individuals center their attention on these sensations. They are anxious about them later in that day or the next day, and before long they have developed a real complaint. The quiet, introverted, reclusive young person may become so emotional over the effect of masturbation on his *health* that he mistakes for illness the natural changes which occur during emotion. There is naturally a slight physical let-down after an orgasm. Furthermore, during the emotion there is a natural increase in blood pressure and breathing, and a check of digestive processes. These should cause no mental disturbance unless one attends to them and broods over them. One college co-ed feared she would become epileptic in class—a fear that was caused by a childhood belief that masturbation causes epilepsy.

Since masturbation is an autoerotic (self-love) practice, the attention and affection of the individual is expended upon himself

rather than upon an individual of the opposite sex. The most successful adjustment in marriage is associated with absorption in the interests of one's mate rather than preoccupation with oneself. Although there is evidence that many who have strong habits of masturbation adjust to marriage relationships later, it is no doubt more difficult, because the individual has become satisfied with one type of sex habit and then must learn to be satisfied by an entirely different type (9).

The eradication of masturbation is sometimes a goal which *assumes great importance* in the individual's existence.

A conscientious youth builds up, on the one hand, all the ideals and sentiments associated with his ideal conception of himself. We might label this, as he often does, his "better self." With this ideal self he fights the sex impulses which lead to masturbation. He stakes his whole reputation on his "better self's" winning the battle. He puts great faith in this "better self." He may even tell himself that in the past he has been a weakling but now he will be strong. During the time when he wishes to prove that this "better self" is stronger, he is afraid it is not. This fear holds him. He continues to struggle. He may struggle successfully for days and fight all the events which arouse sex. Then one day the urge overpowers him—he falls in defeat. He meets again his disgust for the practice and his fear of its consequences.

Suggestions for dealing with the problem of masturbation. Individuals differ, statistics show, with regard to the continuation of the practice. Some eradicate it themselves or do not allow it to grow. The suggestions and insights below should be helpful.

See the habit in perspective. Realize that masturbation is not a practice limited to queer, abnormal persons. Instead, it is a habit that many normal persons acquire and overcome. Impress upon yourself that its physical consequences are negligible. It does not lead to insanity or other formidable results. The effects on personality, however, particularly in persons who are falsely informed about masturbation, are undesirable.

Furthermore, one should clearly recognize that any habit system like this is merely *one aspect of personality*. In a sense it is a minor aspect. Certainly one is not justified in lowering his opinion of himself as a total personality just because he has difficulty in eradicating the habit of masturbation. The practice may assume great importance in personality if the individual

emphasizes it unnecessarily through worry, disgust, and feelings of guilt. In addition, one should realize that the depression that occurs after the act has a cause. It is partially a contrast to the highly emotional experience of the orgasm and partially a result of the mental conflict between one's ideal and one's action (51).

Realize and continually remind yourself that the habit itself has no gross ill effects. It is the *meaning* of this habit to you that is disturbing. Change this meaning.

Do not expect to change any habit or attitude, particularly one associated with as strong an urge as sex, in one or two days or even one or two weeks. Also *expect regressions* or back-sliding. Do not let them depress you. In all curves of human progress in the laboratory or in nature there are falls in the curves as well as rises.

Participate in social and physical activity with your own sex—gain their friendship and respect. A frequently reported result of masturbation is a lowering of self-respect. It is doubtful, however, whether masturbation is the sole cause of this. Masturbation, it seems from study of individual cases, is resorted to most frequently by individuals in moments when they are lonesome, depressed, blue, and not enjoying the company of their fellows. It is a vivid source of transient pleasure for the depressed individual. It seems to decrease in frequency when the individual is satisfying dominant motives for affection and recognition. Dejection because of masturbation, then, can lead to anxiety and stronger tendencies toward more masturbation.

The depression and physical let-down which follow an orgasm probably aggravate this feeling of social ineptitude and magnify any depreciation of the self that may have existed. Participation in activities with one's friends and the gaining of their respect enhance the value the individual holds for himself and tend to reduce masturbation.

College extracurricular activities are excellent outlets. They *satisfy most of the dominant human motives*. They allow the individual to gain mastery over some skill, which is important at this time in life, and to gain social recognition, new experience, and, sometimes, affection. They take the individual's *attention off himself*. Athletics offer another outlet for the satisfaction of these motives and in addition provide an avenue for expending physical energy. In boys they act as a symbol of mas-

culinity and physical fitness which enhances self-respect and greatly lessens the problem.

Participate in social activity with the opposite sex. The individual should learn the social skills that allow contact with the opposite sex, such as dancing, bridge, and other activities. Pleasant associations with members of the opposite sex detract our attention from ourselves and allow us to fixate our affections normally and to gain heterosexuality. Courtship and the reciprocation of affection from the opposite sex are also *symbols of status* for both sexes. The man is considered more manly if he deserves the affection and interest of members of the opposite sex, and the woman is considered more attractive when she receives attention of this sort.

Successful participation in activities with members of the same or opposite sex requires that the individual become *more like the average individual* in superficial factors, such as dress, grooming, speech, sport, and interests. This also aids self-esteem. Our appearance to ourselves is a stimulus which affects our attitudes toward ourselves. Usually, if we dress and look like the typical regular fellow or typical attractive girl, our attitude toward ourselves improves. It is not necessary for us to alter our personalities profoundly if we hold a conviction against such conformity. We need merely to add those superficialities which are in vogue among our generation to give us the badge of approval and acceptance by members of our own age level—an approval which most of us find helpful and stimulating.

Exert a moderate effort to overcome the practice of masturbation. Probably the best suggestions are those given above. They are the *indirect* methods of overcoming the habit. They do not require the individual to think constantly about the habit. They do not necessitate continual suppression of the practice. They consist of positive motivation and direction of behavior rather than the thwarting of tendencies. These efforts should be *moderate*. They should not be so definite that the individual becomes emotional over the project and takes a life-or-death attitude about it. It is doubtful whether an abnormal urge to overcome the habit is as effective as a normal urge superimposed upon a program of pleasant, absorbing, physical, and social activity.

Recognize masturbation as a sign of general frustration and anxiety rather than as a problem in itself. Some psychologists have pointed to many cases in which punishment through guilt and feelings of unworthiness did not eradicate masturbation but seemed to increase it. The person who feels unworthy might turn to this source of satisfaction both for its excitement and the unpleasantness that comes from it. He may feel he deserves the resulting depression because he is an unworthy individual. It might be well for one who is preoccupied with this problem to ask himself against what anxieties masturbation is a defense. Is it a source of pleasure because of feelings of insecurity in personal relations? Can the problem be solved best by turning to the causes of insecurity and dealing with them and thus considering masturbation merely as a symptom of a need for some sort of pleasure?

The practice of masturbation is to be regarded as one of the many activities that we humans acquire in our growing-up process which we strive to overcome with maturity. Masturbation wanes as a problem as our childhood frustrations diminish and as we find broad areas for the satisfaction of our motives.

Understand the source of insecurity as a means of controlling the symptom. Since masturbation may be a sign of insecurity, the important problem is to understand the source of this feeling of inadequacy which probably originated early in life. When the real causes of the tension are understood and relived in memory with a new attitude toward them, the individual is relieved. One may have a need to feel that he is accepted by others, or that he is not so inadequate as the events of his childhood made him fear. As he sees himself and his development more clearly he may feel freer to pursue the social activities suggested. These activities may bring more success, acceptance by others, and greater self-esteem. Presumably all this will help one to plunge into other activities and release some of the tensions which contributed to the need to masturbate. He will then be better able to use calmly and without a feeling of pressing need the suggestions given below for avoiding events leading up to the act.

The avoidance of stimuli or events which lead to an act aid in controlling it. The events that lead to masturbation differ with individuals. Most persons know what these are in their

own case: bathing, restless tossing before sleep, drinking alcoholic beverages, and dating with certain members of the opposite sex. Sometimes reorganization of one's routine can remove or change the nature of these situations, particularly when one sees masturbation as an indication of a negative attitude which one has toward oneself. In talking over the matter with a trained counselor or in writing out the problem freely, as one sees it, one associates the events which follow masturbation with those which usually precede it. For example, remorse, disgust, thought of disapproval of friends and parents—all may come to consciousness after one has masturbated. The individual may think: "How did I come to do this?" At that time, he should recall all that led to masturbation. This should be brought to mind along with the unpleasantness that follows. This procedure is contrary to the customary one. Usually the individual vigorously suppresses the whole matter and goes on to some other activity.

Guide rather than fight sex urges. These methods involve guiding behavior rather than fighting it. Sex urges are not to be violently suppressed or fought but rather to be guided. Sex urges often give rise to daydreams. These can be directed in terms of future plans, ideals, and the consequences of immediate satisfaction. Think sex impulses through. Realize that immediate satisfaction leads to deep remorse, mental and physical. Then turn attention to other interesting activities.

Summary. Before leaving this topic let us again emphasize that changing behavior is a slow process with many reverses. The attitude which one assumes toward the habit is important. One should not hate himself because of the course his sex life has taken. Rather, he should seek to understand himself and accept sex urges as natural functions which require direction. Finally, any problem is merely one aspect of a total personality. Some writers in this field view masturbation as a symptom of an incomplete life. From this standpoint, the indirect approach to the eradication of the habit is most effective. It is well to understand the early bases for a feeling of insecurity, unworthiness, or being "left out" of the group which is one of the major causes of this pleasure-seeking habit. Satisfy dominant motives, pursue social adventures and hobbies, and seek other satisfying

experiences with the same and opposite sex as a means of gaining security and social acceptance.

REDIRECTING CRUSHES

Characteristics of crush. The development of affection does not always run in the course indicated in the first section of this chapter. An individual may not meet members of the opposite sex frequently enough or under the proper conditions during puberty (period of adolescent changes) when heterosexual attitudes usually develop. He may have established some definite aversions to them in early life through conflict, jealousy, or hints from adults. On the other hand, close contact with members of the same sex at adolescence when sex expansiveness occurs may cause *one to gain strong affection for them*. When this occurs among girls it is known as a "crush." The taboo against affection for the same sex in women is not so strong as it is among men, and for this reason the crush is more apparent among girls and is often thought of as characteristic of them alone. Boys, however, also have crushes. They are probably less frequent and usually of the hero-worship variety. Crushes are reported in approximately 30 to 50 per cent of the cases in a study of unmarried women recalling adolescence (6). Twelve per cent of male college graduates say they have experienced "feelings of affection" for the same sex in the teens (45).

Among girls it appears that in many cases the attraction is for an older woman, very often a woman who has achieved some distinction. The older individual may reciprocate. She may merely be flattered by the adulation. She may be disturbed by it and may discourage it. The attraction may also be toward one of the same age or toward a younger person.

The behavior of the girl or boy who has the crush may differ little from that of one who holds an affection for someone of the opposite sex. There may be a desire to be with the adored person, a demand for constant attention, a display of jealousy if someone else seems interested in the same person, a desire to caress, and unhappiness in the absence of the object of affection.

Sometimes the boy or girl has an affection for an older person similar to the affection he has or might have had for one of his

own parents. He may write affectionate letters, go see them often, caress their hands, say "mushy" things, and tell others how "wonderful" the older person is. He or she may plan his life to be like the life of the admired one and build an elaborate dream world about him.

Daydreams in crushes. A crush may greatly influence the dream life of the youth. The crush may be entirely secret, the relationships with the adored one occurring only in a dream world. He or she may secretly have a crush on another individual, worship him or her from afar, and dream about relationships with that individual.

An adolescent told her counselor in confidence of her behavior during the period of a secret crush. She said she would watch the object of her affection from the window as she passed several times daily. She would go out of her way to get a glimpse of this person. She looked forward to these moments. After seeing the other girl she would improvise elaborate daydreams involving detailed activities with her.

A college man who was having difficulties in adjustment told of having crushes on younger boys. Apparently he had not developed well in athletic activities and got most of his attention from younger boys. His affections for them were intensified through a sex experience with a child when he was in high school. Several later attempts to shed affection had failed because of their repulsion. He therefore turned to the movies and had secret crushes on young actors. He would see their movies two and three times. After the show he would daydream about the actor and himself in elaborate plots.

He was counseled psychologically over a period longer than a year. After graduation he achieved success in his profession, married, and now has a child.

Criteria of normal friendships. What is the distinction between crushes and friendships? Intimate friendships in which there is strong affection and interdependence between the friends are not unlike a crush. In fact, such friendships are probably crushes, particularly in cases in which jealousy arises and in which the two are unhappy when separated. It is reported that some crushes later develop into friendships. The main difference between friendships and crushes is the degree of dependence the two have upon one another and the *strength* of the affection between them.

We discussed in Chapter 10 the factors which give rise to friendship. They consist of similar economic and social environment, similar intellectual and non-intellectual interests, and compatible supplementary motives (52). We usually like those individuals who best satisfy our motives, whether they be our interests, our attitudes, or our wishes. Whereas all friendships involve an emotional element, in the normal friendship this emotional element is not of the tender, sentimental, or sexual kind. The motives satisfied are *not so intimate*. In normal friendly contact our emphasis is on the activity in which we and our friends are engaged, rather than on the friend himself and his intimate relationship to us. We normally enjoy our friends, prefer to have them around us, but we do not show a strongly possessive attitude toward them. Our whole life does not revolve around them. To be sure, we like to help them and even to make sacrifices for them, but these sacrifices are not the result of our desire to have this friend intimately dependent upon us (31, 3).

Emotional friendship should not be feared but guided. One may realize that an intense friendship borders on a crush and become frightened.

A 22-year-old college student states that for two years he has prevented himself from forming *any* strong friendships. This attitude is the result of his realization that the last friendship which he formed was in the nature of a crush. He was frightened. He thought himself abnormal, and instead of guiding future friendships and seeking to make himself independent of them he systematically prevented himself from becoming too friendly with any of his male acquaintances.

This type of behavior, of course, is almost as abnormal as the crush itself. This student was leaning backwards in his efforts to prevent his falling forward. No doubt he needed to become more mature in his relationships with his fellows, considering the description of his latest relationship with a fellow student, but growth was necessary, not complete prohibition of all friendship. Possibly he could have broadened his scope of affection. No doubt there were numerous individuals on the campus who had similar interests, attitudes, and motives. A number of friends would prevent him from becoming too intimately attached to any one. Furthermore, he could plan double dates,

parties, and participation in "bull sessions." The latter would bring out the typical man's attitudes toward the opposite sex.

Other suggestions for directing friendships which seem to be gaining too intense a nature are: Place emphasis on the *activities* enjoyed with the friend rather than on the *friend himself*. Play games with the friend, enjoy activities with him, but at all times let the activities assume greater importance than the association. Let the companionship aspect of the friendship become much more important than the friend's personal attractiveness. Sometimes these matters take care of themselves. Staying away from the person one finds attractive has been suggested, but this may not keep him or her "out of mind" (53). Very close contact often produces quarrels and breaks the relationship (54).

It is entirely possible to have a satisfying friendship which adds much to one's life without developing into a crush. To be sure, we show affection to members of the same sex, and at times this affection has some of the components which are found in our attitudes toward the opposite sex. It is doubtful, however whether normal affection for the same sex ever gains the *emotional intensity*, gives rise to *possessive urges*, or has the *compulsive* nature that our affections for the opposite sex involve. Some individuals find they are attracted to a person of the same sex who has traits they admire but lack. Others have failed to gain affection and recognition they desire from the same sex parent.

Crushes—bisexuality and homosexuality. Whereas many normal individuals idealize members of their own sex in their development, or are more attracted to activities with their own sex than with the opposite, there is a small percentage of both sexes who for various reasons continually satisfy their tender emotions or sex urges in relationships with their own sex. These individuals are inveterate, overt homosexuals. They face the problem of adjusting in a society hostile to their way of life. Sometimes they make a partial adjustment in an intimate society of people like themselves. There are and have been homosexuals who have made fine contributions in their fields of endeavor, but many fail to find full happiness because of their conflicts.

Not all individuals who have had homosexual experiences in childhood or youth fall into this category, because about 30 to 50 per cent of men have had some sort of experience with their own sex (16, 55), and the percentage of persons confirmed in a homosexual life is very much smaller (56). Furthermore, there is a difference between the confirmed homosexual and the adolescent or young adult who is struggling with bisexual tendencies—attraction to both sexes—or who is striving to develop toward heterosexuality. Many individuals of both sexes who have achieved public or private recognition and success, and who have represented idealistic and socially desirable causes, have had such struggles in their development. Others have made adjustments in marriage. A study of marriage shows that lack of male dominance or a history of sex shock in the wife are not crucial in marital happiness (5).

Too frequently the realization of some homosexual tendencies causes the individual to identify himself with persons who make public advances or seduce children. He comes to reject himself, feel unworthy, and anticipate rejection from others. He cannot accept some of his most intimate experiences and impulses, and this undermines his self-esteem. This rejection of his impulses and inner self is not control or guidance of emotion, and it often creates new, more serious problems.

Although there are instances of homosexuality that seem to be the result of a biological or glandular factor, and research in the chemical or endocrinological aspects of sex may later establish definitely that this operates in some cases, it probably is *only one factor* (57-61). The bulk of the studies and opinions favor the explanation that homosexuality is acquired in development (16, 55, 57, 62-64), and there is evidence that it may be corrected if the individual has strong motivation in this direction (65).

Homosexuality may be related to the fact that the individual has been alienated by the parent of the same sex and thereby gains the habits and attitudes of the parent of the opposite sex. If a boy, his father may have been excessively stern, or uninterested in him. He may have been reared as a child of the opposite sex and prevented from taking part in the typical childhood play of his own sex. Many times emotional attachment to the same sex occurs before puberty (18). He or she

may, finally, have been seduced or aroused in early life by an older person of the same sex (14, 66, 67), or blocked in some way in his tendency to have tender or passionate feelings toward the opposite sex.

Attitudes toward parents affect sexuality. An attitude which seems to prevent the acquisition of heterosexuality is that of *overridealization of a parent* (68). This attitude is illustrated by the fixation of a son upon his mother, of the identification of all women with his mother. The youth may build an ideal girl and find that none of the girls comes up to the ideal he holds. The individual may meet and go out with a number of members of the opposite sex, but none of them has more than a temporary appeal. They are always being compared disadvantageously with an ideal which they cannot rival because it is composed of traits that no person in reality possesses.

A parent of the opposite sex, a mother for example, may, without full realization of what she is doing, encourage tender affections in her son. She may also, through constant association and confidences, together with the rejection by the father, cause the son to introject her attitudes and habits rather than those of his father. This boy has a more feminine outlook, and the girl who holds her father as a model a more masculine outlook, than the typical person of their own age and sex.

A parent may warn the child or adolescent about the wiles and deceptiveness of the opposite sex, point toward the pitfalls of love and sex contact, and encourage him to delay his amours. Over a period of years heterosexuality may be discouraged, traits of the opposite sex may be acquired, and friendships and tender feelings toward the same sex may be developed (15).

Segregation of sexes affects sexuality. A discussion of the need for the mingling of the sexes on a pleasant, healthy level is not complete without pointing out another source of unhealthy attitudes, namely, the *strict segregation* of sexes such as was found in the boarding and military schools of previous years. In the laboratory, experimental animals become homosexual if segregated from the opposite sex before puberty (69, 70). In the young human who is placed in a segregated group, puberty arrives and the individual develops, extending his affections to those around him, connecting romantic ideas with those persons,

and indulging in slight, casual physical contacts such as kissing among girls and playful bodily contact among boys. As such institutions were conducted years ago, the opposite sex was carefully eliminated from the scene, and the only objects of affection were ideal, imaginary sweethearts or individuals of the same sex. Today the inadvisability of this practice is realized, and military and boarding schools and girls' colleges provide opportunities for dates, mixed parties, and entertainment of the opposite sex. It is interesting to note that crushes seem to develop in certain kinds of societies. They are not found at all in the more primitive cultures (71).

Suggestions for achieving heterosexuality. Heterosexuality or strong attraction to the opposite sex is not established at birth. We become heterosexual through a normal development of the personality traits of our own sex. As has been shown, some events prevent or delay its growth. For this reason suggestions are in order. It is in view of our knowledge of the causes of failure to achieve heterosexuality that we can make these suggestions.

Understand the basis for present attitudes. If one realizes that he has developed some of the traits of the opposite sex and along with them some attraction to his own, he should not give way to panic. This development is no doubt an orderly one in terms of the conditions which surrounded the individual in early life. His status is not different from that of many others who are admired and who are fine persons. One can create more problems than he solves by ruthlessly denying, fighting, or attempting to obliterate this aspect of his personality. A more sensible approach is to go back into his early history and strive to understand his background and relive with the aid of a trained counselor the experiences which made him the person he is today. This understanding and acceptance of his development should enable him to guide the traits of his personality into creative avenues.

Exploit your present talents through activities. A young man or woman in college can reach a better adjustment not only by harnessing present interests and potentialities but also by slowly and naturally developing new ones similar to those of other members of his sex. This program should not be frantic, or ac-

accompanied by anxiety lest these traits fail to develop. It should instead be a natural growth from social contacts in appropriate activities with members of the same and the opposite sex. Many of the suggestions for dealing with the problem of masturbation on pages 509 to 514 are appropriate here. They consist of the indirect approach arising after the individual has explored the needs that caused him to develop crushes. These needs for security, recognition from his own sex, feelings of status and self-esteem may be satisfied through the talents he possesses. This is preferable to a desperate attempt to acquire entirely new traits followed by failure because one compares oneself with an individual who has an entirely different background. For example, a student can gain recognition, status, self-esteem, and the respect of his fellows through success and wide recognition in forensics, offices in an organization, music, or art just as well as through prowess on the football field or basketball court. Moreover, the tough, muscular, well-built man is not the only kind whom women select, or the submissive, sweetly feminine girl the only kind men prefer. The frailer, neat, shorter man who may be more gentle and more compatible with women, who has a real attraction toward them and is capable of playing an active role with them, will win favor in some instances in which the more "masculine" man would fail. This is true also in the opposite situation—the attractiveness of the large, athletic kind of girl for many men who prefer her to her more feminine sisters.

Most men and women are a combination of masculine and feminine traits. In most cases adjustment is a matter of strengthening certain traits without disparaging or fighting others too vigorously. There are some specific suggestions that may be helpful after the individual has gained understanding if he does not try to use them in a desperate, compulsive manner.

Gravitate toward environments and circumstances which will help produce desired traits. Many young men and women have found living and associating with groups of other individuals of their own age to be a powerful factor in building traits common to members of their own sex. Some college organizations which involve group living consider as part of their first-year program the initiation of the freshman into college life. This consists of play and social activities with his own sex as well as dates and

social affairs with the opposite sex. Even the dress and behavior of the neophyte is under friendly scrutiny. Whereas this stereotyping process may be considered disadvantageous from one standpoint, there are students who have had a desire to become more like their own sex and have found such an environment helpful. In a program such as this, they acquire a veneer of mature, socially oriented traits and tend to lose some egocentric habits. Their personal morale is boosted as a result. This program might well supplement the suggestions made previously in which the individual tries to deal with the matter on a deeper level. There are persons who resist socialization and stereotyping, and who become sensitive because living with others of their own sex serves only to convince them how different they are from the average. For them the group living program will be less effective. They prefer to develop in terms of their special interests and aptitudes.

Few circumstances can compare in efficacy with a warm friendship between a secure individual who has the attitudes and habits of his own sex and one who needs to develop in that direction. There is no doubt that losing oneself in group activities and in relationships with other people in an effort to become less self-centered and brooding is an aid to this whole problem. Part of the solution of the problem is the development of security and self-esteem.

Often a total program such as that described above will reveal to the individual, first, that there are within him traits of his own sex that can be strengthened and, second, that his indifference to the opposite sex may diminish more rapidly than he anticipated when his relationships with them become more genuine and absorbing. He notes that there are various physiques, profiles, and mannerisms as well as other physical and mental features in the opposite sex for which he has attraction and which form the basis for a stronger heterosexual development. One real goal, it must be remembered, is always to improve one's adjustment by a natural development, not by a sudden metamorphosis into an entirely different person. Realization that many of one's present traits are acceptable and that human beings are constantly undergoing slow growth toward their ideals should bring some security.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION

Monogamous marriage, which the American student takes as an accepted pattern, has not always existed, nor does it exist universally today. It is a social development found in its best (and probably worst) forms in higher civilization. Monogamous marriage is a custom which flourishes in a social group in which value is placed upon the individual human personality. Among the Malayan tribes a man will visit his "wife" a few times, go hunting and fishing with her, and the next week each one will have a new partner. That devotion which binds two people together for life is rarely existent among the primitive peoples. In Samoa, when a husband or wife tires of his mate, he simply withdraws from the household and goes home. Then, the marriage is said to have "passed away" (1).

Marriage in its best form in civilized life is the culmination of romantic love and courtship; it is the sublimation of the more primitive sex impulses. It is a fusion of the relationships existent in friendship, companionship, and sexual attraction. Ideally, it occurs after numerous friendships with the opposite sex, and after a courtship which has tested the social and temperamental compatibility of the pair. It is a public declaration of affection and fidelity and is approved by society. Logically, therefore, it should be discussed at this point, immediately after our consideration of the development of affections.

Evaluation of marriage. Is marriage, as an institution, on the wane, or has it developed on the basis of trial and error through the years and earned a permanent place among human institutions? What do young people think of marriage? What do married people think of marriage? Is one happier married or unmarried? One writer has collected facts on the happiness

persons believe they are experiencing. He found that the married graduate students in Education judge themselves happier than the unmarried ones who took part in the investigation (2). The death rate of the single men (including widowed and divorced) is nearly twice that of the married men. This fact and a comparison with the death rates of widowed and divorced men show that the superiority of married men over single ones is not due to the fact that the more healthy marry, but that married life is *more healthful*, at least for men. The married population has lower rates of mental disease (3). There is a little difference between the death rates of married and single women. The risks involved in childbirth probably are a leveling factor in the statistics for women. There is less insanity and crime among the married (4).

Of 80 students in one university, 94 per cent replied that they intended to marry, 100 per cent believed in regular orthodox marriage, and 85 per cent, basing their judgment on friends' marriages, believed that the institution of marriage is a success. A questionnaire answered by over 252 college and working girls under 23 years of age indicated that 82 per cent preferred marriage to a career, whereas 13 per cent preferred a career (4). It is reasonably clear to those who know young people that they *believe in and desire marriage*, a home, and, usually, children. College students in their autobiographies frequently mention marriage as one of their aims in life. Several hundred people over 65 years of age were asked to name the happiest period of their lives and the factors which they thought produced that happiness. They named the period when they were between 25 and 45 years of age, and marriage and family as causal factors (5).

Even among 100 unhappily married couples, only 15 husbands and 13 wives said that they would not marry at all if they could choose again, and only 40 of the husbands and 51 of the wives had ever considered separation or divorce (6). It can be seen from the attitudes of some of these unhappily married people that divorce, even to those who are faced with an acute need for some adjustment in their relationship, does not appear as a solution.

Investigating marital success and failure. What factors differentiate between happily married persons and those who are

on the verge of divorce, or who are consistently miserable? Are there certain personality traits which make one a good or a poor mate? Is there something in the relationship between the two individuals which affects the marital course? Should one who anticipates marriage have certain personality traits and conditions in mind which should be avoided or fostered?

Today facts concerning marital success and failure are available from *psychological tests* given to happily and unhappily married persons to ascertain how they differ. The husband fills out one blank and the wife another. *Systematic interviews* with married persons of various degrees of happiness also tell us some of the causes of marital unhappiness. *Case studies* supply us with a story of how this unhappiness developed. *Statistical* computations of marital desertions and divorces add other facts. From these sources we hope to derive factors and processes in marital adjustment and formulate generalizations which may be considered by college students who seek to make a happy marriage. All these studies are of persons of a high cultural status with above-average or superior education. The only study which deals with the lower brackets of society is the investigation of over 1500 cases which came to the attention of two large social service bureaus. In considering the results revealed below, this factor should be borne in mind.

Extent of marital failure. A psychiatrist tells us that one of every two marriages is an unhappy one; but this ratio is likely to be high because a psychiatrist interviews the least well-adjusted persons (7). Other studies of normal groups show that from 15 to 20 per cent of marriages are unhappy (8, 9). Fifteen per cent of several hundred college students admitted in an anonymous questionnaire, on which they were urged to be frank, that their parents were not happily married or that their home environment was not happy. Thirty-six per cent believed that their mothers were dissatisfied with their lots, and 32 per cent wrote that there were frequent quarrels and disagreements in the family (10). Some figure *between 15 and 30 per cent* is the most accurate proportion of obviously unhappy marriages. Another approach to this question is through the divorce figures, which have been steadily increasing for the past fifty years but which vary with periods, going downward during economic depressions and wars, and upward in prosperity and after wars.

In 1940 there were over 20 divorces for every 100 marriages, and it was estimated that they would increase to more than 30 before 1947. This brings the ratio close to one divorce for every three marriages! (11)

These studies, incidentally, imply that a great number of marriages are *happy*. Studies show that about 40 per cent of the couples involved describe their marriage as "very happy" (9). Thorough study of 792 married couples shows that there is little tendency for marital happiness to decrease with the passage of years (12).

It is not difficult to see, however, why so many who wed with infinite faith in matrimony and with a sincere desire for its success fail to achieve happiness. Remember how often the decision to marry is made without any knowledge of the factors that lead to happiness in marriage, the pitfalls that must be guarded against, and the relationships that must prevail. This ignorance of the circumstances leading to matrimonial felicity is so general, and emotional behavior is so characteristically impulsive, that it is amazing that the proportion of unhappy marriages, as stated above, is no greater.

FACTORS IN MARITAL ADJUSTMENT

Not all people who want to marry have a background which will make them good marital partners. The conditions discussed below are those which have been found to be associated with a happy marriage. As in all complex social relationships, there are many factors which produce a desirable equilibrium. Not all these factors need be present to produce a satisfactorily happy marriage. One or two conditions may be so important that their presence will be more effective than a combination of six or eight other factors. The presence of these conditions may make amends for the absence of a number of other factors which usually lead to marital bliss.

Marital happiness is an *individual* matter. It differs with the personalities of the individuals considered. We are dealing here merely with those factors found to be important in *most* marriages. The evaluation of the various factors in any individual case is a matter for the marriage counselor. When the indi-

vidual does this for himself he must guard against wishful thinking. Certainly most divorcees believed that they were properly mated on their wedding day. Many knew at that time that a certain circumstance in their relationship was an undesirable one. They no doubt reasoned that the many desirable factors would compensate for this undesirable one and their marital relationship would not be jeopardized by it.

Similarity of interests and attitudes. Consider for a minute those roommates whom you have had at school who have been most congenial. You realize you liked best, other things being equal, those fellow students who had similar interests and attitudes. This allowed you to enjoy many activities with them and to associate many pleasant experiences with them. We all trust most our own religious beliefs, the attitudes on which we have been reared, and the habits which make the backbone of our personality. Practically all the studies on marriage and friendship to date support the above generalization and disprove the belief that "opposites attract" (13-17).

When we compare the personality tests of happily married husband and wife with those of unhappily married couples we find that the happy pair agree more often in such matters as *recreation, religion, table manners, conventionality, philosophy of life, friends, care of children, and family finances*. Happy couples mention a community of outside interests considerably more frequently than unhappy couples. Twice as many of the former said that all their interests were in common. On the other hand, few of the unhappily married couples said none of their interests were in common.

The unhappily married disagree on more things. The unhappily married men mention a total of almost three times as many things as "sources of disagreement" as do the happily married men. The women mention almost twice as many (6).

A stable lifelong human relationship like marriage must have a firm psychological foundation. What could be more welding than similar likes and dislikes, mutually experienced emotions, similar attitudes regarding work, play, plans, and hopes? Before going on to other bases for happiness let us make it clear that it is not superficial but profound similarity that is important in marriage.

Two persons may be Methodists and yet be very different in religious attitudes. A young man and woman from the same economic stratum of society may marry, and yet the man may be very frugal and thrifty in habit and the woman a spendthrift. The husband and wife may have grown up in large families; the husband may be convinced that large families are very desirable, and the wife may be of the opposite view.

It is well for those who anticipate marriage, in addition to working and playing together, to discuss fields of religion, and their attitudes toward children and a family of their own. It has been found from the results of one study that agreement in the desire for children bears a slight relationship to happiness. The number of children, on the other hand, has not been found to be an important factor affecting happiness. *Agreement* was the crucial matter (6).

The halo tendency and its effect on attitudes. One author suggests that it is possible that married couples are not so much alike or so dissimilar as the studies of happily or unhappily married couples indicate. It is possible that the "halo" effects operate. Happily married couples, because of their happiness and pleasant attitude toward each other, might see pleasant traits and agreement in characteristics when they do not actually exist. Unhappily married couples, on the other hand, might grow to dislike attitudes and interests that are characteristic of the spouse. Certainly the "halo" effect is found in marriage. And if this is the reason why we find so much similarity in happily married couples let us recognize it and emphasize its importance. It is well, then, that agreement on *some* traits causes the enamored husband or wife to believe there is agreement and similarity in *many* other traits when there is little evidence for it (6).

Financial attitudes. Most college students believe that the size of income is highly important to a happy marriage. This is not a fact. On the whole, the economic factors, as such, are comparatively unimportant in marital happiness (9). Economic conflicts usually arise because of *dissimilar attitudes* on the part of husband and wife regarding the use of income. Further conflict arises when previous standards of living conflict with present income (12). Apparently, if couples fuse their aims in the spending of money, all is well. If, instead, they become competitors,

friction results. All engaged couples should work out together agreeably, as an interesting project, an individual budget and a family budget for their future home. They should save and buy home furnishings together and then after marriage make an active attempt to live within the budget. Security and stability, shown in regularity and steadiness of employment, rather than *income level*, are important in marital happiness (9).

Similarity in personal characteristics. *Age and age differences.* Not all personal characteristics need be similar in order for the marriage to be happy. Age differences between the couples are *not highly important* factors affecting happiness. There is no evidence that the husband must be older than the wife for an effective adjustment (8, 12). There are, on the other hand, *temperamental factors* which should be similar for the best marital adjustment.

There is some evidence to show that marriages contracted between very young people under 20 lead to more unhappiness (7, 9, 12, 18). To be sure, practically all men and women are physically ready to become parents at the age of 18. Furthermore, postponement of marriage does reduce the number of children which a couple may have. Finally, it should be pointed out that the prospects of marrying decline as the years increase. These three reasons, then, may prompt young people to plan early marriages. However, the available data lead us to question the wisdom of such marriages. There are always questions that must be raised when individuals marry young. Will she or he be the person I want to live with ten years from now? Will events in life change one of us and not the other? When one matures will the other seem undeveloped?

Agreement in basic personal traits. How can the man who loves costly adventures be happily married to a woman who is insistent on saving for security? The radically inclined woman will be thwarted by a conservative husband. The man who loves opera, literary classics, few visitors, and a large home will bore a wife who has gay, superficial interests.

We have already emphasized the desirability of similarity in interests and attitudes. In our later discussion of studies of marital disharmony we shall again refer to the importance of *similar deep-seated personal characteristics*.

It is interesting that some happily married individuals are

found to possess mutually certain attitudes and traits which are usually considered undesirable. In the studies of some couples, for example, both reported in a questionnaire that they were "often in a state of excitement" and that they lacked "self-confidence." The important factor here is that the couple *agree* (6). Similar results were found in the study of friends. Human beings are often brought together by similar handicaps. It seems that, when two individuals experience the same emotions together, they feel more intimate.

Complementary personality traits. Everyone has known couples who have been dissimilar rather than similar in personality. For example, two dominant persons will clash unless they are in agreement regarding the area of life which each plans to dominate. On the other hand, one of the marital pair may be a submissive person with a disinclination to assume the dominant role. The other dominates most of the situations which arise in marriage. Each partner may feel the need of the other and thus find harmony in their differences. The following specific instance is illustrative.

An ambitious, well-appearing man of mediocre intelligence and emotional immaturity was attracted to a very brilliant girl of great drive and stability. After marriage he frequently solicited his wife's judgment concerning business matters. In fact, she was the major partner though a silent one. She made most of his major decisions, bolstered him, and assumed the role which his parents previously played. She in turn was very proud of her husband's appearance and of the ultimate outcome of his activity. She did not lack insight into her husband's character, but she loved his handsome boyishness.

Happy family background. *Importance of affection for parents.* When questionnaire answers of happily and unhappily married persons are compared, the former report more attachment for and less conflict with both of their parents. In fact, of all the factors which affect marital happiness, *happiness of parents, attachment to parents, and lack of conflict with them* are among the most important (6, 9). Along the same line, it is found that wives who rate their fathers as physically unattractive, and husbands who rate their wives as physically unlike their mothers, tend to be less satisfied in marriage (9, 12). Furthermore, there is evidence that happiness is significantly

associated with marriages in which husbands resemble the wife's father and wives resemble the husband's mother. A psychiatrist who interviewed 100 married women and 100 married men reports as one of his findings that the happily married husband shows reasonable affection for his mother and, similarly, the wife for her father (7).

Studies show that being one of a family of several children is favorable for a matrimonial adjustment, especially among husbands. The only child and the youngest child seem to be poor marital risks unless mated with an oldest or middle child (9).

These investigators accumulated case histories which showed patterns of behavior found in the husband and the wife to be related to *patterns* found in the marital life of their parents. Their results showed that an individual builds up a *relationship to the parent of the opposite sex* that influences his selection and treatment of a love object in later life. In other words, he learns to play a *role* in childhood and he tends to play a similar role in some relationships as a spouse. His affection gravitates toward one who is similar in characteristics to his parent when the relationship with the parent has been a pleasant one. If the relationship has been unpleasant, he is more likely to fall in love with a person whose behavior is antithetical to the parent's. Exceptions to this pattern occur when the child has been in some way frustrated in seeking the love of this parent and consequently idealizes the parent. In such cases he will persistently seek the affection of a personality type of the parent of the opposite sex. For example, if a boy loves his mother deeply and a second son is born to whom the mother gives a great deal of attention so that the first son feels rejected, he will idealize the mother and seek more strongly a person similar in characteristics to her.

If the attitude toward the parent of opposite sex is ambivalent—compounded of both love and hate—the individual may alternate in marriage between kindness and hostility toward the spouse. Under some conditions, too, the child may idealize the parent of the same sex or a brother or sister (9).

Even the discipline in the parental home has been found related to later marital happiness. It appears that firm but not harsh discipline is more conducive to happy marriages than either exceedingly strict standards or extreme freedom in which

the child has his own way. The absence of punishment rather than the use of severe or frequent punishment likewise is conducive to later happiness in marriage (12).

Agreement in attitudes of couples toward parents. Not only is the marriage affected by early relationship to one's own parents, but it is also affected by the couple's attitudes toward both pairs of parents.

"But I won't be marrying her parents," said one undergraduate to a counselor when it was indicated that he would have a difficult time getting along with a girl since he disliked her parents so greatly. The answer to this is that the student will probably (almost certainly) marry her parents. One study shows that similarity of family background of the couple and approval of both families is important (9). Very few individuals can or will sever all previous ties when they marry. It must be remembered that our parents are our first love. Most of us spend at least 20 years being dependent upon the service and the affection of our parents. Furthermore, studies show we frequently select a partner because he or she resembles a parent (19). Frequently one will tend to break with one's parents when they oppose a loved one, but this break is often superficial and the memory of the division may come between the pair. In other cases in which the antagonism between spouse and parents is not very great, there can be an unpleasant undercurrent which mars marital felicity. It is safe to say that, when the marital partner likes the parents of his spouse, marriage is enhanced by this attitude. To be sure, *agreement in attitude, whether it is one of pleasantness or antagonism*, has been shown to be important (6). This is true regardless of the educational or economic status of the couple. "Family interference" was named as a factor in 13 per cent of the cases studied by social service bureaus (8).

Normal parental affection. To be sure, there are individual cases in which the mother shows practically the same type of affection for her son as she would for her husband were he living or responsive to her. There are also cases in which the father is "fixated," as it is termed, on his daughter.

These attitudes frequently result in a reciprocal emotion on the part of the child. There are cases in which the child has responded to domination or excessive affection for a number of

years and then at *adolescence*, when he tries to make an *adjustment for himself*, a conflict ensues. At this time, the boy dislikes the affection which he previously accepted or enjoyed. The girl may fight excessive interference from her father with her dating, which she considers as perfectly normal. These are not examples of reasonable affection or normal affection, but rather they show us what an *unnatural affection* between the parent and child may produce. These incidents are due usually to a blocking of the parent's normal affection. One of the parents may not respond emotionally to the other, he has never really loved the other, has grown tired of her, or for some reason has turned to a new object of affection. Frequently, when conflict arises between marital partners, one of them will turn to the child for the response that is lacking in the other.

Here is a case of a wife who has always been sentimental:

She endows her husband with qualities that neither he nor any other man has ever possessed. When her husband turns out to be an ordinary man she is disappointed. He has fallen short of her ideal. She no longer finds him attractive. But there is one hope in the relationship. They have a son, and this son will be the perfect man. She will make him the type of man she hoped she had married. She sets out to do this and at 20 years of age the boy is perfect, but is neither attracted to nor by women other than his mother. His mother loves him dearly, and his whole life is shaped around the life of his mother. Unless an entire re-education takes place over a period of time, this boy will probably never adjust as a husband or may never desire to marry (20). If the change does occur his mother will probably never adjust to his marriage.

The marriage that runs smoothly is one in which there has been a *transfer of certain emotional reactions* from the parent to the husband or wife. The wife learns to depend on the husband for security and affection. The husband turns to his wife for feminine attention and affection. The parents, then, by a wholesome affection, can prepare the ground for a happy marital growth or, by undue affection, can prevent the child from ever looking for a mate to satisfy affections on the adult level.

Similarity in educational and cultural background. The psychiatrists who interviewed 100 married men and 100 married women found that *equal education* was an important factor in encouraging marital bliss (7). There is some evidence that

higher education leads to greater marital happiness (9, 12, 21). Higher education, at least of the wife, is probably a reflection of superior intelligence (12).

Nationality and *religious differences* should likewise be minimal. A study of marriages in Germany made before 1929 showed more divorces in marriages between Protestants and Catholics and Jews and non-Jews than in marriages between persons of similar background (22). An American study failed to show that religious preference made that much difference, but the author indicates that many of the individuals studied were emancipated from religious controls (9). Sometimes couples themselves may feel that marriage, in spite of different cultures, is workable. Their friends and parents, however, will feel differently and cause unhappiness. The heiress, for example, who marries the family chauffeur may later find herself unwilling to lose former friends and unable to endure the snubs from her acquaintances. These *social* factors must be considered because they affect the happiness of most of us.

When these cultural factors in the background run deep down into the personality of the individual, and when they represent his fundamental attitudes, similar attitudes in the mate are imperative. Sometimes persons of two different religions are more similar in attitude than two persons of the same religion. A non-orthodox Jew and a liberal Protestant will be much more similar in attitude than an orthodox and a non-orthodox Jew, particularly if all the cultural attitudes of Judaism have not been emphasized in the development of the non-orthodox Jew. It is hard to see how a literal-minded Roman Catholic and a Baptist Fundamentalist could be happily married. Usually, however, the individual discovers these discrepancies and attitudes if his courtship is long enough and if these matters are frankly discussed.

Adequate sex direction and normal romantic interests. There is no factor that has been discussed more or stressed as emphatically as sex in marriage. Opinion of its force in marriage has varied even among so-called authorities. It is therefore valuable to have factual material which grows from studies of happily and unhappily married individuals to guide us in evaluating this factor. We do not want to give the impression that a writer can discuss this matter dogmatically today, but there is

more empirical evidence than there has ever been before to enable him to speak with conviction.

Conventional behavior. The first matter that must be considered in a discussion of sex is the society in which the individual lives. Continence until marriage and sex relations within wedlock is the convention we emphasize in America. Deviations from this cause mental and social conflict and often disturb marital felicity. Almost all studies emphasize that *pre-marital virginity* in both partners tends to lead toward the most happily married life (7, 21). They also emphasize the importance of a *normal romantic attitude* involving some caressing as the seriousness of the relationship increases. There is some evidence to indicate that those wives are most happy whose "first love" occurred between 12 and 16 years of age rather than earlier or later. Husbands, on the other hand, who had experienced their "first love" after 15 years of age rather than earlier seemed most happy (7).

Oversexed mates were found to be unhappy in marriage. The happiest couples are those who are *similar in strength of sex drive*. Attachment for individuals other than the mate was found to be a negative factor. *Adultery* represents one extreme which produces unhappiness. At the other extreme is found the woman who is incapable of experiencing an orgasm. This seems to be related to the temperament and general responsiveness of the individual, most of which is determined by early basic development or native constitution. It does not seem to be related to early affection or sex experiences (12).

An extensive study of almost 1000 marriages indicates that, whereas sex habits before marriage affect marriages to some extent, details of sex life during marriage are not related to marital happiness, as many sensational books on this subject indicate. For example, fear of pregnancy, pain during first intimacy, wife's history of sex shock, rhythm of wife's sex desire, and details of intimacies are not related to happiness in marriage and therefore need not worry the engaged couple (12).

One study indicates that admitted "spooning" before marriage was a factor significantly associated with unhappily married persons of an earlier generation. *Masturbation* and *sex practices* and recollection of sex feeling in childhood are mentioned more frequently in the histories of the unhappily married person

but are not significant in differentiating the happily and unhappily married groups (21).

It seems the ideal attitude to achieve prior to marriage is one which directs affection so that it does not lead to unconventional and guilt-producing physical intimacies.

Similarity of emotional experiences is important. In sex as in all other areas of marital life we again find the factor of *compatibility* important. When personality tests of couples were compared, the happily married couples agreed to the demonstrations of affection much more often than the unhappily married (6). A goal that young married couples can strive for is *similarity of feeling and emotion on both the physical and the psychological levels*. This is a theme that runs throughout the discussion of marriage. It is well illustrated on the physical level. The greatest satisfaction from intimacies results when both partners rise to a climax of emotion together (23). But this sympathy should *not remain only on the physical level*. One of the most disconcerting experiences in marriage is for a husband or wife to become enthusiastic over a matter while the spouse is apathetic or antagonistic. Couples can enjoy books, poetry, sunsets, games, symphonies together and share in a common emotion. The more frequently and vividly the individuals experience these common emotions the more secure is the marital bond.

Sex education. The studies likewise point to sex education as having some value in the solution of marital problems (7, 12, 21). The form that this should take was discussed on page 476. Sex knowledge should not be imparted in a different fashion from any other type of knowledge. Knowledge about the body and its processes allows one to control them; lack of knowledge or association of sex with the rest of the personality is apt to leave one overcome by these tumultuous urges. Much impulsive behavior is the result of sex dissociated from the standards and patterns of the rest of ourselves. Two extremes to avoid in imparting knowledge and attitudes about sex are: *fear and disgust* of sex intimacies, and tendency to gratify sexual cravings in *unconventional* ways (24).

Pre-marital medical examination and advice. In one study a thousand married women were given a questionnaire regarding relationships in their married life. One hundred and six-

teen of the most happily married and 116 of the least happily married women were compared. The happier women were *healthier* before and after marriage. One medical investigator found adjustment in marriage to be related to medical and psychological instruction about relationships in marriage and to anatomical corrections (25). Certainly every couple should have physical examinations. Out of the physical examination there should grow a discussion of some of the problems that they will meet in marriage. It is important that the physician consulted be one who is a specialist in this field, one who has access to the latest findings, and one who is able to answer the many questions that the couple may raise.

The study of marital relationships which utilized 1500 cases from two large social service bureaus shows us that all classes of society could profit from medical examination and advice regarding intimacies during the early marriage period.

Some of this pre-marital information falls into the categories of psychology and sociology. Well-planned college courses and counseling bureaus are now functioning in various institutions and communities (26-31).

Normal pre-marital testing of mental compatibility of habits and temperament. *Value of conventional courtship.* The traditional way of learning whether two people are compatible in their viewpoints and many habits is courtship. Society has emphasized the importance of knowledge of the intended spouse by encouraging courtship. Traditional conventions in this country do not allow this test to include sexual compatibility, and no doubt this is wise. There is a great probability that such a test would raise far more problems than it solves, as we have shown under the discussion of courtship, conventions, and petting in Chapter 12.

An adequate courtship may prevent false idealization. There are those persons who live largely in a dream world and dramatize life. They have romantic ideas of an ideal husband or wife, a synthesis of twenty-four-hour beauty, brilliance, charm, perfect health, a never-sinking bank account, poise, versatility, and vivaciousness. Since there probably is no such living person, the one whom they marry, no matter who he or she may be, is a disappointment. Likewise, married existence is real and life-like; if faced and responded to, it challenges one's adaptability

to life. If viewed, however, from a standpoint of false idealism it is imperfect and ugly. There are meals to be prepared, socks to be darned, messy children, broken china, and tense moments contrasted to the more romantic episodes which are more apt to be the theme of daydreams (32).

Inadvisability of hasty marriage. There is no excuse whatsoever for failing to test many daily habits, attitudes, ideals, and temperamental traits which will be elicited by the marriage experience. Young married couples should have gone through a period of courtship long enough to have learned whether they are irritated or pleased by the behavior of their sweetheart. They should have seen each other in many situations and compared each other with many others of the opposite sex. Only numerous experiences will test affection and compatibility and allow the feeling: "He (or she) is the only one for me." A study of many marriage relationships showed the more happily married had not met in a place of public or private recreation. Happier marriages, studies show, are based on longer periods of acquaintance and engagement as contrasted with an acquaintance of a few months (9, 12). A marriage that is contracted *too early* or *too impulsively*, as many war marriages are, does not allow a sufficient period for work and play together, an ideal test of compatibility.

Watch for susceptibility to argument and alienating affections. Two outstanding symptoms of the stormy marriage often mentioned as "causes" of marital difficulties are: *arguments* and *jealousy* caused by affections for others than the fiancée or wife. Statistics based upon 1500 cases coming before the attention of social service bureaus also indicate that jealousy (9 per cent of cases), immorality (30 per cent of cases), and abuse (41 per cent of cases) are factors in marital discord (8, 24). Studies in marital happiness also show that couples who avoid arguments and exhibit relative indifference to the opposite sex fare much better (6). These are symptoms because they are surface phenomena. Arguments and alienating affections merely mean that there are incompatibilities in the roles expected and played by the members of the pair or that one or both of the pair do not have a good background for marriage. Many of the frustrating factors mentioned by couples in their bickerings, like money matters, in-laws, manners, grooming, spouse's friends and standards, are

merely focal points for discussion and displacement of emotion. If some of the underlying conflicts were smoothed out, these factors would be less disturbing.

We have mentioned many factors which help make a marriage stable, and more will be given in the next few pages. The clashing of roles which the individuals have learned to play because of the culture or family in which they grew up will be discussed in a section to follow. During courtship, it would be well to try to determine what we expect of the mate and what he or she expects of us, how we feel inclined to treat him, and how they habitually and naturally treat us. *Do these personal traits make for affection and a happy relationship, or are they irritating and disturbing?*

Stable environment. *Emphasis upon the home and children.* Divorce statistics show that the divorce rate is closely related to the *cultural background of the community*, that is, the attitudes of the people and the degree of home and family life present. For example, in a large city like Chicago, certain occupational groups, religious groups, and urban areas yield higher divorce and unhappiness rates than others (9, 33). Upon analysis it is usually found that the predominant attitudes of the individuals composing the groups with high divorce rates do not favor stable home life. Marriages contracted without religious ceremonies were more than twice as likely to end in divorce (34). Marriages contracted in the unstable period following World War I resulted in more divorces than marriages contracted in other periods (35).

Certainly an environment which encourages extensive use of alcohol, drugs, freedom in sex standards as well as in general values, continued exciting and ephemeral activities, small space for living quarters, necessitating that the dweller spend most of his time away from "home," are not conducive to a stable, enduring home life. On the other hand, it has been found that church attendance, religious background, small town or country rearing, social tendencies reflected in friendships and organization membership, and good health are all associated with good marital adjustment. Good advice to the newly wed is: *Live in a community in which there are good examples of happy home life.*

Almost two-thirds of divorces occur among childless married

couples. Of the childless marriages 71 per cent end in divorce, whereas only 8 per cent of married couples with children eventually are divorced (33). The presence of children does not appreciably increase marital happiness, according to one extensive study, but it does no doubt stabilize the marriage (12). This argues strongly for the presence of children to fuse the motives of the pair. Fortunately today it is quite practical to adopt children through competent placement agencies.

HAPPY AND UNHAPPY COUPLES

Personality characteristics which lead to happiness or unhappiness in marriage usually develop long before the wedding day. They are often individual characteristics which can be guided during the college period. For this reason they are discussed here.

Characteristics of happily married women. Women who are happily married are kind in attitude toward others and they anticipate kind attitudes in return. They are not unduly concerned about the impression they make on others, and they do not look upon social relationships as rivalry situations. They assume subordinate roles if necessary, accept advice from others, and are in general cooperative. They are interested in helping others. In their work they are painstaking and methodical. They attend to details and are careful in regard to money. They are conservative and conventional in religion, morals, and politics. They show a quiet self-assurance and optimism (12). In short, studies show that it is the wife who makes the major adjustments in marriage (9).

Characteristics of unhappily married and divorced women. Women who had been divorced were found to be more *self-sufficient* and more *masculine* in interest than women of unbroken marriages. The interest of the divorced woman does not correspond to the interest of the average woman office worker. Possibly the divorced woman lacks the *docility* and *love of detail* which we might expect the office worker to have. The divorced woman was also unlike the woman engaged in insurance and real estate selling so far as interests were concerned. Here the difference can be explained by the absence

of interest in the divorced woman in *handling and convincing people*. There interests we find in the woman salesperson (6).

It is interesting to find that the *happily married woman* and the *unhappily married woman* are not very different in interests and attitudes. On the other hand, the divorced woman differs from unhappily married and happily married women. One might expect the divorced woman and the unhappily married woman to be alike, but they are not. We shall notice later that divorced men, unlike divorced women, are more like the unhappily married men than the happily married.

Other studies show us that an *independent* attitude in the woman more often leads to unhappiness in marriage than a more dependent attitude. A study of factors in the affections of 2200 women, 1000 of whom were married, indicated that employment before marriage was more frequently associated with unhappily married individuals, as well as employment outside of the home after marriage. Although our attitudes are changing regarding the importance of a dependent attitude in women, apparently society still causes a very independent and aggressive woman to suffer a conflict which makes marriage more difficult (21). There is even a tendency in college for the more practical and more aggressive girl to find herself less popular than her effeminate and dependent sister.

Unhappily married women tend to be emotionally tense and moody, to feel inferior, and as a result to become aggressive. They are inclined to be irritable and rather dictatorial. They are more often the "joiners" who strive for *extensive circles of acquaintances*, but they are more concerned about being important than about being well liked. Their social life expresses an overanxious and egocentric attitude. They seek romance and are more conciliatory toward men than toward women. They show little sex antagonism. In their work they are impatient and fitful. They dislike cautious and methodical people. They are more radical in politics, religion, and social ethics than the happily married women.

Characteristics of happily married men. *Personality traits.* Happily married men seem to have an even and *stable emotional life*. One of their most characteristic reactions to other people is that of *cooperation*. They are cooperative in dealing with business superiors. Their attitude toward women is one of

cooperativeness. They tend to look upon women as equals. They have a benevolent attitude toward inferiors and underprivileged people (12). They have interests that are significantly similar to the interests of teachers and Y.M.C.A. workers. These interests are also more mature, more like those of older individuals than like adolescents' (6).

In a gathering of people, happily married men tend to be unself-conscious and somewhat extroverted. They show initiative superior to that of unhappily married men. They have a greater tendency to take responsibility and evidence a greater willingness to give close attention to details in their daily work. They show a preference for methodical people and methodical procedures in work. Regarding financial matters, they are saving and cautious. Their attitudes are much more conservative than those of the unhappily married men. They are usually favorable toward religion and strongly support the sex mores and other social conventions.

Happily married men's interests are neither too masculine nor too feminine. The happily married man is unlike the divorced man and the unhappily married man in interests. The unhappily married man's interests seem to be of a pronouncedly masculine variety. The divorced man tends to have interests resembling the feminine type. The happily married man's interests lie midway between the unhappily married and the divorced. Their interests are *neither extremely masculine nor extremely feminine.*

We should not expect the extremely masculine-minded man to be as companionable with women as an individual who is not at the extreme of masculinity or femininity. The truly feminine woman and highly masculine man differ considerably in their interests and attitudes. For a number of years the feminine girl is taught to enjoy perfume, pretty clothes, colors, art, music, sewing, and little children. These interests represent fundamental trends in her personality that have been established with years of practice. Extremely masculine men, conversely, have been interested in athletics, mechanics, business, outdoor life, and have never warmed up to some of the pretty things that mean so much in the life of the girl.

There is another aspect in masculinity that should be discussed here. Along with the many other attitudes that the extremely

masculine man sometimes acquires are attitudes which encourage promiscuity of affection. In certain groups and levels of society there is encouragement of promiscuity in masculine discussions. The man who is able to break many hearts and who is willing to boast of his conquests is viewed from these standards as the most potent male. This viewpoint is without doubt inimical to marital happiness. It is difficult for some men to believe in and practice promiscuity during their early years and then suddenly become monogamous in attitude and practice. There are cases in which the individual does this successfully, but there are many other cases in which the individual never makes the adjustment.

Attitudes of promiscuity toward the opposite sex are usually not associated with a regard for an individual member of the sex as a personality. In several respects this selfish attitude, if carried over into marriage, makes it difficult for one to fuse his own feelings and ideals with those of his mate. He is less disposed to lose himself in her motives, wishes, and plans. Bearing upon the view discussed above are some facts found in the statistics from over 1500 cases which came to the attention of two large social service bureaus. Drunkenness was found in 31 per cent of the marriages which were about to go on the rocks. Irregular habits, such as gambling and laziness, were found in 18 per cent of the cases. These may be viewed as highly masculine traits and are often associated with the more promiscuous type of man (8).

Characteristics of unhappily married men. Unhappily married men tend to be *moody and somewhat neurotic*. They show a tendency to feel socially inferior. They dislike being conspicuous in public. They are strongly influenced by public opinion. The unhappily married men who have a sense of social insecurity usually compensate for this. They *dominate* those situations in which they do feel superior and make those beneath them very unhappy. They take pleasure, for example, in domineering business dependents and women. They also tend to evade any situations in which they must play an inferior role or compete with someone of equal or superior caliber. Unhappily married men compensate for this retreat from superiors through daydreams of themselves in superior roles in which they wield great power. They tend to be sporadic and somewhat

irregular in their habits of work. They do not like detail and are not so methodical as the happily married individual. The unhappy husbands are not the ones who carefully save money; rather they like to wager. They tend to be less religious in attitude and somewhat more radical in sex morals and politics (12).

MARRIAGE AND COMPATIBLE RELATIONSHIPS

Marriage a dynamic relationship between two personalities.

We must not leave the impression that success in marriage is entirely due to the possession of individual traits. Marriage is a dynamic relationship between two personalities. When these personalities *fuse in purpose* and when the *compatible role that each plays enhances daily relationships* involving personal habits, friendships, likes and aversions, ideals, and plans, and this fusion is superimposed upon a *background of strong affection*, the relationship is a highly satisfying one. It is, under such conditions, worthy of the encomia of the poets. If these individuals thwart each other continually so that the original intense attraction is violated, or if the original attraction is so unstable that mild conflicts disturb it, the relationship can become a miserable existence. There must be common purposes rather than individual aims that clash. There must be cooperation and mutual service to gain these ends and produce a common emotional experience which draws the pair together.

It is not difficult to see why marital partners drift apart. They may have been drawn together originally, not because of an emotion growing from a true understanding and comprehension of each other, but because they were attracted by factors which were colored by romantic thoughts or incidents of the moment, productive of only a transient excitement.

To be specific, Horace is attracted to Genevieve who resembles in one or more respects his *one* previous sweetheart who "swept him off his feet" and then left him. His attitude toward the object of his new attraction, which he has not analyzed, is to guard her, to seek to gain her, and to keep her. He asserts that he will allow nothing to occur which will cause him to lose her. He will not even attempt to learn what and who she really is. Nor will he learn that she is not at all the person he thinks she is. He courts her. He is always on his best behavior. Finally he offers her all he has in marriage, embellishing the whole affair with romance.

During this courtship he has been careful at all times to guard his original impression of her. She *must* be like his former love, he tells himself. When the honeymoon is over and the stark reality of daily interaction wears thin the romantic veneer, Genevieve's and Horace's true selves meet—strangers to each other and highly incompatible.

The variations of this theme are many, but the paradigm is the same. Two individuals are attracted by superficial factors which, when isolated, are capable of arousing strong emotion, but which on the background of a total personality are incapable of producing it.

It should be emphasized that marital adjustment does not differ in essence from individual adjustment. The factors which make for a well-adjusted personality give rise to a happy marriage with the addition of *compatibility* or *community of motivation and modes of adjustment*. Marriage, in fact, is a test of personal adjustment. A happy marriage is the fusion of two potentially adjusted individuals.

Cases illustrating marital relationships. In reading these cases it may be well to do two things: (1) see which factors that affect marriage are present, such as good relationship toward parents, superior and similar background and long acquaintance; and (2) try to decide the role each of the spouses expects to play and whether these roles are compatible.

Clay Clark had washed out from the Naval Air Corps, returned to school and to an old girl with whom he had broken relations while he was in the service. They dated and soon were going steady again. Alice, his fiancée and later his wife, belonged to a sorority which was high in the social hierarchy on campus, lived pretty closely within the pattern found in city suburbs, looked forward to a stable marriage which would allow her status, social contact with her friends of both sexes, and membership in a country club. She was very much in love with Clay and was pleased that the relationship had been resumed. She was willing to wait until they could have a church wedding to follow the usual pre-nuptial parties. Her folks were also enthusiastic about Clay and about their daughter's prospects.

Their relationship at college appeared quite romantic. They were seen together a lot, had classes together, went to dances, and participated actively in the campus social life. Clay seemed to grow in confidence and spontaneity. The counselor hardly recognized him as the ex-Navy cadet who had come into the office at the beginning of the year. Clay's separation from the Navy was a

bitter experience. At that time the counselor had the impression that, though a good-looking, well-proportioned young man with a pleasant smile, he was immature, had apparently been overprotected by his mother, lacked confidence, and was emotionally disturbed and sensitive about the *rejection* that his separation from the service meant to him. No doubt Alice's sweet, stable personality was a solace then.

Clay postponed the marriage several times, much to Alice's embarrassment, and, as the date finally agreed upon drew near, he became uneasy over his ability to assume the responsibility, although he did not analyze his reluctance until after marriage. Just a few days before the wedding, he was in a state bordering on panic, and he frankly told Alice that he thought it would be best for them to postpone the wedding until he felt more sure about himself. This brought on hysterics from her, and her parents thought that it was unwise to postpone again. There was the usual attitude of "What will people say and think?" so they went through with the wedding. It was lovely, and, as the result of Alice's taste, her mother's assistance, and the wedding gifts, she and Clay were able to set up a very attractive apartment in the college town.

Alice got a position doing secretarial work with a law firm, and things ran smoothly for a few months. Then Clay began to enjoy his visits to the fraternity house more thoroughly. He had a job which took him out of town on week ends with a group of boys. He looked forward to these trips and to the drinking they did after work. When at home with Alice he became morose, stared into space, lost sleep, his appetite, and interest in school. He realized that week by week the marriage meant less to him. He did not enjoy the bridge parties, the evenings at home, or even the coke sessions together that had been so pleasant during their engagement. He became irritable and hostile toward her. He knew Alice was not entirely happy living below the standard she had anticipated, but he also knew that if he really loved her this would not be important.

Finally he talked the matter over with his parents who were disturbed over the prospect of a divorce but told him he would have to do what he thought best. Alice was deeply disturbed when he broached the subject of a divorce, but she had gone through months of sullenness and heartache and had begun to wonder too if their marriage could work out. Their sexual adjustment had seemed good to them at first, but now Clay found it increasingly more difficult to approach her.

What roles was each playing, and what roles did each expect of the other? How were these roles conditioned by the early family relationships of Clay and Alice?

Clay had had his way most of his life. Although too much could not be gleaned from him about the family life, it undoubtedly

was the kind which kept the two boys immature. He grew up to be essentially a passive man without much interest in the opposite sex except as he was pushed into dating and conventional romance in college. He had never become the ardent suitor, and although ambitious in intention he did not have much initiative. His mother or his parents were indubitably responsible for the fact that he was essentially narcissistic, to use the psychoanalytic term—that is, more concerned with himself than with anyone else. Failures were disturbing to him. He repeatedly said that the marriage had disturbed his career. He was unready for it. He wanted more freedom. He wanted to go to graduate school. He did not know that he ever wanted to marry again, but he knew he wanted to meet more people before he married. He was getting along better with the fellows than he had earlier, and he wanted to enjoy these relationships more thoroughly.

Although his own desire to dissolve the marriage was uppermost, the conflict that the consequences of a divorce produced was very disturbing. He realized that he would wreck Alice's life and would be regarded as a heel. He had no grounds for a divorce. Everything was in favor of a trial for a year or two except the fact that he was becoming more repelled by the relationship. For a time he saw no solution.

Alice had come from an upper-middle-class family. Her mother was very aggressive and, from the information gained, was not too happy with her husband and devoted most of her energies to social climbing. Alice's attainments were the culmination of a successful career. She had joined one of the best sororities, had a lovely wedding which was a social event in their community, had a presentable husband, and, apparently, until the facts became known, was on her way to achieving a lovely suburban life. Neither she nor her mother saw or allowed herself to see beneath the veneer of the man she was marrying.

Alice had quite a bit of affection for her father, who remained in the background, but her rearing had been such that she was unprepared to play the aggressive or mother role to Clay. She was unable to take any responsibility in this crisis. She, like her husband, became depressed and emotionally disturbed.

Carrie Long came to the counselor with this story. She had been married for six months and admitted upon interrogation that some periods of this time had been the happiest in her life. Fred had been recently discharged from the Army after several uneventful years spent in this country. He was back in school, and they were living in a trailer village at a Midwestern university. Her visit to the counselor occurred after an Easter vacation spent at home and a separation from Fred. Fred stayed alone in the trailer while she was with her parents.

Carrie had been a career girl in college and had shown a great

deal of leadership during the years when boys were a rarity on campus. She had met Fred when he and fifty other soldiers attended a college dance. The romance developed mostly through letters. Apparently Fred never received the full approval of her parents. Carrie's family was closely knit. No member was interviewed, and their characteristics must be largely pieced together from conjecture. Her parents appeared to be generally unhappy people who dominated their children and planned their lives for them. Carrie had never thought of questioning her parents' judgment. In fact, as she related these events she referred to her husband as "him" and to herself and her family as "us" without realizing it, and at no time had she thought of Fred and herself as "we." She had accepted her mother's suggestion that the two families should meet in order to settle the domestic affairs of the young couple.

When Carrie's mother visited the trailer, she was disturbed because Carrie was working too hard and had lost weight. She berated Carrie for getting up before her husband, fixing the breakfast, packing the laundry into the car herself and taking it to the self-service laundry. The mother's whole attitude was that "her little girl wasn't brought up to be someone else's servant."

The crisis occurred at the vacation period over a number of little incidents (all written down) which her parents regarded as indicative of Fred's lack of character. The mother's attitude toward Fred was shown the day before the marriage when *she* was of a mind to call the whole affair off because Fred had bought her teen-age sons beer and told them off-color stories. Now during the vacation crisis the mother and father presented Fred with a bill of particulars, telling him that he would have to mend his ways if he wanted to live with their daughter. When he became hostile they sent him to his home 500 miles away to talk the affair over with his father.

Fred respected her parents and felt that they had some of the culture his parents lacked. He had been indiscreet and hostile in their home. He continued his critical negative attitude that had been a repressed sore spot in the trailer. He made remarks about his father-in-law's driving and his mother-in-law's supremacy in the home. Undoubtedly some of his verbal aggression and mildly shocking behavior was a hostile response to his feeling of frustration and inferiority. Carrie had learned to play the submissive role which she carried with her into the marriage, so much so that his aggressions were crushing to her. His mild verbal hostility seemed like abuse to her. At no time did she tell him how much he had hurt her but merely stored the incidents in her memory to be regurgitated for her family after he had left.

Fred apparently had felt rejected when his younger brother arrived in the family, and other events in his early life had given

him a feeling of inferiority. His father apparently was a mild man, a minister, and Fred's whole attitude toward his own family was not too good. He was glad to get away from them and did not enjoy too much their visit to his home on the campus. Although the facts are not known, it might be conjectured that Fred resented his brother and was punished for his jealousy. His mother dealt firmly with his stubbornness, and some of the aggression that was intended for his mother was directed toward Carrie and his mother-in-law. He had never been too much of a success. His marriage to this girl from a socially superior family, who had been an obvious success on the campus and who already had a degree while he was struggling for his, were all frustrating and produced the aggression that he showed.

There is no doubt that he loved Carrie despite occasional critical remarks. He was ambivalent toward her family, showing alternate love and hate. When she left he phoned her continually, wired and wrote her, but found it very difficult to apologize to her mother. It so happened that, as Carrie was having a conference about the marriage at one university, he was simultaneously and independently seeking advice from a psychologist at another. Her family was counseled, and all of them entered a new period with more insight than they had before. Fred and Carrie both loved each other very much. However, Fred's ambivalence toward her and the clash with her varying submission and ascendance toward him and toward her family were causes of disturbance. Whether the insight alone will keep the parents out and affect the roles that Fred and Carrie play toward each other, time will reveal.

Oliver and Virginia Y. were attending college together, enjoying particularly their courses in the Humanities. They both had strong interests in literature and the arts and had a pleasurable year amid atrocious housekeeping conditions in two substandard rooms. They had grown up in the same neighborhood. Both had dated other people, and although they had known each other for years they discovered only when he returned from the Army how much they had in common and how much they enjoyed each other's companionship.

Virginia's relationship to her father was ambivalent. They both loved each other, but there were violent scenes when she failed to meet his expectations. Oliver's father had died young, and Oliver had become a father to the younger children in the family. He reared them, and when catapulted into the Army he became the parent-substitute sergeant for a number of immature rookies. He is a massive, calm, but colorful individual, liberal, with an almost Bohemian veneer over his stable traits. She, too, is bright but submissive and nervous and strongly desirous of someone upon whom she can lean. Unlike her father, Oliver is understanding, tolerant, and helpful. Their marriage seemed to be happy.

They came to the counselor after a hysterical evening when Oliver had an unprecedented verbal battle in their rooms with a friend of his. This brought back to Virginia's mind the parental scenes, and she went to bed trembling and sobbing. She feared that Oliver might some day direct this side of his personality toward her. Her behavior puzzled them both so much that they sought a counselor next day to discuss the episode.

Nettie and Zach had been married for several years and had a baby girl. They were living on the campus. He had been deferred from service during the war. Whereas they had planned to go to school together, the baby's arrival and low finances had interfered with that plan, and Nettie remained in the apartment all day, washing diapers and dishes.

They had been married in their teens and had come from an isolated, fundamentalistic southern community. Zach was intelligent, had initiative, and he and Nettie planned to have a teaching career together. They left their home state. Zach got a job, worked hard at it, and at this time his career was not far off. He was slow to discern what was going on in his wife's mind. After the baby's birth he noticed that she no longer responded to him physically as she had previously. She vacillated in her attitude toward the baby from love to hostility. She complained that the pregnancy had ruined her figure and that she had missed her youth.

Her childhood had been stormy. Her mother had deserted her and her brother, and she was reared by a repressive foster family. An older boy in this family had made incomplete sexual advances to her as a child and probably aroused her more than she would admit. This ran along beneath extensive lip service to purity and ideals. The reasons why she was attracted to Zach were that he was idealistic and that he was a "clean" fellow. After the baby arrived her daydreams continued and she admitted in conference that she had crushes on most of the fellows her husband brought to the house as well as on the heroes in pulp and movie magazines. She longed to have a couple of years of freedom in which she could meet other men. She felt guilty about these fantasies. Although she did not realize it, she was actually reliving the life of her mother because later she told her husband that she was going to leave him and the baby for a few years. At first he was shocked and sought advice. He felt that he must have failed in some respect and was willing to do anything to make his wife happy. He rearranged his schedule, allowed his wife time to take courses and become a co-ed, took care of the baby himself, but this apparently was not entirely satisfying to her. She said that she and Zach were too different. He was "in love with words and learning which I do not understand, and he cannot give me the romance that I crave more than life itself." Before leaving she went through a period

of extreme conflict between her desire to fulfill her duty as a mother and to satisfy urges that were aroused early in adolescence and had been repressed since then.

Kirk M. was reared by his mother after his father deserted her. His father was an alcoholic and a roué. Kirk's attitude toward his mother was affectionate and acquiescent. Her attitude toward Kirk was not revealed directly in the interviews. However, it was partially instrumental in producing this extremely masculine, head-strong youth who had been quite a successful athlete during his high school days in the East. He had taken advantage of these successes to the extent of acquiring an enviable wardrobe, a car, and a good supply of money.

Kirk had never been popular with his contemporaries. Although he despises his father, his own behavior, except for alcoholism, is not very different.

Margaret left him a month after she became pregnant, and no pleadings would bring her back. She had changed her religion, had agreed to have the child brought up in his, and had apparently worshipped him early in marriage. However, before she left she would not let him come near her. She apparently was afraid of him and had learned to dislike him very strongly. She told him the last time he visited her that he would have to leave her alone if she were to get over her aversion to him. Although he gave her the car a great deal of the time and provided her with an allowance, in other matters he dictated her every move. He said, "I have treated her better than any other girl I have ever gone with, but this has taught me a lesson. Next time I'll get what I want and leave them." He came for consultation when his academic record, his sleep, and his appetite were affected. During the interview he raved and ranted, pounded the desk, and said that he should have "beat the hell out of her" for the way she treated him.

The nature of her parents had to be discovered through him. Her father was a successful salesman who provided the girl with a good allowance. She apparently had had the most superficial interests, such as clothes and a good time. The pregnancy was a shock to her. She greatly feared the birth and blamed Kirk and his religion for her condition. Her mother seemed to be a calm, understanding person who gave the girl a great deal of solace when she returned home, and listened sympathetically to Kirk. Margaret apparently wanted tenderness, understanding, and affection which Kirk had never learned to give. She undoubtedly found his advances devoid of anything but lust, and they were not satisfying to her. It may be conjectured that Kirk felt guilty after the relations. It is not known whether he identified the girl with his mother. At any rate, his dominant egocentric attitude over a

period of several months produced such a revulsion that she could hardly bear to see him.

Kirk admitted that the main reason he wanted her back was because of the child, particularly if the child were a boy—and his attitude was “it had better be a boy.” He had plans all made about the kind of athlete he would make out of the boy. He was completely baffled by Margaret’s departure and wondered why she left when he had “done so much for her.” The counselor had the feeling that the blow to his ego and the separation from his unborn child constituted the major loss to him. He had already consulted a lawyer and had learned his “rights in the case.” One of the things that disturbed him was that he could not go out with other girls without placing his case in jeopardy.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

EMOTIONAL STABILITY

Emotional disturbances occur in the lives of all of us. We differ merely in the degree to which we experience them. They reveal themselves outwardly in many different forms. In some instances transient depressions occur when cherished plans go awry and lift when conditions are faced and new plans are instituted. Some individuals, however, become ill, develop ulcers, or are unable to retain food. Others when depressed lose their zest, may even consider suicide. Loneliness and homesickness are sometimes mentioned as symptoms of emotional disturbance. Confusion is another symptom. The confused individual does not know what he believes or stands for. Old standards seem inadequate or recent changes in his life have undermined his previous bases for action. A flight into alcohol may be the way in which the individual defends his sensitive ego. Finally, anxiety and worries may crowd the consciousness of the disturbed individual to the exclusion of effective thinking.

As we have seen in Chapter 7 and repeat here, the *symptoms* that one shows when motives are thwarted, and satisfying life is stalemated, are not so significant for cure as the *source of the conflict*. The basic causes of the problem and the methods of readjustment are essentially the same. The personality of the individual student dictates the specific signs of disturbance and the readjustments he must make.

EMERGING FROM EMOTIONAL DEPRESSIONS

Thelma A. accepted the suggestion of her sorority sisters to see a counselor. They had previously talked with the counselor of their concern over Thelma's crying spells and temper tantrums. "When she is given a job she does it well. But she is peculiar, and the girls just don't include her. We don't seem to be able to teach her to groom well. She is always eating, particularly fattening

foods like candy." (The counselor explained that this too might be a symptom, that sweets might be a substitution for the affection which she avidly craves.)

Thelma is the younger of two girls. Her sister, who is prettier and more popular, is now married. Thelma was pledged to the sorority because of her sister's membership, and no doubt some of the girls resent her as an obligation. During her first semester at school she clung to one girl who befriended her, and she developed a crush which continued after the girl graduated. Thelma wrote her frequent long letters and waited weeks in eager anticipation for the few replies.

When the girls who showed the initial interest in her left the house, the rejection by the others became severe. She became more childish and more shut-in. She was frequently found sitting in her room, lonely, or playing with her dolls which gave her more response than people. She could live an interesting life through her dolls!

Thelma's grades were good. She worked hard. She enjoyed athletics and was a good basketball player. She received little encouragement for this in the house and, because of her aloofness, failed to be absorbed emotionally by the girls with similar interests at the gym. She belonged to a church which had an active, effective young people's group, but because of her sorority affiliations she spurned this opportunity for companionship. These two potentially *congenial* and satisfying social groups under other circumstances might have changed the course of Thelma's life.

She received considerable relief and some minor insights into her self through the conferences with the clinical psychologist. In conference she complained of the cheating done by the girls in her house. Their emphasis on prestige rather than on character traits were the opposite of the teachings of her parents. She knew she was a disappointment to the sorority, and their relegation of her to inconspicuous duties when guests appeared was significant to her and disturbing. She admitted that she did not have the traits of her sister. Evidently her parents had overprotected her at home. Her actions were much like those of a 12-year-old. She was able to discuss in conference her crush and her fear of homosexuality. Her home life had been repressed, but she thought of her parents as happy. She regarded herself as unfeminine, uninteresting to boys, and constantly played the role of a pre-adolescent girl in her manner and her interests. She thought she was a disappointment to her parents at birth because they had wanted a son.

She did not return to the counselor the second year because she probably thought she was unworthy of the time he was spending. With more frequent conferences and an accepting environment the first year, Thelma might have gained more self-understanding and might have been more willing to accept her traits and find the best way to use them.

Russell is a bright, alert sophomore of above-average grooming and appearance. He is not athletic or overly masculine but is clever and could conceivably make a good adjustment to other college students. A year ago he suffered a period of severe depression leading to an attempt at suicide. He was hospitalized, and he received psychiatric counsel.

At the time of his emotional break he was in military service and attending a college. He was dissatisfied with his grades, his relationship with the other fellows, and was apparently fighting within himself. He seemed to regard himself as less than the man he would like to be; his inner sex struggles and relative lack of interest in girls as compared with some of the more aggressive soldiers made him hate himself and think himself worthless. Life seemed empty and events colorless. There was nothing to work for. Things around him failed to be stimulating. The pleasures, plans, and strivings of others as well as their attempts to cheer him up only depressed him more.

He changed to a school farther away from home and subsequently was given more independence by his parents. Although during the early months of change he had a few mild, recurring depressions, his attitude has been constantly changing and his adjustment improving. Until a few months ago he felt that he must qualify for the Harvard Law School and must make Phi Beta Kappa. Unless he made all excellent grades and achieved these specific goals in life he would end it all. There was no compromise, and his whole manner displayed this stubborn rigidity. During this period he allowed little time for friends, dates, and student gatherings. He was sarcastic and bitter, and he alienated other students, who were glad to have little to do with him. To them he was a conceited prig.

Russell had been overprotected as a child, was mother's darling boy, and still showed some of her influence. Undoubtedly he had been an attractive, "cute" child, received a lot of attention from adults, was teacher's pet, and was taunted and rejected by those he sought favor from most, his contemporaries. His conceit and love of self resulted from his rejection by others. His selection of a career was a compensation. In order to make up for previous failures to secure the affection of the group he felt that he must not achieve average accomplishment but perfection.

He talked freely in conferences and began slowly to select friends among individuals of similar aptitudes and interests. While convalescing in the hospital and talking with other patients, he had begun to direct toward himself the sense of humor that he used in thinking about other people. After a few months and several conferences, he did not feel the need to go to Harvard or to achieve perfect grades. The hostility that he had previously voiced against his parents and had felt toward himself was less-

ened. He was making a less spectacular but more realistic adjustment in college.

Carolyn is an older student who returned to college with her husband, an ex-GI. She had been a successful librarian for a few years and a migrant Navy wife. She seemed dignified, capable, received good grades, but was regarded as somewhat aloof by some of the students. As a child she was ambivalent (alternately felt love and hate) toward her father, who was a confident but stern and moody man. She was jealous of her sister who was prettier and more vivacious than she. She was led into sex play by an older boy in her pre-adolescence and never overcame her feelings of guilt over this episode because she had never discussed it or seen it in perspective. She had had little sex education, was always curious. She fell passionately in love with a man who married another woman and even now daydreams about him despite the fact that she has a handsome, able husband. She alternates between romantic daydreams and abhorrence of herself for these unconventional thoughts. Her early fundamentalistic religion and childhood feelings of being an outcast gave her a deep feeling of guilt, which she discovered in counseling to be one of the major causes for her unhappiness, together with the conjured dreams of romance which she feels she can never experience in actuality. Her religion and the realization that her family and husband deeply love her have been sources of comfort but do not entirely relieve her sadness. She mentions that she has never felt at ease with other people and that she has never been one of the group. She knows that she is bright, can make good grades, can handle responsibilities, but believes she is either ignored or inwardly disliked by others. She regards as most valuable the opportunity that she had in conference to relive and ventilate some of these repressed experiences and feelings.

Jack E. is a curly-haired blond, above average in height. He has a winning smile, and his self-effacement merely adds to his social manner. He is the younger of two boys from an upper-middle-class family. His father had very little to do with the children during their growing years, and Jack gravitated toward his mother's influence. She apparently felt some guilt about the feminizing effect she was having on Jack's behavior. She had some slight knowledge of psychology, and before puberty she began to criticize his effeminate ways and his high voice. She continued to do this throughout his later development.

After two years in the Army, he cannot be described as effeminate. His physical build is above average, and he is superior in grooming and in social manner. However, he falls slightly short in comparison with his brother who is almost an ideal of young manhood—socially smooth, bright, outstanding as a campus leader,

and physically handsome. Recently Jack's father and brother have realized the boy's need of them. Both have become more companionable with him, and this has been helpful. But past influences have continued to affect him, and Jack has slight depressions over what he believes to be a frail build, effeminate interests (classical music and art), and unpopularity (which means few friends and practically no phone calls compared to his brother's). Most of Jack's trouble grows out of inadvertent, unfavorable comparisons made by his parents between the two boys, although by ordinary standards he is an exemplary 19-year-old.

Jack came to the counselor after several days of depression. He did not feel like talking to people. He felt he could not look them in the eye. In many ways he imagined himself a pretty weak specimen. After he had discussed rather thoroughly his attitude toward himself, his relationship with his parents and brother, his lack of affiliation with a fraternity (because he wanted to get in on his own merits and not through family influence), and other sources of frustration, he began to feel better. The counselor tried to show him very sincerely the impression he probably made on other people without realizing it. This apparently was quite reassuring to Jack because he had never talked so frankly to anyone outside of his family. The counselor indicated that there need not be any disparity in his interest in the arts and his attempts to improve in sports. Certainly he should not despise these interests that mean so much to him (as he has done because he thought them effeminate). He encouraged Jack in his initial attempts to become more interested in the more masculine pursuits.

The next week Jack felt much freer and more zestful. The depression lifted, and he spent more time making social contacts. He stated that he now realized people liked him much better than he had formerly thought and that he probably was not the dope he had believed himself to be. "I have been spending too much time brooding over some of these imagined traits and comparing myself with my brother and not enough time looking to see how much I am like many other fellows. I also realize that, if I make efforts, girls will like me more than I thought they could."

A month later, Jack reported that, although he had a few periods of self-disparagement, writing out his feelings and seeing himself on paper as he really is helped greatly.

It will probably take Jack a while to adjust to the fact that he is not so masculine as some of the brawny he-men he sees around, and to realize how many personal and social assets he really has. He is beginning to realize the tremendous influence in his life of the sibling comparisons made by his parents. However, because Jack had a number of assets which he could use, and because there were many stable influences in his development, he responded very well to counseling. Ventilation of his feelings and the changes in his routine which he wrought are proving fruitful.

Nature of emotional depressions. *Depressions result from thwarted motives.* "Low" feelings, like all other unpleasant and disturbing emotional states, are *symptoms*. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish a depression from a bewildered condition or a feeling of inferiority. Basically, we do not need to distinguish them. The emotional pattern that we feel when we have failed to achieve our goals is not the most significant factor. The most important consideration is the *cause* of the failure.

Most emotional depressions are due to *conflicts* between strong motives or to the *thwarting* of a strong motive. The individual has fallen short of cherished goals or ideals for himself. He may want to reach two goals that are incompatible. Motives are unsatisfied. The individual is tense and unhappy. He must seek a means of releasing tension and effectively satisfying his motives.

Depressions as defenses and sources of punishment. If the depressed individual does not realize the source of his conflict, his predicament is usually greater. Under these circumstances he is blindly seeking a goal which he will recognize only after it has been found and identified. He may, however, know the source of his conflict and be so overwrought because of his believed failure or guilt that he cannot fully face it and find a solution. He may have some inkling of the source of his trouble, but it is too painful to examine, analyze, and meet effectively. Then the depression acts as a *defense*, a smoke screen. It is *satisfying to deeper motives* even though it is unpleasant.

Another trend in the histories of individuals who show depression is the experience of not being loved or of being rejected by parents or by early playmates. They may feel alone, unwanted, abandoned by others, and left to their own insecurities. This produces as much sense of unworthiness as do feelings of guilt from wrong-doing. Sometimes they have gone against the wishes of loved ones or feel that they have disappointed them. Individuals may compensate for and protect themselves from this insecurity by rigid ideals and habits of perfection. This complicates the problem rather than solving it, for then there are more standards to violate and more opportunities for failure and depression. The *perfectionist* whose physical beauty must be flawless, whose grades must be perfect, who can make no social errors is never satisfied in a real world. He has set the

stage for depression and self-punishment. Perfectionism and an acute "conscience" may have been encouraged by an early rigid environment (1).

This kind of individual is often mild and passive, not very capable of directing his hostilities outward toward others. Instead there is much self-hatred and even self-punishment (2, 3). The depression, of course, from one standpoint acts as a potent source of *punishment*. As such, *the depression is satisfying*. If it has been established in the individual's mind that he is unworthy and his guilt needs punishment, a depression may *reduce the tensions* that are built up in anticipation of punishment. To put it simply, the individual may have unconsciously found a way to give himself the punishment he feels he needs and thereby prepare himself for further punishment from others or, by administering it to himself, avert punishment from them. He may get more attention from loved ones while depressed than at other times.

Depressions influence thinking and action. One of the most disconcerting aspects of the state of depression is the manner in which it robs its victim of his *zest*. The depressed individual feels surrounded by a "dark haze." He cannot picture himself battling problems. There is the recurrent thought, "Why go on?" At times he believes he will not be able to endure the unpleasantness confronting him. Physical complaints such as extreme fatigue, loss of weight, insomnia, and lack of sex feelings may sometimes accompany the depression (1). Exaggerated consequences of relatively common misbehavior may be conjured. He may believe that he is publicly disgraced, that there is "no way out." It is this belief which is so disturbing. The depressed individual's struggle at the time seems hopeless and endless to him unless he can talk it out freely and gain perspective and self-acceptance.

It is normal for everyone to experience occasional "low moods" when some cherished goal is lost. During "low moods" our actions become slower and less spontaneous, thoughts that arise are more often unpleasant and about childhood events. The individual in the laboratory, when in a depressed mood, is quite different in behavior than when he is elated. Whereas the elated individual is spontaneous in conversation and mentions more unnecessary things, in the depressed state the opposite is true.

In elation, movements are expansive and large, distances seem less, gestures tend to be excessive, handwriting is less cramped, changes in perception (recognition of different aspects of figures) are less rapid, and sleep is less profound. Depression has the opposite effect on all these functions (4-6).

It has been found that feelings or moods vary from time to time. One writer suggests that this variation occurs in cycles of differing lengths, peculiar to the individual. Although physical factors are related to fluctuations of feelings, it is reported that past and present social participation (probably that directly affecting the ego) and a sense of accomplishment in tasks influence feelings most profoundly (7, 8). As might be expected, moods seem to vary with the extent to which basic motives are satisfied. There is apparently a general level of mood which runs along for a given period, irrespective of various environmental influences (9, 10). When students who live in groups rate one another, no significant relationship is found between moodiness and popularity. Moodiness apparently does not disturb relationships in such a group as much as one might think (11).

It has been found that for the normal male student, judging from a study of 133 individuals in one school, feelings are lowest during the first and last half-hours of the day, on Monday, and in January, February, and March. Moods are more pleasant in the spring and summer (12).

Personality patterns and depressions. The extremely depressed individual who has suicidal tendencies has been described as oversensitive, shy, self-conscious, inclined to over-react and worry, rather delicately balanced emotionally, immature in emotional development, and fearful and insecure in the face of life situations (13). Individuals who suffer severe depressions are usually persons with high ethical standards and with strong attachment to parents. They worry about their errors and blame themselves for mistakes (2, 3). When students who tend to have depressions take a personality test, similar characteristics are checked. These traits are related to the conditions discussed above.

Below is a sample of the responses checked by the student who is subject to emotional depressions (14).

Often has the "blues."	Introspective; analyzes himself.
Worries over possible misfortunes.	Cannot relax easily when lying or sitting down.
Frequently in a meditative state.	Concerned about the future.
Not carefree.	Analyzes the motives of others.
Ponders over his past.	Overconscientious.
Not happy-go-lucky.	

It is evident that the individual who experiences melancholia is self-centered. He has learned to place great emphasis upon his own feelings. He has not acquired a wide variety of stimulating interests in the external world. He does not have many hobbies, games, or sources of distraction to which he may turn when the thwartings which we all experience occur. These attitudes of self-indulgence have been acquired usually in childhood. Tears and tantrums were found to control other people. The depression as well as the anxiety state serves to gain his egocentric ends. Frequently as he gets older he finds that, instead of assisting, these moods hamper him, because other adults will not cater to his whims. Rather than think or talk the matter out, he finds solace and temporary release in sadness. Depressions, however, are not a stable mode of adjustment.

Depressions and nervous breakdowns. When the depressed individual quits his struggle, it is usually termed by doctors and laymen a "nervous breakdown." The exact nature of the events that allow him to "save face" varies. He may become ill. To be sure, his illness will be of a vague nature and may be evidenced by the loss of weight, numerous unlocalized pains, a heavy, tired feeling, or extreme lassitude. Sometimes depressions lead to hysterics or persistent periods of crying and emotional effusiveness. Behavior of this sort attracts very active attention from those who are close to the person, even though the attention is not pleasant. They become convinced that some change of environment or circumstances is imperative.

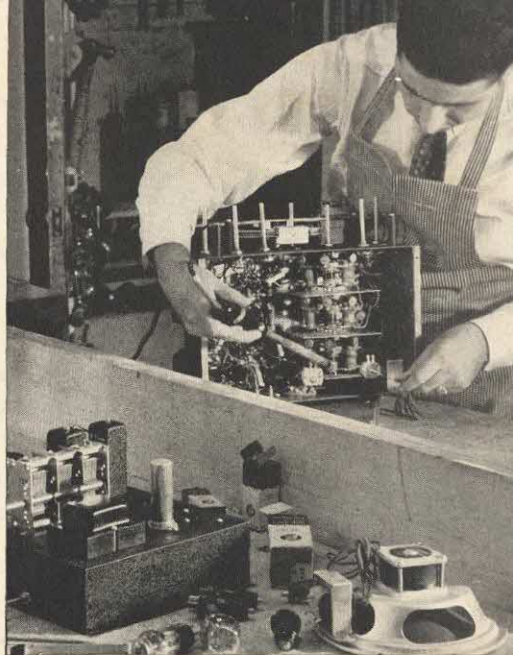
The change may consist in leaving school and refusing to return. The remainder of the semester may be spent at home "resting up." Relief comes with the relinquishment of responsibilities for a year or two and with acceptance by others of this course as permissible or wise. He or his physician may prevail upon his parents to take him on a trip or to a new environment for a change of scene and to get away from the

circumstances that plague him. He may quit his job, resign from an office, or in some other way acceptably resolve the present conflict. The curative element is that both he and the world accept his solution. His face is saved. Although our western world does not make so open a practice of face saving as the oriental, we are equally desirous of it.

Far more beneficial than the break from routine is a conscious examination of the present problem and a plan for solution. Sometimes traits and personality trends formed earlier are scrutinized, understood, accepted, and redirected.

Suggestions for dealing with emotional depressions. *Free expression of feelings and understanding of problem relieve depressions.* All of us have depressions. Often we find that they lift as we *understand their origin, accept our weaknesses, gain perspective regarding ourselves, and envisage new plans of action.* Like Jack, we improve readily in mood once we have opened the floodgates of emotion and poured out our feelings to a counselor or trusted friend. We might even gain deeper insights into the frustrations, conflicts, or earlier experiences which gave rise to feelings of unworthiness and guilt and which cause us at present to belittle and punish ourselves. If we can see the depression as satisfying certain motives, as preventing us from coming to grips with the problem, or working out a new plan of life, it might give us motivation toward action. At least we might carry on and, in the course of meeting real problems and experiencing success, the depression may abate. We may learn that actually facing problems and doing something about them is much more satisfying than escaping them through dejection.

It is well known that those who have suffered a profound grief such as bereavement and are able to express their sorrow and allow the emotion to pour forth are improved in attitude and self-control once they have experienced this outlet. They may be contrasted to the person who does not want to face the whole meaning of the loss and represses the natural emotion that comes from it. Repression occurs particularly when the person who suffers a loss feels guilty for his misdeeds or omissions during the life of the lost one. Now he tends to punish himself through sorrow and remorse, rather than face frankly his short-comings in perspective, talk them over with a confidante, see that anything he might do now must be done for



Depicted here are avenues used in a modern mental hospital for the patient to express his feelings and build satisfactory relations with his fellows. The youth in college or at work can also seek similar avenues to broaden a narrow existence, to relax, and to attain personal and social growth. These pictures were posed by the personnel of The Neuro-psychiatric Institute of Living, Hartford, Connecticut.



someone else, and realize that past events are closed issues (15). As time passes the grief-stricken person moves from inactivity to more and more activity. A gradual process is expected. A fuller treatment of this whole process is found in Chapter 7, which should be reviewed at this time.

Aids during depression. Students report that, if they turn to certain activities or certain environments which to them represent sources of recognition and afford an effective outlet, depressions abate. Below is a list of such aids in time of depression suggested by students (16).

- Take a brisk walk.
- Read Shelley and Keats.
- Sleep it away.
- "Cuss" it out.
- Reread an old favorite book.
- Read something funny or go to a funny show.
- Play hockey or tennis, and dance.
- Put on good clothes and go somewhere.
- Play it out on the piano or victrola.
- Reason it out in solitude.
- Go hunting all by myself.
- Start "building air-castles in Spain."
- Get with people who are absolutely happy and carefree.
- Think to myself that I mustn't take life too seriously.
- Work so hard that it is impossible to think of anything else.
- Go downtown and look at people and things.
- Talk things over with some friend who understands.
- Try to make everybody think I'm feeling good, and pretty soon I am.
- Drive an automobile fast and furiously on a lonely road.
- Remember that tomorrow is another day.

The effectiveness of such events and conducive environments is also discussed in Chapter 7.

Some of these events appear to be escapes, and they may be just that. However, as we have shown in our discussion of creative adjustment, when one succeeds in a conducive environment in a task that has the possibility of satisfying many of his basic motives, he is more willing to face without guilt his mistakes and short-comings and thereby make discoveries. In this sense these activities do not serve as an escape but eventually lead to a frank examination of some of one's conflicts. In other cases, used as escapes, they break the previous pattern of depression

and withdrawal from reality. Old interests are stimulated. The intrinsic value of reality as a source for complete satisfaction of needs and wishes is realized.

Deeper depressions respond to professional assistance. In deep, persistent depressions in which one's efficiency and health are impaired and suicidal impulses arise, it is imperative that the individual seek professional advice. He should consult a psychiatrist, a qualified clinical psychologist, or a modern physician. In some serious depressions of this type, hospitalization, during which deep sleep is induced, is recommended and the depression is abated. During waking moments the individual has an opportunity to discuss his plight openly with a counselor and plan an immediate future that will assist in removing the conditions that brought about the conflict. In other cases it is necessary for the individual to remain in contact with his counselor for a longer period of time. But under good professional direction the depression will clear up slowly or rapidly, depending upon the individual. The profoundly despondent individual may not see much hope, but he can be assured that with treatment the darkness will clear (1, 2, 17). The existence of such deeper depressions is indicated when all other previously stimulating sources fail to bring about improved morale and only depress further (18). In general, depressions are not removed by the cheering activities of those around us. The rise in mood grows out of what we do by way of ventilating our inner feelings or seeking satisfying environment, people, or activity.

Other sources of raising morale. Some attitudes have been suggested as helpful. The realization that *everyone has ups and downs* and that some of us have more tendencies toward depression than others is strengthening. Under no circumstances should one despise his own temperament merely because he has tendencies to vacillate between euphoria and depression, or to have occasional periods of the "blues." Rather the *temporary nature* of a depression should be emphasized.

Numerous writers suggest *doing something for someone else* during low periods. Keeping up the daily necessary routine has been stressed. This does not mean pepping oneself up, but realizing that the show must go on despite our own feelings. Inactivity and surrender have never improved a depression. How-

ever, true relaxation as in deep sleep or after exercise or hard physical work is beneficial.

The *fighting attitude* has been suggested, particularly if depression is a surrender. Most expressions of emotion, even a temper display, a good cry, or a "baring of the soul," have been found helpful sometimes. The individual who can "get mad with the lousy situation and turn the crummy thing upside down" may have a solution. Some of us have not learned to fight intelligently in crises but withdraw from all conflicts. A real problem cannot be escaped. Conflicts are an inevitable part of life. As we learn to face them we can endure them and at times find them stimulating. It is both amazing and reassuring to realize what man can endure and learn to accept. Anyone who has been through combat experience has this insight. A minister who has been present at many death beds stated that he cannot remember an individual who did not face death bravely once he had accepted it as inevitable. Problems and conflicts are not always disturbing; our ambivalence toward them, our indecisions, our unwillingness to face them and grapple with them are. Experiments show that, upon repetition of tasks that are not preferred, our aversion to them changes (19).

Depressions may prepare for a more effective new life. Recovery from depression can be an exceedingly valuable experience, particularly as it involves knowing oneself more thoroughly and accepting with greater affection one's weaknesses and present status, no matter how negative they may seem. If it amounts to clearing the air, of assuming the attitude "this is what I have and this is what I must live with and life can be interesting despite it," then the depression has achieved much for the individual. It will possibly give rise to changes in routine and to realization that certain activities and attitudes are more suitable than others. One may see the sources of his ideas of failures and inadequacy, his feelings of inferiority, the conflicts between old and new standards, the disillusionments, and the cherished but false dreams. He may see that his failure involves *only one aspect* of personality or that *many others have the same problem he is experiencing*. Recovery from depression may even stimulate a richer life. The individual may come to learn the importance for him of friends, wider interests and hobbies, more realistic goals, sources of play, more physical activity

or better health practices, and possibly a richer, more meaningful spiritual life. He may plan new ventures, acquire new social or avocational skills, revise his schedule, try new attitudes, or find some project in which he can lose himself. Novelty, new tasks, new scenery, new attitudes—all are stimulating. Many people living in city or country would be more stimulated if they saw the novelties in their environments—new walks, new street car rides, sunrises, changes in the moon, a cup of coffee at midnight in an all-night café, a new part-time job, free lectures, concerts, church services—or if they merely stood on a busy corner and watched.

Wholesome living helps prevent depressions. As suggested above, the experience gained through the depression may lead to the kind of living which might have prevented it initially. Individuals with emotional problems differ to some extent from those who are relatively free of them in their way of life (20). In Chapter 16, under "The Meaning of Adjustment," we shall discuss the difference between the well-adjusted and the unstable individual and make suggestions for a more wholesome way of life.

The individual who would live more enthusiastically may find in thinking through his daily programs that he has few sources of play and adventure, that he neither gives nor receives affection—in fact he may shun overtures toward him. There may be insecurities which may be removed, ventures that will lead to recognition or to success. In short, he may be in a rut which does not satisfy his basic needs through wide use of his energies. On the other hand, he may be diverting his energies too widely and attempting more tasks than he can successfully and satisfyingly accomplish. He may be a person of impossibly high standards. He may have loaded the scales against himself by setting his life goals too high. Motives may be satisfied in numerous ways. There is no fixed, absolute solution to problems. One need not despise certain trends in his personality. There are social as well as asocial means of satisfying most of our needs and urges. Sometimes we become preoccupied with the asocial outcroppings as though they provided the only satisfaction. The long-time view helps with the realization that there are ups and downs in all curves of progress.

Many a person who has said to himself, "I would never be

satisfied with that," finds when he is in the midst of doing "that" he is challenged to put forth greater effort.

The student who is eliminated from the school of medicine is positive on the day of his elimination that dentistry or social work are not substitutes he can accept. His rigid standards dictate that he must succeed as a physician or life will not be worth living. When he finally enters the school of social work and is allowed to begin assisting with cases, the daily problems that must be met, the prestige that his position gives him, and the realization of the human needs he is satisfying may make him see in social work a highly desirable career. Before long he may work out a whole system of thought to convince himself and others (probably rightly) that elimination from medical school was one of the best things that could have happened to him.

Regard errors objectively instead of feeling guilty. Depressions sometimes result because of accumulated frustrations, failures, mistakes, feelings of inadequacy, and guilt. Mistakes and failures are inevitable if the individual has any standards. All of us must acquire a healthy attitude toward our mistakes. The study of individuals who were prone to depression shows us that the person may have an overacute conscience. His guilt may be overwhelming. Whereas mistakes and some of the emotion attending them are valuable in helping us to guide future behavior, overwhelming guilt may negate this value. The individual becomes so preoccupied with the emotion surrounding his wrongdoings that he withdraws from the situation rather than meet it again with more appropriate and acceptable behavior. The problem then is for us to learn to face our mistakes and venture forth again in the same situation with a new try rather than to become preoccupied with the guilt and withdraw from life.

Homesickness a form of depression. Homesickness is a term applied to one's apparent *inability to adjust in a new environment*. It frequently is accompanied by a mild or more serious depression. A complex of factors such as feelings of inadequacy, conflict between the standards of the group and of one's parents, feelings of failure, and inability to maintain the level of success to which one is accustomed is frequently found. The individual longs for home or a loved one because home represents to him an escape from his present insecure, cold, and frustrating environment. Home is often an environment which has held in check fear impulses within himself. His reputation at home

kept him in line, but now he *has new freedoms which may produce anxiety*. This is often the crux of the problem, and the other failures are merely contributory. For this reason adults, even apparently tough soldiers, may feel quite insecure in new environments (21). (See the section "Eliminating Fears, Anxieties, and Worries" in this chapter.) Frequently when he returns home, home is not too pleasant, either, because his feeling of inadequacy may persist. A study has shown that those who experience homesickness do not differ from others primarily because of the nature of their home, but because of factors within themselves, such as emotional instability and lack of confidence (22).

Typically the homesick individual is one who has received a great amount of affection and protection from parents and other members of the family. He usually has failed to revise his habits progressively as age advanced. He is emotionally immature and lacks the characteristics discussed more fully in Chapter 16 in the section on the mature individual. He has been away from home seldom in the past. Much is expected of him by parents and friends. He is usually sensitive, and his feelings are easily hurt. He does not make friends readily. He may be so interested in his own success and inner feelings that, if he does associate with other students, he is not very attractive to them. He also either lacks initiative or is easily discouraged. He usually feels that he *has failed in some respect in college in contrast to his previous success*. In spite of the fact that he wants to return home there is a clear realization that to go home would be disgraceful. He would be a quitter. He would be showing that he can't take it.

Almost invariably he finds the customs and emphases at the college very different from those at home. He may fall short in the skills that are emphasized, such as dancing, light conversation, dating, colorful dress, and other social activities. He feels *insecure* in the new environment. He soon begins to associate his feelings of lonesomeness and failure with his new surroundings so that as he goes from class to class the sight of the buildings brings depressing thoughts. He has not built up positive habits of success and pleasure in association with the many sights in this new environment. Often he cannot break through this depression to do the things that are recommended to him

by other students and counselors. He is convinced of failure before he starts.

He sometimes thinks of the sacrifices his parents are making for him. He perhaps feels that they would be displeased with him if he accepted the habits and attitudes of the typical student at the university. This feeling may be aggravated by letters from home which express anxiety for him or confidence that he will in no way depart from the rigid code acquired in childhood. Sometimes he exaggerates the immorality of his new comrades because they seem so free on the surface. He thinks he is living in a new world—a world of which he does not quite approve socially and morally. This world may *stimulate adventures and exploits of which he fears the consequences*. Home and everything it represents seem right to him, and everything else wrong. New friends do not have the force that his parents and other close friends have, and their suggestions are not accepted.

He experiences fear, often a fear of himself, of what he might do without the restrictions of the home. He feels inferior. He may either disregard his successes in high school or wonder if they were not accidental. He thinks possibly he has overestimated his powers. The present failure, he is often convinced, is prophetic of what the future holds for him. The contrast of being important in high school and totally unknown at college is disturbing to his morale.

The homesick student may be said to be undergoing conflict between the desire to grow and adjust in a new situation and the difficulties encountered. Continued failure creates in him the desire to withdraw (22).

Adjusting to a new environment. Since homesickness is merely a symptom of instability or anxiety, adjusting to a new environment involves most of the factors mentioned in a preceding section, "Suggestions for Dealing with Emotional Depressions," and a following section, "Suggestions for Handling Fears, Anxieties, and Worries." Briefly, this adjustment consists in discovering elements within oneself, developing a more tolerant attitude toward them, and *finding resources in one's new environment for satisfying basic personal needs*. Any steps which enable one to become emotionally a part of a new environment—to belong to a larger family—assists adjustment. Affiliation with extracurricular or campus groups of persons with similar interests has been an

opening wedge for many. If the new environment tends to jeopardize old attitudes and values and to suggest new ones, the individual will need to reconcile the two. This is discussed in the section "Personal Philosophy of Life," Chapter 8.

DIRECTING UNSTABLE BEHAVIOR

Meaning of unstable behavior. We are using this term for several widely different non-adjustive behavioral expressions. They include temper tantrums, extreme impulsiveness, irritability, hysterical phenomena, psychosomatic symptoms, alcoholism, irresponsibility, and unpredictable or asocial behavior. How much of this instability is due to basic temperament and how much to learned habits or responses probably varies with individuals. There are some individuals who have had difficulty directing their behavior as long as they can remember. Other individuals have learned traits or habits during their development which have satisfied motives and have been retained. Under favorable conditions undesirable traits and habits may be eradicated and more serviceable habits and traits learned. Traits of this nature may also be learned directly from parents and associates, or they may be the result of the thwartings and conflicts of early life (23).

Kinds of unstable behavior. *Temper tantrums.* Practically all children have temper tantrums occasionally. Some habitually lose their temper to gain their way. They may kick, stamp, jump up and down, throw themselves on the floor, hold the breath, stiffen the body, scream, cry, bite, argue, call the parent names; in fact, they may use any fighting or withdrawal response (24).

It has been found that a number of factors contribute to irascibility in children and adults (25). Most conditions which alter physical fitness make one irritable. They include a restless night, illness, overstimulation by visitors, and irregular bowel movement. The emotional nature of the parent is a factor. Parents who are overanxious, who tend to worry and nag, or who lack a sense of humor also contribute to irritability. Where temper tantrums have been built up and exist as habits and traits, either in children or in adults, they usually aid the individual in imposing his will on others.

Many older children and adolescents outgrow temper tantrums when these responses fail to "work" in the presence of school teachers and companions. But, if a doting parent takes the part of the child and challenges the teacher or encourages the child to play with younger and more submissive children, the emotional habit may persist.

At the college age, the temper tantrum may take many forms. The student may merely speak very strongly to the person who angers him, or he may refuse to speak to him for several days. He may, however, have a childish seizure similar to a hysterical fit. Crying, trembling, shouting, throwing objects, stomping, and banging tables are not unusual in the college population. Fellow students usually are highly intolerant of this type of behavior and sometimes help to eradicate it by their attitude. Girls, it seems, show more of the extreme type of emotional behavior than boys. This is readily understood because there is a strong taboo among boys regarding emotional explosions. Fights alone are condoned, and even these are frowned upon in more gentlemanly circles. They may occur, however, when the individual is under the influence of alcohol and inhibitions tend to be removed.

Hysterical phenomena. Some adults behave like children. They are accustomed to having their own way. These persons are not quiet, shut-in individuals. They must express their emotions in the presence of others. Much of their behavior is aimed to *secure attention*. Such an individual is usually emotional in most matters. He likes and dislikes strongly. He is impulsive and *suggestible*. His attitudes and habits are poorly integrated. He is predominantly a creature of the moment. Furthermore, he *represses* that which disturbs him. Because of his *egocentricity*, he refuses to face problems or situations distasteful to him.

Individuals with traits similar to these sometimes develop hysterical symptoms in crises, symptoms which win for them attention, which get for them what they want, and which save face. Such a person has been known to faint readily, to suffer paralysis of limbs and muscles, and to develop anaesthesias in various parts of the body. A successful animal trainer who depended upon her "inability to experience pain" for her recognition in the show said she felt no pain on the occasions when

the animals had attacked her. She reported differences between pin pricks and other stimuli upon being subjected to laboratory examination. She had developed hysterical anaesthesia as a means of adjusting to her strongest motive—to be the bravest of trainers. Blindness and deafness have been shown to be hysterical in some instances. More extreme symptoms are illustrated by functional amnesias and the fugue, in which the individual leaves his environment and afterward is not thoroughly conscious of everything that transpired. Individuals have been known to forget their own names, their facial appearance, or that of their parents, to remember them only later, after the emotional crisis has passed. There is hysterical vomiting, hysterical somnambulism or sleep-walking, and hysterical fainting. The college physician is acquainted with all these symptoms. He usually finds very little cause for them in terms of pathological conditions in the individual. Instead, in order to obtain more clues, he examines the motives of these students and the extent to which they have been thwarted in their present modes of life.

The vomiting, fainting, headache, or other vague and hysterical pains or complaints *satisfy strong unconscious needs*—they are an *escape from some more unpleasant situation*. They sometimes represent symbolically a substitute for more direct hostility, disgust, or anxiety (26, 27).

Ruth Z. was a 20-year-old freshman who had stayed out of school two years to earn enough money to pay her way through college. She was a brunette of above average appearance and superior physique and grooming. Her complexion showed some slight blemishes. She seemed extremely well poised around adults, but her contemporaries noticed some tension which was interpreted at times as an attitude of conscious superiority.

Her college career, she assured herself, was to be distinctive. She had superior ability; her high school records surpassed the predictions of her aptitude scores. She wanted the recognition and attention of others and strongly desired success. After more than a month in college, during which time she isolated herself and tried to study, the following occurred: While in the office of one of her more sympathetic teachers, trying to gather some details about the course, to his consternation, she began sobbing heavily. He promptly referred her to the counselor, whom she saw six or eight times quite willingly, before finally leaving school.

Her conferences with the counselor revealed these facts: Her

worry over herself was affecting her eating and sleeping habits, so much so that she had lost seven or eight pounds. She complained that she was not getting along with the other students; they regarded her as an "average raiser." This competitive attitude had gotten her into similar difficulties with her contemporaries in high school. In fact, it had been her practice to drop the course if she could not get top grades. She hinted that in spite of all her hard work and her neglect of other activities, she was failing to achieve the highest success, which she must have. One of the things for which she despised herself was that she wanted to make others believe she did not care if she made grades or not, and yet she was studying most of the time. She felt *guilty* for deceiving them. This guilt feeling may have been displaced emotion for the guilt mentioned below.

Ruth frequently talked of needing severe punishment. She labeled her behavior as foolish. She thought her real trouble was physical. Some understanding of her competitive behavior, achieved through her conferences, did not remove her symptoms, which continued until she left school and took a job again.

Toward the end of the series of conferences, she hinted that her inner physical condition disturbed her. She associated this with guilt due to a conflict between very rigid moral standards and heavy petting and sex feelings that occurred early in adolescence. In fact, her guilt was so strong that she had broken an engagement with a high-type, religious fellow who she felt was too good for her.

She did not discuss this matter freely and openly, or frequently, but merely hinted at it. She preferred to talk about her grades, health, and emotional condition. These she discussed freely with almost everyone. She was not reluctant to cry, look sad, and in other ways show her emotions before other people. It appeared that she would continue to have her symptoms and do poorly in school until she was forced to go home. After she had been at home for a month and had taken a job, most of her symptoms cleared up. She visited some quack and, after a little physical hocus-pocus, she was "completely cured."

Ruth did not see the relationship between her suppressed guilt and her ideas of physical inadequacy, or did she realize that there might have been direct association between the necessity to be the most outstanding girl in the freshman class and her feelings of unworthiness. She convinced the people around her that she was sick and physically unfit for college. During only one of her conferences was there even a slight hope that she might deeply understand herself and accept her early indiscretions as the result of ignorance, youthful experimentation, and very similar to the behavior of many of her contemporaries.

Impulsiveness, exhibitionism, violence, and general instability.
You will find in any group of young people a few who seek the

center of the stage without merit. They are usually highly emotional and egocentric. They want attention. They are dissatisfied with the usual laborious methods of gaining it. They want to be conspicuous, so they use bold methods to achieve a place in the limelight. They may wear peculiar clothes, affect a conspicuous hairdress, or be loud or ostentatious in manner. They may collect one or more peculiar appurtenances.

One student acquires an old car and paints it in very striking and unusual colors, even for a campus. Another gets a dog and takes it around with him to classes. A third may wear a ten-gallon hat and boots. One student rode 300 miles on a mule to school. Another recited poetry on the main street of the town. A third carried a gun around the campus. A fourth grew the only very thick black beard on the campus. All these students were relatively unknown on the campus and were seeking recognition in a non-adaptive manner.

Braggadocio, prevarication, and even pranks are other means used by the unstable individual to gain recognition. It is interesting what a small quantity of alcohol does to such a student. It is sometimes his excuse for grossly violating the standards of propriety.

Nancy N. was a tall, average-looking girl with effective grooming, superior ability, and an extraordinary high school record. She was obviously not the typical college co-ed, although she could be very charming and made a good first adjustment with many of the girls. In a short time, however, they became aware of her bizarre behavior. She acted as though she were performing on the stage. Her voice became affected, or she became rigidly dignified. Others tended to label her peculiar.

She came to the attention of the counselor for women when she began telling stories that taxed even the most naive credulity. She went so far as to bandage a fake wound and concoct an arresting story to justify it. The climax came when she began spending hours in the library over material on psychiatry and telling everyone confidentially that she had been employed by a Navy psychiatrist to date various members of the local unit in order to get information for him. It is true that she was dating more than any other girl in the dormitory and receiving more recognition from the boys than one might expect her to merit. It is doubtful whether she was grossly immoral. However, her behavior was suggestive and probably very stimulating to the boys.

Despite all this public behavior she was quite uncommunicative about her background. Apparently her family was one of unusu-

ally good repute, somewhat drab and very conventional. She had always had a vivid imagination and had substituted drama for reality. She probably felt ashamed of her farm background and did not appreciate her superior traits which, if used effectively, could have brought her substantial recognition. It was important to her that she be the most outstanding girl in the dormitory and, in a sense, she was. When she took a personality test her score was suspiciously high in a desirable direction. She never confided frankly in people who might have been helpful to her. The little that could be obtained about her family indicated that her parents appeared compatible only to outsiders, that the home was not as smooth as was thought. Nancy had received little affection from her family, and she felt unwanted at home.

How can this behavior be explained? Usually the individual feels inferior or very insecure. He has a strong desire for recognition that is not achieved. Means of gaining attention present themselves to him. He does not think such matters through. Under the force of emotion the suggestion issues forth into action. Before he realizes it, he is doing absurd things which he must substantiate by rationalization. This he may do. He may say, "I am different. I believe in being colorful." He may go so far as to claim that he is superior to the average student, that the same standards of conduct do not hold for him. He may delude himself into a belief that this is a legitimate means of attaining prestige for later projects. His arrogance and indiscretion win for him the ridicule of his fellows. This may or may not depress him. It may spur him on to even more ridiculous action. This student does not have a set of standards. He is not able to inhibit his fanciful behavior.

Sometimes an emotional outburst issues from a person quite unlike those described above. In fact, the individual may be an exemplary character on the surface. For months he may show good working habits or appear to be a mild, pleasant, submissive individual. Then suddenly some unpleasant emotional explosion may astonish his friends, as in the case of Mason V. below. Other examples of instability are found in the person who vacillates from kindness and pleasantness to irritability and harshness. Sometimes parents are not understood by their children because of their tendencies to kiss and love at one moment and discipline severely and harshly at another.

Instability exhibits itself in miscellaneous other ways. There

is the individual who must always be on the go, is constantly changing his residence or his job, or must go from one bar to the next or from one source of amusement to another. Instability is found in the person who must project his difficulties on others, who thinks that others dislike him, find fault with him, and are trying to harm him. This he may fight in his various ways of dealing with them. These traits are seen in the case of Paul G. When unstable behavior becomes so marked and persistent that it appears abnormal, when the individual seems quite disorganized and does not profit from his experiences, he is likely to be psychopathic and need professional assistance (23).

Mason V. is of average height, well-proportioned, dark, and very handsome. He grew up in the submarginal economic area of a large city during the depression of the 1930's. He had the superficial appearance of a "regular" fellow. He came to the attention of the counselor through his wife, who had been one of the counselor's outstanding students. Mason, too, had received very good grades and a great respect for most of his teachers. He had a good attitude about the conference.

His wife had complained that he beat her. He said he was as much puzzled about his wife beating as was anyone. He thought he loved her and he certainly appreciated all that she meant to him, but his jealousy at times was overpowering. After he had beaten her he felt like whipping himself. He was extremely chagrined that the neighbors had inadvertently been aware of the fracas because of the thin walls between their apartments. He responded quite well to the opportunity to discover his difficulties and, because he was highly motivated, to write professionally. He was encouraged to do this by the counselor. He submitted his short stories and writings to the counselor. Mason found his writing a satisfying outlet and source of self-discovery. He also found that by talking his feelings over periodically with his understanding but similarly unstable wife, his tendency to become violent was sharply reduced.

The outline of his history runs somewhat as follows. He had been overprotected by his mother even up to the time of his entrance into the Navy. His father was not companionable. He was extremely jealous of a younger sister, whom he frequently beat in childhood. He had always been attractive to girls and women of his own age. He was regarded as cute and likeable, but because of his sensitive and sheltered childhood he never felt that he played the role the girls expected of him. Though not outwardly impotent and certainly craving the affection they could give him, he still felt inadequate. He described himself as lonely, friendless, fearful, shy, unhappy and self-conscious in childhood. He was

prone to violent temper tantrums which usually obtained the desired results. He swung from these characteristics to those of a kind, sympathetic, idealistic person interested in reforms and a better world. Some of the boys kidded him. He had not learned to play the traditional games, and he felt that his outer masculinity and toughness was a sham.

During his years in the Navy he had many love affairs and almost invariably deeply hurt the girl after a few weeks. He became engaged to one but jilted her to marry his wife. He suppressed all this guilt but soon after he was married demanded that his wife tell him all about her previous love affairs. He embroidered upon them in daydreams, adding lurid and stimulating details. It was after indulging in some of these, at the end of a day spent in frustrated effort at school and in trying to make ends meet financially that he had the urge to beat her. He had some reason to be envious of her ability to assume responsibilities and her social capabilities.

In his writing and during the conferences in which he was very frank, he came to see some connection between his childhood jealousies, his demand for unswerving feminine loyalty, and his desire to punish by temper tantrums and violence any attention that his loved objects gave to others. He wondered if he had not been unconsciously punishing the girls who had fallen for him and if this strong suppressed guilt was not at the basis of some of the difficulties between him and his wife. With this insight the relationships in the home improved greatly, although they were not completely resolved. The fiction he wrote before the conferences showed an unusual amount of violence, a disparagement of women, and a reliving of many of his own disturbing experiences through the characters. He felt toward the end of the conferences that he was discovering the source of some of his motivation and finding some outlets and methods of self-control. He also knew that, with a history like his, he could not expect everything to clear up within a week.

Paul G. is a 23-year-old veteran who complained that he had been mutilating his skin, by picking at his face to the extent of drawing blood, since before puberty. He expressed chagrin over this habit, then went into a long history of family discord, the separation of his parents, and a stormy emotional life. This began about the time he discovered that his father had a mistress. At first he attacked his father physically, then felt great remorse. He also felt guilty because he yielded unwittingly to the attitude of his mother's relatives instead of trying to understand and defend his father. His emotional attachment to his father was inordinate. During the course of the interview he came to realize that this attachment was keeping him at an immature level, causing his at-

titude toward women to be of a crude, non-sentimental sort, and also causing him to be jealous of his younger sister.

The counselor suggested that whenever he was greatly disturbed he write out the ideas that were bothering him—get them on paper. He did this one night and brought the results to the counselor. He had discussed rather frankly as though he were writing a letter to the counselor the troubles that were running through his mind: worry about his father's involved life, school matters that were bothering him, and conditions in the home. He stated that, after he had written this, he had gone back to bed and had fallen asleep.

It was suggested that he look upon the face picking as a symptom, that it should be a signal for him to stop, think through what was troubling him, and possibly write it out. If he felt that he must punish himself and this was to be regarded as punishment, he should find a more social avenue for his punishment—responsibilities that would be taxing to him but that would be helpful to others.

Tim I. impresses you with his outgoing manner. He is not relaxed or carefree but seems quite purposive even in his social behavior. Some of his friends call him a "big operator." He is always planning some maneuver or some big deal. In his 20 years he has had a great deal of experience, including a period in the Army. He has held jobs since he was a small boy and has been quite successful for a time in each of them. He is an excellent salesman but soon tires of each job.

Both of his parents are highly emotional and apparently love him and indulge him very much. His folks do little planning and spend most of their income for display. He admits that he is moody, not too happy, was "all fouled up" when he came into the conference, and is not very consistent in his plans and purposes. He enjoys people, glamour, interesting jobs, and his hobbies. He has found little time for such outlets as Boy Scouts, athletics, team, or co-operative activities. Apparently his energies must be diverted through channels which bring him outstanding audience response.

He thinks most of the courses he is taking are time wasters. He does not want to worry himself with pre-law courses. Why can't he begin taking law courses immediately? His concept of the lawyer is the Hollywood version. He wants most events to bend to his will and, if they do not, he quickly leaves them without qualms. He can nonchalantly break appointments and forget responsibility. He has few inhibitions in class and will bring up any subject. In spite of all this, he is a rather delightful person. People like him, and he has evaded through charm the consequences of too many situations for which he should have suffered. His appearance, pleasant manner, and sense of humor have won much for him, and he thinks he will always be able to trade on

them. His values are highly superficial—they hinge on money, clothes, travel, and fashion.

He is quite restless. Although he wants security, he cannot face the fact that it must be earned or that his life must be planned. That would take the fun out of it. So he continues to vacillate between high moments and deep disappointments, moving out of the disappointment into another frantic and sometimes successful bid for adventure. It is doubtful whether he will ever accumulate enough credit for a college degree or build a reputation for dependability and responsible conduct.

How much of Tim's personality is due to basic temperament, overindulgence throughout his life, and the charm which has heretofore extricated him from embarrassing situations has not been fully determined. It seems that only the accumulation of experience and circumstance will bring him stability, because he is not at present in a mood to foster self-direction.

Alcoholism as unstable behavior. The emotionally unstable individual who habitually uses alcohol as a form of escape, and despite good intentions finds himself addicted to it, has been studied rather extensively. Although alcoholics are not an entirely homogeneous group and no one particular factor is characteristic of them (28), it is rather well established today that there are certain unstable trends within their personalities (29) which cause this small percentage of the drinking population to be dominated by the drug (30). The wise alcoholic frankly faces these unstable trends and plans his life around them. The Alcoholics Anonymous movement is based on this frank approach. The solution goes much further than forced cessation of drinking (31). The chronic alcoholic has been found to be immature, self-centered in motivation, weak in emotional control, and anxious about his physical make-up. He has rather high ambitions but achieves comparatively little. There is a better chance of his dealing with his addiction if he retains a close relationship with everyday reality instead of withdrawing from his usual environment, as he is prone to do (32), or if he recognizes his inadequacies (33, 34).

Alcoholics are found to differ as a group from non-alcoholics in showing these developmental factors more frequently: a stern, overcritical father who was feared; strict, unquestioning obedience demanded in family life, with little freedom; a domineering but idealized and preferred mother; a strong feeling of sin and guilt; marked interest in the opposite sex with many love affairs

but poor marital adjustment; outstanding ability to get along with and be socially acceptable to others; lack of self-consciousness; and a tendency to work under high tension (28). Women alcoholics showed a strong attachment to their mothers, as did many male alcoholics, intense narcissism or self-love, inner tensions which make social contact difficult, and experience of sexual inferiority (35). One author finds their alcoholic tendencies more individual and more closely associated with life situations than they are in men (36). When two neighborhood areas which differed in the rate of alcoholism were studied, it was found that among the residents of the higher rate area there was greater mobility (more moving about), less likelihood of normal family relationships, and a greater tendency for individuals to be socially isolated (37).

Alcoholism has been called a suicidal compromise. Many writers regard it as a form of self-punishment. There is an element of self-punishment in much of the behavior discussed in this section. Many of these individuals seem unconcerned about the consequences of their acts. They plunge recklessly into this or that activity which sometimes results in mutilation and accidents (38).

Psychosomatic symptoms. We have already shown in our discussion of hysterical phenomena that some physical complaints have a psychological origin. Later, when we discuss fear, the various physiological changes that occur with strong emotion will be outlined. Almost any reader can recall from his own experience instances when his appetite, sleep, digestion, relaxation, steadiness (to mention a few processes) were disturbed as a result of attitudes, feelings, and shocking experiences. It is easy to understand how the individual who is constantly influenced by an unsavory environment, who is frequently bombarded by disturbing experiences, or who is always within a conflict might develop a chronic physical condition as the direct result of abnormal physiological processes. It is only in relatively recent times that these unconscious aspects have been studied (39-41).

A few of the more common examples of psychosomatic symptoms will be reviewed. Our discussion of hysteria indicates that when these symptoms become an escape from unpleasant events or a defense from anxiety, they may readily be perpetuated,

particularly in persons with certain personality patterns (42). Excessive appetite has been associated with desire for care, attention, and love and has been suggested as a substitute for affection. One study of obese children showed that their mothers overprotected them and restricted their participation in normal childhood activities (43).

It has been suggested that nervous vomiting is sometimes symbolic of the rejection of certain impulses that are associated with shame and guilt. Excessive drive, worry, and tensions are known to be important in peptic ulcer. High blood pressure which occurs without evidence of the diseases which usually are associated with it is known as essential hypertension. Such patients experience inner hostile and resentful feelings for which they provide no outlet. The patient may seem on the surface to be very gentle. The hostility and conflict is repressed so that inner tension and raised blood pressure develop as the unsatisfactory outlets (42).

Suggestions for attaining emotional stability. The behavior or symptoms of persons discussed in this section differ greatly from those described in the section on depression. The basic causes of the two disturbances are not too unlike. In both patterns there is inner insecurity. In depression the individual withdraws; in the miscellaneous unstable behavior discussed here, the individual *escapes from his anxieties and conflicts into some more or less frantic activity*. He may defend himself from his problem by violence, moving about, imbibing alcohol, or developing a hysterical or psychosomatic disorder.

The need here does not differ from that expressed in the "Suggestions for Dealing with Emotional Depressions." The disorganized individual, thrashing about, trying to find a solution to his problem which will not entail facing it, must do the very thing he least desires: calmly and slowly *face difficulties, accept them as a natural consequence of his background*, and slowly, over a period of time, move toward a more stable, effective environment and way of life. This solution may come about through hard knocks. The failures and jolts which cause him to search for a new avenue of vivid experience may temper his impulsiveness. Insights and self-understanding may occur during some of his experiences. Amid disappointments he may find persons with whom he can talk out his difficulties or to

whom he can write about himself. Sometimes he will go beyond the difficulties themselves and point to causes and events within himself which give rise to them. Through trial and error he may find more stable and satisfactory ways to fulfill his urges and needs.

This process, mentioned above and treated more fully in Chapter 7, occurs over a period of years in the lives of many individuals, but it can certainly be implemented by professional service. Many unstable individuals will get inklings on numerous occasions that they are unstable. This is the time to seek a counselor or friend and discuss the difficulties. This is the opportunity to associate with someone for whom one has affection and who is stable, to accept a position which will give one greater stability and yet not push out of life some of the more vivid experiences and satisfactions that mean so much to him.

Should you come in contact with a person of one of the various kinds described above do not shelter him. Rather let him experience the consequences of his poor judgments. Much of his behavior is non-adjustive, and it should not win for him false success or satisfaction. These individuals should learn what they must sometime acknowledge—that their conduct is essentially inadequate. Their more charming and desirable traits should not act as a shield to prevent them from experiencing the realities of life. It is not usually necessary to punish impulsive people or to plan a program of discipline for them. Circumstances will take care of that. To be sure, many of them cannot face abruptly all their inadequacies and the jolts they receive. For the best effect, they should not be catapulted into some other vivid escape. The hysterical individual will be less prone to perpetuate his hysterical symptoms if they fail to win him attention or do not permit him to escape from an undesirable responsibility. On the other hand, friends of unstable individuals may render them a service by rewarding and complimenting those acts which are realistic, which give them basic security, and which contribute toward their assumption of further responsibilities.

Effective methods for dealing with alcoholism. Since much is written about the rehabilitation of the alcoholic and since there is some similarity between this individual and those who

escape through other means, we shall concentrate on him with the hope of providing suggestions for others.

Most psychiatrists view alcoholism as a *symptom* and attempt to deal with its *causes* rather than directly with it. Their aim is to assist the individual to find a more socially satisfactory means of relieving the tensions which he has unconsciously relaxed through alcohol (44). One group of scientists has used a more direct attack on the symptoms with considerable reported success. Their method consists in *conditioning the individual physiologically* to become disgusted when he imbibes alcohol by combining it with an emetic which makes him sick. Fifty-nine per cent of the individuals observed over five years had abstained, a high percentage for alcoholics who so often have a poor prognosis and frequently do not want to be cured (45, 46).

The Alcoholics Anonymous program is discussed in Chapter 7 (page 255). It tries to *satisfy in a wholesome manner the individual's needs* for social recognition and approval, for dependence and protection, and for a frank admission of and attack upon his instability. It gives him a *means of compensating effectively* for his feelings of inadequacy through good works. Identification with a group assists him in relieving his anxieties. Alcoholics, many of whom have some marks of prestige, band together as a non-sectarian religious group who acknowledge their dependence upon and the reality of spiritual aid, and who work together to reinforce each other's morale and to find and rehabilitate other alcoholics (47). There is an estimated 50,000 of them, and they give tangible evidence that the very unstable individual can be aided. This success, considering their lay status, has been phenomenal.

Psychiatric methods vary in effectiveness with circumstances (48). These consist largely in helping the alcoholic to understand some of his basic personality traits and the influences of his past history as outlined above. They depend to a great extent on the individual's desire for and faith in rehabilitation. Through an understanding of his inner self he obtains relief, insight, and new attitudes. He learns also to face his anxieties gradually and to build up positive ways of dealing with them (49, 50). Among the least effective methods are the compulsory and punitive methods that involve the control of alcohol consumption alone (48).

Insomnia. *Nature of insomnia.* Insomnia is one of the many symptoms of emotional conflict. It may be associated with any phenomena discussed in this or the following chapter. The individual feels that he should sleep when he goes to bed but instead is wide awake. He therefore tries the more strenuously. The more he tries to sleep, the more wakeful he becomes. He does not know that sleep is the complete absence of effort; that sleep is reached through complete relaxation. His effort creates tension so he continues to remain awake until he exhausts himself and finally falls asleep.

During insomnia, the individual reports, many ideas course through his consciousness. He may recall unpleasant memories. He may conjure his future successes or enjoy daydreams. In his attempt to produce sleep he may go through all types of mental gymnastics. He may have heard that counting sheep, lying in a certain position, focusing his eyes in a certain manner, or other schemes produce sleep. These may produce sleep in those persons who are *relaxed by them*, but if he attempts them ambitiously they may serve merely to awaken him further. Some individuals with insomnia feel that they lack will power and self-control and make a major issue of their inability to sleep, as though it were a weakness.

Sometimes insomnia, like other symptoms, becomes established as a habit and, therefore, a problem in its own right. The individual fears that he will not be able to go to sleep. The excitement of the anxiety alone will be enough to keep him awake. Others become angry because they are all ready for bed and can't go to sleep. They feel that they are wasting time. They don't feel like studying, they can't sleep, and they can think of nothing else to do.

Suggestions for dealing with insomnia. Inasmuch as insomnia is a symptom of some emotional problem, it will tend to disappear as the problem is solved, except if sleeplessness has become established as a habit in its own right. Many of the suggestions mentioned in connection with other problems in this chapter may be used here.

1. You should get out of bed and write out freely the matters that are on your mind. If you are running over the plans for the next day, list them on paper. Settle as many matters as possible and thereby achieve some serenity.

2. Practice relaxation. In the section on self-consciousness (page 654) we give instructions for relaxation. We suggest that you voluntarily contract the muscles of your body and then allow them to relax. Relax all the muscles of your body, including the eye and throat muscles. Induce the feeling that you are falling through the bed. Some persons have discovered their own methods of relaxing before sleep. Some take a warm bath; some drink a glass of warm milk; some take exercises earlier in the day. One student says he allows his mind to drift on to any silly subject it will. Another tries to experience the bizarre imagery that he naturally is aware of just before falling asleep. One student allows his eyes to take the position that they take in sleep. He does this by focusing them at a point in the middle of the forehead. Another breathes slowly and deeply. You will notice that all these methods have the result of relaxing the individual. There are some persons who have associated certain clues with relaxation, such as, for example, a certain position in bed, certain wearing apparel, or a certain thought.

3. Don't worry about losing sleep. It is very hard to deprive yourself of sleep to the point of affecting health. Physiological rhythms usually take care of the matter. If you are in bed and are partially relaxed, you are resting even though you are not asleep. Furthermore, when you do go to sleep you will sleep deeply. If you don't sleep well one night, you will the next. The effects of the loss of sleep on efficiency are not serious, as shown on pages 129 to 130.

Some students have found that, when they cease to care whether they sleep or not, they fall asleep. Others have taken the attitude "If I don't sleep, I'll do something else." They get up and try to study or read; then they grow sleepy and fall asleep. One individual who was formerly bothered by insomnia expressed it thus:

"I have learned to enjoy my insomnia by reading short stories. Before long I fall asleep. Incidentally, I have started the hobby of collecting short story anthologies and have read a number of enjoyable stories."

It is only the person who takes the matter very seriously who remains awake for hours.

4. Don't take drugs. Sleep-inducing drugs should be taken only on the prescription of a doctor. It is unwise for an individual to begin building this habit. Before long he finds that he needs to use the drug quite often in order to sleep. The cause of insomnia is psychological and not a matter to be solved by use of drugs without medical advice.

ELIMINATING FEARS, ANXIETIES, AND WORRIES

Examples of adult fears.

Beatrice B. is a bright, attractive, married student who was attending college with her husband. She is an only child and lived close to her loving parents until she entered school. She had always been a shy, serious, conscientious girl, somewhat aloof from others. Her contemporaries usually regarded her as conceited and conscious of superiority. If they had known her well they would have seen readily that this opinion was far from the truth. Her home was always a solace after she had ventured from it. Being overprotected by her parents and insecure regarding the variable world outside of the home, she was concerned during childhood lest her parents be taken from her. This fear and insecurity assumed a religious complexion when exposed to rural fundamentalism. A black-clouded thunderstorm could throw the child into a panic for fear that it meant the end of the world and that she would be separated from her parents.

During high school and her early married life around Army camps, she learned to get along with others better. However, she was never equal to the social give-and-take, and any remarks from her contemporaries that were at all derogatory were not refuted but plunged her into tears and sadness. At no time did she fight back with repartee. She only felt crushed. Apparently any hostility that she felt was directed toward herself rather than toward others. Her whole life reflected anxiety. Her standards were very high, her conscience or super-ego acute. Everything she did had to be exact and perfect. She allowed herself few mistakes. She received very high grades throughout school. Her life was rigidly conducted so that mistakes could not occur and so that she might gain the approval of others.

Apparently her father was a mild, sympathetic, understanding person. Her teen-age dating gravitated toward a boy with similar traits. In many respects he was an ideal substitution for the family pattern, but his imminent departure for military service aroused her old panics. They were married and she followed him around the camps. The old fear of losing her parents was now associated with her husband.

At the end of the war she attended school with her husband and things moved well until she entered a course that she felt was essential for her teacher training. It was taught by a stern, critical professor. Her mildly low records were defined as a crisis in her mind, and anxiety resulted. Racing heart, consciousness of breathing, feelings of coldness in various parts of the body, indigestion, tremor, fear of being called on in class—in short, all the typical physiological concomitants of fear well known to students of psychology—appeared. Forgetting her early history, she regarded them as serious and as indicative of future difficulties.

She came to the student clinic and was referred to a psychologist who allowed her to describe her symptoms in detail. She talked quite readily, and before an hour had passed she had given her history and had seen some of the trends in it. She realized with little assistance that the anxiety pattern was one which had been established early in life and had shown itself whenever a crisis had occurred. The physiological responses to fear were identified as the normal response to fear stimuli. She realized how much she had been helped by discussing these things with her husband. She saw the role of her high standards and repressed hostilities. She told of the outlets that she had used in the past for relief of accumulated tension—music, walks, and writing. She left the first interview with understanding, assurance, and a plan which included talking little matters over with her husband and settling them rather than repressing them, writing out some of her experiences for better perspective, and satisfying basic motives through hobby outlets. Subsequent interviews proved the efficacy of the counseling and emotional outlets.

The pattern of the development of Beatrice, described above, except for the anxiety and fear component, is quite similar to some of the personalities described in the previous section. This similarity emphasizes the significance of background factors or deeper personality traits in emotional disturbances and shows that the symptoms are probably the result of constitution and specific factors in early life and of the many later circumstances and experiences. Some individuals with certain backgrounds will exhibit a depression as a symptom, others anxiety states.

A freshman at the age of 17, Victor S. weighed 165 pounds and was over 6 feet tall. He had a pleasing, mature, dignified appearance. It was not until he began talking that one realized his submissiveness and insecurity. He had grown up on an unproductive farm and with incompatible parents who he thought loved him very much. His only brother was four years younger, and according to Victor he had "a very different personality. More sociable, more stable, and more confident. He has always been of a different

temperament than I." As a young boy, Victor had acquired a strong fear of insanity and epilepsy. His grandfather had to be institutionalized for a period, later recovered, and made a good adjustment. At about the same time Victor saw a *grand mal* epileptic fit which disturbed him deeply for many weeks. Horror movies unnerved him and affected his dreams. His earlier than average pubic development upset him somewhat. Like many individuals who fear having a fit, he became nervous and emotional when in large groups like classes and assemblies. Yet he had a very strong desire to become a public speaker and had an almost naive faith that if he could become effective as a speaker he would gain control over other aspects of his personality.

His last years in high school and his first semester in college were a most disturbing period filled with feelings of insecurity, fears, lack of confidence about the future, and depression. He had very little contact with others the first month or so in college, but despite his emotional symptoms was able to work hard to produce a good record.

Eight or ten conferences with a counselor, in which he freely discussed his feelings, his background, and his forebodings, brought satisfying results. He had a job in a girls' dormitory and in time began to date some of the girls. Being an essentially handsome fellow, he received considerable attention from the girls but felt he could not carry his end of the conversation or become a smooth escort. Despite his fears he volunteered for the Army and, although he was washed out of officer's candidate school on the basis of personality, he again volunteered, this time for combat, with some inner conflict. His desire to go into the Army was in part similar to his determination to learn how to speak well and to elect courses in public speaking despite his fears of it. His good physique and outstanding ability and work habits, together with his frank attitude, free discussion of his troubles in conference, and increasing efforts to make more social contacts, particularly with the opposite sex, did much for him. Five years later, after a period of combat, he is back in school, seems more stable, is doing good work and intelligently regulating his activities. He frankly feels that he is unstable, has a tendency to be upset by certain vivid experiences and may always be that way. His early introverted life, fears, and possibly his basic constitution have left their influence, but he is accepting these as a reality and making a satisfactory adjustment to them.

Sid Q. came from a small town. At 19 he was a friendly, dynamic, red-haired boy of average ability. Like many students of his background, he found the first month in college very difficult. Despite this his participation in dances and bull sessions was above average. He had a strong interest in the outdoors and wanted to go into wild-life conservation. His father was a tense, irritable,

insecure individual with a superior education who felt that he had never been too successful. His mother seemed stable, even-tempered, and slightly protective. He remembered fearing storms and his father's wrath as a child. He also recalled being upset by noises and by the confusion of cities, and preferring to roam around in the woods. He stated that at an early age he was attracted to girls and had been ever since, but his interest in each was transitory.

He was referred first to the counselor because of psychosomatic symptoms, chronic digestive upsets and concern about his health. After several interviews he came in one day pale, perspiring, and trembling. His voice quavered and there were tears in his eyes. He stated that he was terribly upset and was experiencing great fears. At times he felt alone in the world, he said. Discussion with his father did not help, because his father said he, too, had been that way in his early life.

Sid then related the fear that he would jump from a moving bus, regurgitate his food in public, that he might slit his throat while shaving or jump from a window. He said this fear of himself and what he might do had become most acute recently while he was attending a meeting in a large nearby city. His excitement had subsided a little when he began to talk to a woman near him who undoubtedly reminded him of his mother, and her soothing effect upon him. He stated that this fear was associated with urination, that he was sure the boys in his house thought him peculiar because as soon as one of them entered the washroom his normal functions were inhibited and he had to leave the room. Until recently he had kept most of these feelings to himself and it was very relieving to him to discuss them.

Despite his fears, his friendly, pleasant manner, his vocational objective and his quiet, unassuming social skills carried him along and made many friends for him. His four years of college were punctuated by occasional visits to the clinic as the result of anxiety episodes. He found that writing out his symptoms was helpful, and in his senior year he began to gain some insight into some of his anxieties. One day he discussed quite freely with the counselor his fear of being different sexually because of masturbation and because of his attraction to feminine body odors. He said he felt very much like an animal because such odors attracted him. For a time he associated his behavior with homosexuality but later doubted that that was his problem because he evidently could make a good adjustment to girls. The feeling of difference and peculiarity worried him, produced a vague anxiety, and caused him some concern lest he go berserk and break the conventions his family valued so highly. The disturbances over his impulses and inner life were increased because he knew he was regarded by many adults as an ideal boy.

He was advised upon leaving school to make contact with a psychiatrist and continue this professional relationship. Further

insight and understanding of himself resulted, and he later married, secured a position teaching in a small town, and eight years after the first contact with the counselor was making a good adjustment despite occasional tense periods. He has had continual promotions and holds an outstanding position in the area of his state to which he has moved.

Development of fears and anxiety states. The young infant is frightened only by sudden or intense stimulation. Later, during his pre-school years, loud noises, falling, and insecure support, sudden, unexpected movements and strange persons, objects, and situations may frighten him. Many of the fears that were formerly thought to be native to man are not found in small children. Snakes, dark rooms, dogs, rats, fires, and many situations that frighten older children and some adults have little effect upon them. They can, however, learn to fear these objects when the objects are encountered simultaneously with unexpected movements, loud noises, or falling.

Muriel, 4 years of age, is standing near the fire. A spark happens to fall on her robe, igniting a small flame. Her excited mother screams, grabs the child, sweeps her from her feet, and begins rolling her on the floor to extinguish the fire. The child, too, screams and is terrified even though the burns are very slight. From then on Muriel is the only child in the neighborhood who greatly fears fires.

All of us acquire fears through some such conditioning process as this one. We associate some object that ordinarily does not frighten people with situations or a background that does. We learn to adjust to these isolated fears particularly if our ongoing activity in later life causes us to associate desirable results with those situations which we formerly feared. The child who fears the dark can be taught to lose this fear by playing pleasant games with his parents in the dark or by taking walks just before bedtime and seeing the constellations in the sky. Many children have learned to like dogs, which they formerly feared, by having friendly dogs around and experiencing the pleasure of their companionship. The fears that are most disturbing to us are the cumulative ones and those which are acquired on a background of general insecurity. In the cases described above, the individuals were not disturbed by isolated, single, intense fears, but by numerous fears acquired through

parents who themselves were insecure and anxious. A child will respond differently to a loud noise when he is alone in a strange room than he will when he is sitting in the lap of his soothing mother. Then, too, children differ greatly in their susceptibility to fear situations (51).

Interesting aspects of fear have grown out of war-time bombings. Children showed a more remarkable ability to take the bombings than had been anticipated. With the passage of time, fear seemed to lessen. The important factor was the emotional excitement exhibited by people around the child rather than the severity of the bombing. The child readily followed his parents' good or poor example (52). The high similarity of the fears of mothers and of children of pre-school age has been demonstrated before (53). There is evidence also that fears in children are associated with and probably intensified by feelings of guilt and apprehension concerning future punishment and displeasure from their parents.

The fear that we find, then, in the youth or adult is a complex phenomenon associated with general anxiety, insecurity, guilt, and impending punishment (54). It is rarely the result of a simple, single, intense, disturbing situation. We bring our past and background into new fear situations and make them much more disturbing than they would be if stripped of these trimmings. Studies of the many service men with anxiety states during service showed the importance of family and personal history (55). There is a disparity between the fears of older children and the "worst happenings" in their lives (56). Whereas a large percentage of the worst happenings reported by children from 5 to 12 fall under the headings of bodily injury, illness, accidents, and operations, only 13 per cent of these children feared such experiences. About half of the children feared non-promotion; only 1 per cent of them were "left back" in school. Some of this fear is due to threats from adults, reminders of fears, and general disparagement. Most of us in the period of our growth learn to fear a number of situations which, so far as our lives are concerned, will be harmless.

There are those who hold the philosophy that fear is a good deterrent and that if one worries he is sure to lead a better life than if he is carefree (57). Parents sometimes learn that the easiest way to repress the child is to frighten him. Instilling fear

is a much simpler process than building positive habits. So the child is told that the harmless rag picker will "get him." "Bogey-men" are ready to inflict punishment upon him if he doesn't comply with a certain command. Even Santa Claus has been endowed with punitive functions by parents. These methods, in many cases, produce ill effects that may persist for years.

Transfer of fears. Transfers multiply the fears of the mature individual. He may never again see the former boss who embarrassed him before his fellow employees, and whom he feared very much. There are, nevertheless, many men who resemble this boss and whose faces bring back the sensations of a quickened pulse, a change in facial expression, and thermal sensations in various parts of the body. The curve in the road which occasioned a traffic accident may not be traversed again, but there are other similar curves which recall the experience of seeing a dangerously close precipice.

Anxiety as a developed personality trait. It is not difficult to comprehend how a child who has been frightened into conforming many times daily throughout his development may grow up to be very submissive and easily frightened. Many of our shy, timid associates have developed these personality traits because of early, persistent fear and guilt experiences. When we are frightened or are made to feel that we have done the wrong thing continually, day after day, we acquire a mental set which causes us to be fearful even when there is no immediate danger. Fear in such cases becomes a personality trait. Extreme cases are known as anxiety states and are classified as psychoneurotic conditions. Anxieties, unlike specific fears, are vague. The object of them often cannot be named. They frequently arise *when deeply buried impulses to actions forbidden or censored in childhood are stirred and seek expression.* The individual in such cases puts emphasis on the anxiety or on the behavior alleviating it and avoids the underlying tabooed impulse.

Conflicts and suppression as the bases of fear and anxiety states. The cases discussed above illustrate a somewhat heterogeneous group of fears, all of them causing personality disturbances. In many, the fear or symptoms mentioned were not those of prime importance. The effective cause was a *suppressed conflict.* The individual refused to face the fear. He

failed to ascertain its origin and to evaluate it as an event in life which should be solved, not evaded. This is particularly true of disguised and vague fears. They cannot be taken at their face value. The thing or event feared is substituted for the real fear or suppressed experience.

In the cases of guilt, the individuals were not guilty of serious offenses, but the fact that they *believed* their misdemeanors were serious caused the conflict. It is interesting and important that often those who suffer most from guilt are not individuals with low ideals but with relatively high ideals which conflict with fundamental desires. Repression of sex impulses or worry over the effects of masturbation or sex play are often the cause of anxiety (58). Feelings of guilt and fears of sin are frequently the indications of a conflict between the desire to carry on the act and the standards preventing the act. The real fear in these cases is the fear of self, fear of violating standards, on the one hand, and fear of not satisfying the desires on the other. The solution is to face the conflict; to resolve it by deciding on a future course. The strong fear of the unimportant event will frequently disappear. In the early part of this chapter we discussed conflicts with ideals and standards.

Imagination as a factor in fears. The adult, much as the child, has many fears of conditions that are not imminent (51, 59, 60). His *imagination* is also active in suggesting endangering situations which are quite improbable. The feared ills that befall him are seldom as intense in actuality as in dread anticipation. He fears losing the job that he continues to retain, robberies and accidents which never occur, and embarrassments and failures which, compared with the fears which precede them, are trivial. Dreaded medical, dental, and legal appointments which prove later to be of minor difficulty are numerous among the experiences of all of us.

Narrow escapes have special potency in inducing imaginative fears of what might have been.

A man clung with numb fingers to the door of a closed Pullman as it sped through the outskirts of a city. He was discovered by a passenger in the train who helped him into the car. Later he sat in his seat and conjured images of the things that might have happened in that situation. He considered the possibilities of falling and being crushed by the wheels of the train. He saw himself

being left to die in the weeds or being frozen as he lay in unfrequented territory. His dreams for weeks were fear dreams.

We also relive the emotions of our fellows after their disasters have been called to our attention.

A witness to an amusement park catastrophe relates how he ruminated for hours over the possible thoughts of the victim of a balloon accident as this man anticipated his inevitable death. The witness describes how he shivered as he pictured himself clinging, as the unfortunate man had, to a rope attached to a rapidly rising balloon. He had images of the excited crowd below. He reviewed his own reactions to the pilot's stated inability to pull the rope into the basket. He thought over the necessity of holding fast to the rope for twenty minutes in order to be saved—an impossible task.

Improbabilities as sources of fears. Often the situations which cause our fears can be *avoided*. Very few of us who are afraid of high places are forced to climb mountains or cross a wide gap between two precipices on a small plank. Those of us who fear snakes do not have to walk through swamps where large poisonous serpents lurk. There are some fears, however, which cannot be avoided. Fears of failure, death, loss of or injury to loved ones, accidental injury, economic insecurity, disease, social insecurity, superior officers, audiences, criticism, gossip, and criminals are among the inevitable fears. These should be dealt with as suggested later in this section.

Space does not permit a discussion of all the fears man is capable of developing. One who would allow himself to fear all the disastrous events that can befall individuals would truly have material for intensive fear. Read the accidents reported in a large city newspaper and you can see that a person who is disposed to think of possible misfortunes happening to himself can find much to fear. Most of us, however, *separate possibilities from probabilities* and dismiss from the category of worry the possible but highly improbable events.

Evaluation of fears. Adult fears are not without some value. Apparently a certain degree of fear of possible dangers is stabilizing. We seldom elect to a responsible position a man who has no fears, whose action is not bridled in some way by the major conventions and by the fear of consequences of impulsive, careless action. Most of us regard the daredevil who tempts fate as unbalanced and dangerous to himself and others.

We expect an adult to have some fear of physical danger or social ostracism. Caution, deliberation, and wisdom all include an element of fear.

Strong fears, particularly of imaginary, improbable occurrences or of events over which we have no control, not only lack utility but are also destructive in nature. We know today the effect of a fear situation upon the physiological processes of the body. Blood pressure is raised, breathing is quickened, and sugar and red corpuscles are increased in the blood stream. These are accompanied by other changes which *energize the individual* and prepare him for forceful action. Primitive man had use for this energy in escape or in combat. In our modern civilized world there is seldom an outlet for this energy. There is available, on the one hand, excessive energy, ready to issue forth into action. On the other hand, in most situations in modern civilized life, there is need for carefully controlled, discreet, fine movements particularly in crises. At such times we seem "to go to pieces." We have difficulty in controlling our muscles. Thinking is handicapped by the strong impulse to action. Facial expression and general bodily posture betray our feelings, and we are almost incapacitated.

Worry. *The nature of worry.* Worry is associated with fear and anxiety. When we review fears mentally, magnify them, and continue to think of them as impending, we are worrying. Worry has been called a "circular reaction" (27). The thought of the dangerous situation arouses the fear, and the fear perpetuates the thought. The circle is broken only by an adaptive act. Worry and the accompanying anxiety are unpleasant and can be relieved by an adjustive attack on the problem at hand. Otherwise, the individual will remain in an emotional state for hours and sometimes for days. His digestion and sleep may be upset and he may become irritable and inefficient.

Frequently it is not an objective situation over which we worry. It is often a *subjective problem*, a condition in our personality. We usually meet real situations or events in a trial-and-error manner and often stumble on a solution, but inner problems are not so easily handled. Very often the person feels he cannot discuss that which worries him. If it is his health he worries about, he may be afraid to find the truth, fearing that it will make him unhappy. He may be afraid to discuss it with

others, believing they will think less of him. He may even think that the condition of his health reflects upon his previous habits or inner life. The same sort of reasoning usually takes place with other problems—sex problems, problems of ability, or problems of efficiency. Worry is the opposite of a frank attack or of a plan. It is an *escape* or defense from the real problem.

The pathological worrier. Psychasthenia, a milder mental disorder, includes as one of its outstanding symptoms a chronic tendency to worry. Let us describe the psychasthenic individual.

He usually is troubled by fears, and these fears arouse worries which persist. He worries about every imaginable problem. Sometimes his worries are vague. Calm him regarding one worry and he will find another. He is haunted also by obsessions or strange ideas. He believes himself weak, unpardonably sinful, or inadequate in some other manner. He sometimes fears that he will become insane. He may worry about harming others or being harmed in some strange way by someone else. He sometimes has compulsions. He sometimes feels that he must do certain things, such as drink so many glasses of water per hour, wash his hands at frequent intervals, or move in his chair frequently. This individual has thoroughly established habits which the normal person exhibits only occasionally.

Causes of worry. Since worries are related to fears, the causes are similar. Worries, like fears, may be learned from experiences and from associates. One may acquire the *habit* of worrying (61). Worries, however, are usually symptomatic of a mental conflict, a deeper feeling of insecurity, or an anxiety state (62), and if one is removed another occurs unless the conditions of insecurity are treated.

Peter C. had a relatively minor heart condition with good prognosis. He was referred to the counselor by a physician when he began staying awake nights worrying about his heart. Peter was 20 years old, tall and thin. He had returned to school after a few years of work in a brokerage office. Although essentially immature, he had a strong desire to appear mature and sophisticated. In language and manner he was quite successful in playing the role of the fellow who had been around and who had a great deal of confidence and know-how. It was not until after he had talked for ten or fifteen minutes, mainly about his health, insomnia, class cutting, and disgust with his recent behavior, that he stated the real problem. He said discussing this matter with a clinical psychologist was the last thing he wanted to do. He was doing it only on the strong recommendation of his physician.

Once he decided to talk about his personal life, what he mentioned seemed quite significant. His mother died when he was quite young. His father became Peter's main source of emotional solace but before long married a woman whom he loved deeply. Peter felt that he was rejected and that he had been chivalrous not to jeopardize his father's happiness, even though he felt very hostile toward his step-mother. He idealized in imagination his dead mother and longed for her in his many brooding periods in childhood. He now realized that his childhood had been warped and he undoubtedly saw some similarity between his step-mother's bid for attention through ill health and his own.

Peter tended to become very serious with girls and he frankly stated that his present condition could undoubtedly be traced to a recent love affair. He said he gave this girl everything—his whole inner self. He told her things he felt he should never have admitted to anyone about himself, about his inner feelings. He trusted her, and he feels now that he can never trust another girl. Apparently he had demanded a great deal from her and had felt that if she became physically intimate with him he could hold her better. Intimacies, however, stirred up guilt in her, and this guilt was probably one of the factors which caused her to leave him and to air the confidences he had given her.

Peter had an inordinate desire for attention and affection, no doubt related to the loss of it in early life. Probably the jealousy he felt toward his step-mother was related to his present desire to possess completely any girl he went with and to restrict her activities to his own selfish satisfactions. It bothered him that any girl he loved should find interest in anyone else, man or woman.

As he related events in his early and later life, he was unable to restrain his tears and sobs. These and other evidences of immaturity were very disturbing to him in view of his strong desire to be independent and self-confident, and tended to break the relationship between him and the counselor.

During later interviews he related that he no longer worried about his heart, that he recognized his real problem. It was his inability to trust people, to become close to them, and his fear of being hurt. His tendency to worry he saw as a smoke screen, and his concern over his heart as a bid for attention which was not too effective. His real anxiety and worry were related to his inability to satisfy immediately a very deep urge for affection from someone whom he could love and possess. He felt that his life would not be as long as the average, and for that reason he could not wait for this love, yet his own behavior seemed in the past to thwart all good intentions.

The attitude that worry is necessary. Some who have the worry habit believe it is their duty to worry in the presence of the possibility of danger. They feel that, if they have worried

over the matter, they have done all they can. They fail to distinguish the nervous, emotional, non-adaptive nature of worry from the adjustive, constructive nature of planning.

Some persons have frankly said that they worry about events which seem disastrous in prospect and are then greatly relieved when the actuality is not so bad. This is similar to hitting oneself on the head so that one will feel better when the blows cease. Others have a conviction that, if they do not worry when relatives or friends are facing danger, they are disloyal. They think that others expect them to worry and will consider them inhuman if they do not. They are not motivated by the advice: Do all you can about that which worries you, then assure yourself you have done all *you* can and turn your attention to more pleasant pursuits.

The worries of college women in one school were found to be more often about their personality, school work, and social life than about home, physical condition, or finances (63). Worries of children and youth apparently have not changed in frequency in the past twenty years, but there has been a tendency for them to worry less about natural events like storms and more about matters like popularity (64).

Suggestions for dealing with fears and worries. *Seek to understand your fears, anxieties, and worries.* Anxieties, fears, and worries, like the other phenomena discussed in this chapter, are often symptoms of underlying *conflicts* and feelings of *insecurity*. It is true that some specific fears are due to a very disturbing event. These fears as isolated experiences do not possess the disturbing qualities that those fears which become involved with our ego or total personality do. An isolated fear becomes a really disturbing problem when it in some way stigmatizes us, causes us to feel unworthy or inadequate to meet important goals.

The effective methods for dealing with anxieties and fears do not differ greatly from those suggested earlier in this chapter in our discussion of depressions and instability. When an individual can talk about his anxieties and fears or even write them out and gain perspective and objectivity toward them, they lose some of their disturbing aspects. Then the individual can come to understand them and to accept them as natural processes that follow a certain order. Then can he feel more capable of deal-

ing with them, as indicated in Chapter 7. He may even discover the role of *guilt* in the fear. He may see how these fears make him feel inadequate and how they have been accentuated by their association with other aspects of his personality. He will see how early events in his development have prepared the way for these fears. Chapter 5 showed how the many circumstances of our lives influence our total organization. The individual may find the childhood origins of his fears. He may see how they have served to punish him or how they have enabled him to escape responsibilities or how they have protected him in some way or other.

Repression, distraction, ridicule, and palliatives are ineffective methods. Some of the above insights can emerge in time as one progressively sees the fear in perspective. It is the antithesis of repressing the fear, trying to forget it, to wipe it out—a very difficult process sometimes, especially when a fear has strong physiological components. There are other commonly used strong-arm methods that have been found ineffective and sometimes harmful. They include trying to talk the person out of his fears, ridiculing him, forcing him physically or verbally to face the intimidating object against his will, staying away from a common but feared object (65–67).

For milder fears and anxieties the frank, calm writing out process can be recommended. In such cases one might seek a confidante or an understanding listener. For fears and anxieties that are not alleviated by some of the suggestions below, a *professional counselor* should be sought. A psychiatrist or clinical psychologist is recommended for the individual who has been anxious all his life and finds the anxiety growing with years. He can be assured from the outset that many others have been greatly assisted by seeking professional counsel. In fact, the first interview will be reassuring because he will undoubtedly feel much relieved by unburdening himself.

Knowledge about the event feared and the physiology of fear helps. Ignorance or lack of knowledge greatly accentuates fears (68). We fear the unknown and unfamiliar. We fear situations to which we are unable to react positively and in an adaptive manner. This was shown in warfare. Seasoned troops exhibited much less fear than inexperienced men because they knew what happened in conflict and had more knowledge of what they

could expect and what they could do about events. For this reason any valid, constructive *knowledge* about illnesses or future events that intimidate us lessens the fear.

One of the annoying aspects of fear is that it produces such violent *physiological changes*, changes which, as mentioned before, helped primitive man to adapt to the experience. In his simple reactions, when he met a feared object he was impelled either to fight or to run. For this he needed energy, and his body helped him for this feat. Today during fright we are put into a physiological state for violent, overt behavior even though the situations we fear now do not require this type of response. We cannot run away from problems within ourselves, insecurity, sensitiveness to censure and gossip, or illness. The vigorous bodily state of primordial life does not prepare us for the intangible fears of our day. All of us need to learn the appropriate reaction to fears in civilized society. Blood pressure increases and the heart accelerates in any fearful experience. We are aware of the quickened heartbeat. Breathing is accelerated and we become conscious of a choking sensation. Digestion is impaired; some people report feeling a lump in the stomach. The change in blood circulation from the interior of the body to the limbs is accompanied by changes in temperature which we feel. The tremor and stirred-up state continues because adrenalin is automatically poured into the blood stream and perpetuates the physiological states.

In modern life, as we shall indicate in the next chapter, these changes, instead of helping one, merely call attention to the body. The individual who tends to be preoccupied with his health anyway is sure there is something physiologically wrong with him, and he centers his attention on these changes. The anxious patient then comes to the doctor reporting what are natural fear changes. The preoccupation with the physical, besides being disturbing, *takes attention from the real issues*—the insecurities, the shame, the little, repressed experiences. If the individual can remain absorbed by these physical aspects of fear, he does not have to deal with the other unpleasant and embarrassing events in his background. On the other hand, when he learns that all the bodily sensations that have concerned him are normal, that when he is extremely anxious and terrified he should expect tumultuous inner states, he is moving toward

an attack of the real problem which started the vicious cycle of fear: preoccupation with the physical changes in fear, further fear that these are serious health conditions; continued and accentuated physiological processes; more fear.

Positive methods of dealing with situations reduce fear. Many of us, without realizing it, have fallen upon methods of dealing with our fears. Many times, as we develop skills in a situation, we have been better able to cope with it, and the initial withdrawal behavior or fear has disappeared (66). This is shown very clearly by the reaction of many children to school. For example, at nursery school, children show uneasiness and signs of fear, but with time they habituate to the situation and develop interests and skills which cause them to enjoy school (69). Sometimes the change of environment, particularly one in which the individual can feel free to start anew, has a desirable effect. New situations stimulate new interests and habits, and the individual learns means of adjusting to it, particularly if it is warm and hospitable. Camp is found to have this effect upon children with personal difficulties (70).

1. An example in athletics. A psychologist interested in the mental and behavioral processes involved in athletic skills has carried on some observations concerning the building of confidence in a situation which previously produced fear. He describes a football player who had lost his confidence and his ability to catch punts because of a fear situation, and presents a method of restoring confidence.

The boy in the case had just caught a punt with his usual deftness when two ends crashed into him, hurling him to the ground. The impact resulted in a slight concussion. When he resumed play he had lost confidence in his ability to catch punts. He seems now to fear the ball. He flinches as it comes down to him. He tightens his muscles and allows the ball to fall to the ground. He may be benched for a while in the hope that this will allow him to "come to his senses." Despite this, he does not improve. The sight of the ball is a fear stimulus. He must be re-educated or re-conditioned. The sight of the ball must be a stimulus to which he is to react with confidence. Therefore this association, ball-confidence, must be built again.

The re-education process consists of the following: First, this football player is asked to play "catch" with another man. He catches the football thrown to him with ease. This situation does not arouse the fear. It is too foreign to the other situation of

catching a kicked ball in a competitive game. After several days of catching the ball, two new men are introduced into the game with him. They stand at a distance at first. One is stationed on the right and the other at the left. The "yellow" player continues to play "catch" in the presence of these two men until he does it calmly and smoothly. Later, the two men move toward our subject, who is catching the ball. At first they move slowly. As the man catching the ball continues to catch with ease and confidence the men at the side run toward him with greater speed until he has "licked the situation." Later they run at full speed toward the player just as he is catching the ball, and continue this until it has no effect on him. Finally they tackle him mildly. This situation produced fear before he had gone through hours of practice with men moving around him. It is now continued until he can perform with confidence instead of fear. A new response has been built gradually to replace the former fear reaction. The player has been *re-educated* (71).

2. Military experience. Military experts have trained soldiers so thoroughly in the details of behavior during combat that in a terrifying situation the combatant can turn to these automatized acts, keep busy, and be relieved (72). When several hundred American veterans of the Spanish Civil War were questioned, 71 per cent mentioned experiencing greater fear before going into action, and only 15 per cent could recall fear during the action. During action, they had something to do. They were responding adaptively (73-74). If the action is appropriate to remove the situation, real or imagined, which caused the fear, then the action has two effects—putting the individual into motion to utilize the available energy, and removing the situation which is disturbing.

3. Other cases of re-education. Fear of water, of climbing high places, of people, or of any other objects or situations can be supplanted by success and confidence in the situation. To achieve this we must build positive, pleasant, and confident reactions in the place of fearful ones. It should be noted in the above case that the reconditioning was scheduled over a number of periods. If fear should enter at any time the learner should be brought back to an operation, in the case of a skill, to which he is able to respond with confidence and pleasure. This operation should be repeated until he can proceed to a more difficult one without fear. By daily exercise of this type, any fear can be replaced by learned confidence.

You should not expect to perform well in a situation you fear. No doubt part of your fear is worry that your performance will not be smooth or will be full of mistakes. This is inevitable, and most persons have gone through similar experiences. You may be sure that the embarrassment caused by this positive though possibly crude action will be far less troublesome than a continuation of the fear, anxiety, and worry. Great relief accompanies bringing a situation to a climax, even though it is not done smoothly.

Many times we fear situations which cannot be subjected to experimental control. Suppose you fear meeting people or attending parties. How can you build up a positive attitude toward them? The same paradigm may be used. Attend smaller, less important gatherings or functions in which you feel pleasant and ascendant. You may want to decline all invitations to the more pretentious and awe-inspiring affairs for a while. Continue to attend the other congenial parties until action at them becomes freer and easier. Then you may want to try other kinds of gatherings. Look at the whole process as a game. Go through the learning process without too much tension and seriousness. Try relaxing, and control of muscles will be acquired more quickly.

Utilize if possible the energy produced by the fear situation. It is far better to use the energy produced by the fear situation to combat it than to sit and suffer the terror. See what caused the noise upstairs; get right up and talk to the fellow who can get you into real trouble with his idle chatter about you, even if he does overpower you; see your teacher, your coach, your father, or your boss, and get at the basic issue that is worrying you and involves them. Life is full of these conflicts and anxious moments. The individual who has developed methods of meeting them has acquired a real strength. The individual who escapes from them by withdrawal lives with himself in a veritable hell.

Reassurance is helpful after steps have been taken to remove feared conditions. After you understand your fear and have planned a mode of action for its removal, it might be well to reassure yourself either when the fear occurs or when you discuss it with others.

Here is a student who fears he will not get a job. He knows that his fear is the result of his inability to secure a position in preceding summers and his dislike of office-to-office solicitation. He has discussed the matter with a college adviser and recognizes that his present fear is not the result of a real danger but is colored by past failures. Furthermore, he has developed a technique for making contacts with businessmen in the field he wishes to enter. Each time he fears inability to get a position, he sits down and writes a letter to one of the businessmen on the long list he has accumulated. Often he reassures himself in this manner: "I realize my fears have no basis in fact. They grow from past experience. I have nothing to fear now. I am using a method that has proved successful in the past. I am acting upon valid advice. I am writing several well-planned letters each week. There is no reason why I should fear unemployment. I have developed the skills required by the positions for which I am applying. I have done all that I can do. Fear will not help but will hinder me. I have no reason to be afraid." He repeats this a number of times and often falls asleep as he is repeating it in a relaxed state.

Rehearse feared activities in situations which normally do not arouse the fear. We saw previously that if an individual who stutters is drilled in stuttering voluntarily he tends to gain control over the process and the stuttering is lessened. He is brought into the clinic and told to practice stuttering. This method of practicing an act which he previously dreaded tends to eliminate the act (75). The technique may be applied to the eradication of fear.

Sit down alone in a room where you usually feel calm and at ease, and try to relive the fear experienced.

A college co-ed feared examinations. She had average ability but had always been subdued by the school situation. Even in grade school, teachers frightened her. A couple of her early teachers had streaks of sadism and had selected her as a child of whom they might make a victim. In her freshman year in college, her school work was complicated by a job which consumed much of her time and energy. Time was precious, and she never quite finished her preparation for class. This caused her to fear that questions would be asked on material she had not covered. She walked into her classes trembling.

She talked over her fears with a counselor and saw some of the attitudes which were producing them. Since the time factor in taking the quizzes was her greatest concern, it was suggested that she take a number of trial quizzes planned by her roommate and performed under as nearly the same conditions as obtained in the

classroom as possible. She was to have the same number of questions, to be completed in the same amount of time. She was to do this a number of times before each quiz. She suggested that it might be well for her to curtail her program. She had been thinking about dropping a course. This would give her more time to cover the material of the other courses and thereby assure her of thorough coverage and remove one of the causes of her fear.

Miscellaneous aids in fear. Let us not forget that the important adjustment that the individual must make is (1) straightening out through discussion the events in his past experience and the circumstances which are making him *insecure* in the present; (2) building habits to deal with the situation he tends to avoid. However, there are many other suggestions that have helped remove the fear symptoms that are so vigorous and upsetting when one is frightened.

Associates who experience fear but are outwardly calm help in crises. We saw previously that children did not experience too much fear during bombings if their parents were calm. The same sort of calming effect grows out of talking out our fears with some understanding person. Calm associates only have a disturbing effect when they make us feel inferior by contrast. Soldiers were told that humor helps. All of us have had some experience in which the sense of humor that produced a good laugh helped us through some terrifying situation. Likewise, companionship or fellow victims have some value at these times. The higher the *morale*, loyalty, and personal relationships between men during battle, the less they seem to go to pieces. Certainly repressing the presence of fear, being reluctant to *admit its existence*, being afraid or ashamed of fear and its implications does not help. An inner calm that has been associated with *faith and religion* and the belief that there is some order in the universe has been mentioned as important, and many people report that it has meant a great deal to them (73, 75).

Emotional stability. We saw that the student who is emotionally stable has a minimum of mental conflicts. He knows where he stands on matters which are vital to him. He is usually one who strives for goals which he can reach. He has insight into his mental life and does not encourage experiences which are contrary to his basic motives and personality traits.

He has a background of previous experience in which he built valuable habits and attitudes. He is prepared to meet the situations which the world presents to him. He neither escapes into emotional depressions nor does he ignore his problems by effusiveness. He is well balanced. A more complete discussion of the adjusted individual is given in Chapter 16.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SELF-CONFIDENCE

REDIRECTING FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY

Feelings of inferiority and self-consciousness are symptoms similar to depressions and other signs of emotional disturbance. Like depressions, they are the result of frustration of needs. They are less cyclical than depressions and unstable behavior and are related more to inadequacies in skills and social endeavors rather than to moral and ethical standards (1). Such feelings are found very frequently in varying degrees among peoples in our culture. The causes of and the effective modes of dealing with these states are not dissimilar to those found in the behavior discussed in the previous chapter.

We have arbitrarily grouped the material in this and in the preceding chapter on the basis of the severity and frequency of the symptoms. In Chapter 14, we have dealt with symptoms and patterns of personality which are found in all people but which in their extreme form constitute disturbing emotional disorders. To some extent feelings of inferiority and self-consciousness have the same effect. However, they vary in degree and appear to be less disorganizing and more readily harnessed as motivation for accomplishment than the phenomena discussed in the preceding chapter. These two patterns of response, then, are grouped together in this chapter and presented as fairly normal reactions of response to frustration in our culture.

The paradox of the inferiority feeling. It is arresting to realize how many people in our culture have feelings of inferiority. It is even more astonishing to learn that feelings of inferiority are quite often found in people with talents and superior aptitudes, interests, and accomplishments. Biographies and autobiographies bear testimony to the existence of handicaps

and experienced difficulties in the development of outstanding personages, as indicated below.

Lord Byron, we are told, was extremely sensitive about his club-foot. He was considered a dullard in school. He was socially ostracized because of moral indiscretions. Because of these many factors which blighted his daily existence he turned to poetry and with his excellent style created lines which will live forever.

Charles Darwin was reared by a stern father. Mr. Darwin wanted his son to study medicine. Charles was so fond of his father and so submissive to his wishes that he pursued the study of medicine even though he realized that it was unsuited to his taste. He finally turned to the career of naturalist over the protests of his father. He felt that since his father did not agree with him on the choice of career he must succeed. We are told that, although he formulated his evolutionary theory at the age of 30, he waited until he was 56 before he published it for fear of offending his father.

Poe suffered from sensitiveness to slander caused by the other boys at the aristocratic school which he attended. He was also embarrassed when reference was made to his mother, who had been an actress and whom he idealized. It is recorded that he had "weak lungs," and this probably added to his feeling of inferiority.

Biographies bring to readers' minds the many handicaps encountered by the leaders in every realm of our culture. John Bunyan, the celebrated English writer, was the son of a tinker. James Hook, a well-known English navigator, was the son of a common laborer. Andrew Jackson was descended from Irish immigrants. Martin Luther was from peasant stock. Daniel Defoe was the son of a London butcher. The adroit Cardinal Richelieu's ancestors lived in provincial obscurity. George Eliot was the daughter of a carpenter. Many of these individuals were initially without the cultural advantages we might expect them to have enjoyed when we consider their later achievements. Part of their motivation may have been their handicaps and feelings of inferiority that possibly attended them.

It is interesting that many great men and women were shadowed by feelings of inferiority *even after they had achieved* wide recognition.

Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, was so conscious of his behavior that the slightest error or defeat humiliated him greatly. When he

failed to achieve the highest honors at Oxford he was so chagrined that he resolved to compensate through later success. He spent hours night and day working on an essay that won him the Lowthian prize. He was a person who had few physical assets but his memory was remarkable, his powers of concentration unusual, and his range of interest wide (2).

Persons of superior ability and ideals very often are unable to apply their keen mental abilities to the analysis of their own personalities. Their conception of themselves has been colored by early, vivid, emotional experiences. If they ever gain a true conception of themselves they are well along in life, and habits are established.

Cases of students who feel inferior.

Ivan E., a sophomore, has a good family background. His father, who has been dead four or five years, was an engineer, held an executive position in a large company, and was influential in his community. He was very active in public life and very popular among his friends. His mother is socially inclined, but since the death of her husband has been limited financially and socially. Ivan, as well as his mother, probably felt the "come-down" that decreased income and prestige brought to them after the death of this socially prominent husband and father. His sister, who is several years older, is a graduate of an exclusive southern school for women. There has always been rivalry between them.

Physically this boy is about average. He is rather well built and is of medium height. When he is groomed and uses his genial smile he appears to be a very likeable person. Physical changes at adolescence altered his appearance from the "cute boy" to a less attractive, more awkward youth. Along with these changes there also occurred almost imperceptible evidences of acne, which became the focus of a strong complex which broadened to cause him great mental anguish.

Ivan was an excellent student, following in the footsteps of his sister, until the last two years of high school. Then his grades began to fall slightly. His teachers continued to believe him a young man of high, and in some respects extraordinary, ability. He put forth very little effort at this time, although when he worked he was capable of writing themes which would compare favorably with those of a superior sophomore or junior in college. There is a cynical slant to many of his remarks.

Until puberty he was not at all interested in social activity. He had many friends who enjoyed the typical gang-age play. Although he was not outstanding, he was "one of the boys." Toward the junior and senior years in high school he began to be conscious of social activity. He also became conscious of his family status and

of the status of the families of other boys in town. He was most interested, however, in the popularity that some of his classmates enjoyed. He felt that he was far below them in popularity, and he also felt that he was markedly inferior in the ways of the world. He thought he was more awkward socially, was not so smooth in getting along with others and in his ability to attract members of the opposite sex. Social activities were very painful to him. He came away from them depressed and feeling that he was a failure. He dated several girls with mild success. He did not seem to be very greatly interested in them except as they were symbols of popularity.

He vacillated between the feeling that he was one of the group and that he had been taken in merely because of his family background. Objectively, it looked as though he had been included in the group because its members liked him. Since he was highly sensitive and had a strong feeling that the imagined severity of his acne was a hindrance to his social status, he overemphasized minor incidents. He also tended by his attitude to fail to gain the popularity he deserved. Fields in which he showed the most talent are those which the popular student ignores. He felt he was slow in gaining the skills that are most respected by the high school senior, skills of a social and superficial nature.

It is highly probable that the home situation caused his sensitiveness to a great extent. His desire was to receive the approval of a higher stratum of society, and persons of lower status were repellent to him. One of his strongest attitudes was disgust of persons from rural background, persons who dress in a slovenly fashion, and individuals who are awkward and lacking in urbanity. At times he identified himself with these persons. He felt that he was more like them in appearance and manners than those of his own social class. This thought disturbed him greatly. His mother may have consciously or unconsciously been cognizant of her difficulty in keeping her social status at a reduced income and therefore may have influenced her son. She may unknowingly have urged him to mingle with a more presentable type of boy. He may have been imbued with sensitiveness to social classes. This may have been the background for a conflict, the elements of which had been built up over a period of years.

Ivan spent considerable time by himself. He tended to think long and deeply about some of the matters that disturbed him. His thinking was not of the objective type. It was more in the nature of brooding. After a year of this he began to avoid groups. Finally in desperation he talked over the whole matter with his mother. He indicated how inferior he felt, how his emotion was so great in social situations as to make such events intolerable. Much of his peculiar behavior, such as chronic tardiness, withdrawal from his group, and avoidance of public places, could be explained in terms of a strong feeling of inferiority centered around

his alleged serious acne and his unattractiveness for girls. His tendency to stay at home increased, more delusions developed, and his mother finally consulted a clinical psychologist.

Ivan was unwilling to discuss his difficulties. He did not want to be regarded as a problem. Furthermore, he felt that his real disturbance was too painful to discuss. Only during one interview which lasted several hours did he by means of a circuitous method give a hint regarding the nature of his problem. It was obvious that he regarded his inferiority, which he believed culminated in acne, as a very serious thrust at his ability to get along in the world. He felt that if the acne could not be cured there was not much reason to go on living. No doubt guilt over masturbation was a factor. He may even have connected his post-pubertal appearance with this habit. He had certain social standards, and he must either meet these standards or life would not be worth while. He was an extreme perfectionist, partly as compensation for his felt unworthiness. He had certain delineated notions about what an adolescent should be like. He fell short of these in many respects, but particularly in appearance. He thought himself repulsive, and he was convinced that everyone so considered him. This explained why he did not appear in public more often, and why he had shunned his social acquaintances when he believed his acne most pronounced. No doubt fantasy in his lone moments accentuated his conflict because he probably dreamed of personal greatness. The books he read were about persons who by their accomplishments had pulled themselves up from obscurity.

Ivan saw several counselors over a period of time. He stayed out of school half a year, and many of his associates in town knew that he was having emotional difficulties. His first year in college was spent in another state, and distance gave him a certain amount of perspective. His college career was stormy and uneven but on the whole profitable because he was coming in contact with reality more vividly and he was making friends more frequently with individuals who had traits similar to his. As time and experience accumulated over a period of several years, the counselor got the impression that Ivan was accepting the realities of life and of himself more philosophically. He was less perfectionistic, perhaps to the point of being fatalistic. Alcohol was substituted for some of his more introverted escapes.

As yet, Ivan has not accomplished what his early high school teachers had expected of him or he had expected of himself. Although his formal education did not lead to a degree or to outstanding performance, Ivan is an avid reader and his later interest in real life in lieu of daydreams has brought him many experiences which undoubtedly have given him a richer if not more conventional life.

The case of Ivan illustrates that, although feelings of inadequacy, unworthiness, and inferiority may be the major symptoms, individuals who experience these deeply may also show the symptoms discussed in the previous chapters, such as depressions, disorganized behavior, and tendencies to use alcohol.

Marie T. was the youngest of ten children and lived in a little farm community not far from a good-sized town. Most of her brothers and sisters had made a very good adjustment, some of them winning recognition in professional life.

She recalls her childhood as a combination of overprotection and mild rejection. She was told by one of her brothers once in a moment of anger that she was an unwanted child and had always been an unwelcome responsibility for the older children. She had come into the family, he said, when her parents had felt that they had reared all the children they were going to have. This depressed her, and she felt there was a great deal of truth in it. It worries her even now.

She remembers that her adjustment to life outside of the home was very difficult. She cried and was sick when she first attended the schools in town and realized that there she would not be given special privileges. It was a disillusionment to her that her belief in her family's superiority was false, that they were merely "country hicks who had made good." Adjustment to the social life in town had always been difficult. Even today she feels inferior and inadequate when dealing socially with members of either sex. She realizes now that she was not given enough opportunities to develop on her own, that she was just allowed to grow up. Too much was done for her, and she did not develop skills and sources of confidence in early life or adolescence. Her parents were too old to be interested in her generation, and her older brothers and sisters were absorbed in their own families. She was isolated from other children and had never been encouraged to develop any initiative or aggression which might have enabled her to make a place for herself with her contemporaries.

"Although I get along all right with them and know a number of people, I don't seem to be one of them," Marie said. "They do not choose me. I have never learned how to enjoy parties. I have had very few dates, and I am never selected for anything on the basis of my personality."

Marie is attractive enough in physical features. Her grooming is colorless and below average, and her shyness and unwillingness to venture forth in social situations up to the present have been a liability. She has received good grades considering her average ability, and, if a boy should find her attractive and give her a great deal of attention, she would undoubtedly blossom out and her regard for herself would be greatly improved. A warm friendship

with a girl who would encourage her in grooming and in developing her assets would also aid her.

Harry T.'s mother died when he was a junior in high school. Shortly afterward, his father remarried and moved to a different part of the city. Harry decided he would be happier on his own, so he found a job and roomed near the high school. He was graduated and entered the university. He was a student of superior ability and rather good work habits, but he missed the affection he formerly received. Furthermore, his below-average height motivated him. At the university he earned practically all his expenses. When he was interviewed as a freshman, he appeared to be very ambitious. He inquired searchingly about courses which would qualify him for the vocation he wished to enter. He made an active effort to orient himself to college and found several odd jobs for himself. He planned his own curriculum. As soon as he was financially able, he subscribed to a professional journal so that he could learn more about the field into which he was going. He joined several extracurricular activities. His ear was always close to the ground for an opportunity to give him experience in writing, the field he was planning to enter. As a senior, he wrote 25 letters to various newspapers and succeeded in finding a position superior to those which many of his fellow students found.

Although Harry is an outstanding example of a self-made person, and now, five years after graduation, has been unusually successful in his chosen field, has married, and apparently has a happy family life, his feeling of inferiority was a strong influence throughout his high school and university years. Underneath his pleasant, obliging manner, one could sometimes detect a nervousness and feeling of inadequacy which found compensation in his aggression and accomplishment. The counselor saw that his great restlessness and drive for success grew out of earlier experiences which Harry never discussed with anyone. Rather than reflect on his feelings of insecurity, he plunged feverishly into opportunities to distinguish himself; he will probably always be above average in initiative and accomplishment.

Nature of inferiority feeling. *It is an emotional reaction to believed failure.* Some of us realize that we are inferior in some ways, admit it, and turn our attention to something else. If we are able to do this with calm, we do not have an inferiority complex. One who has never aspired to be a singer may know that he cannot sing and therefore at no time becomes emotional over his poor musical aptitude. A young lady is well aware that she cannot compete in efficiency with some of her contem-

poraries in the commercial world. In fact she often jokes about her incompetence. She realizes, however, that she is markedly superior to any of them in her ability to get along with others and to handle social situations, which to her is more important.

There is a difference, then, between *knowledge* of inferiority and a *feeling* of inferiority. The inferiority feeling is an emotional state of mind. The individual who is bothered by it feels inadequate or insecure, usually because of events early in his life. In compensation he now sets his goal high, often unreasonably high. He often *fails to reach this high goal*, and his inadequacy is exaggerated. As a result he feels inferior and inadequate. He is not the free, pleasant, likeable personality that he might be.

It varies with the individual. The form of *believed failure* varies with the individual (3). He may feel that he is of poorer stock or quality than most people. He may feel that he has sinned. In all cases, however, he falls short of a goal which he accepts as important.

Frequently the individual is not *clearly conscious* of the nature of his inadequacy. All he experiences is a vague unpleasantness, a dissatisfaction with himself, an irritability, or an unwholesome aggressiveness. He may feel thus for years and not analyze the reason. He may learn only from others the real cause of his sour attitude. Some people have an abundance of insight. They know exactly what causes them to feel inferior. They can trace the origin of this feeling. It is highly conscious in nature.

The *intensity* of the feeling also varies. Some individuals are conscious most of their waking moments of an unpleasant belief that they are "not as good as others." They show it in their glances and their withdrawal from or aggression toward their fellows. Others are not so disturbed. At times they are aware that they are not reaching the goal they have set for themselves. This is mildly unpleasant, so they tend to do something about the matter.

We differ also in the way in which we *react* to feelings of inferiority. Some react to such feelings by aggressiveness, others by retirement, others by substitution of hard work in another field. Later, we shall consider all these reactions in detail.

Another manner in which individuals differ regarding feelings of inferiority is the degree to which they will *admit* that they

feel inferior and that it disturbs their behavior. Some very readily admit inferiority and resign themselves to its stigma. Others use inferiority as a spur to further accomplishments. Still others continually dodge the realization that they do feel inferior. They go to great lengths to deny to themselves that they are or feel inferior.

Symptoms of an inferiority complex. What is the person with an inferiority complex like? How does he seem to his acquaintances? How does he feel? Read the following statements and you will know some of the major symptoms of the person who feels inferior (4).

1. Is self-conscious.
2. Pays serious attention to little things that may have reference to himself.
3. Is sensitive to blame.
4. Worries about little things he has said or done—slips, breaks, social blunders, etc.
5. Is given to self-criticism.
6. Is sensitive to praise.
7. Daydreams.
8. His feelings are easily hurt; is touchy, oversensitive.
9. Has a secret ideal or ambition.
10. Worries about his ability to succeed in fields where he most wishes to succeed.
11. Is sometimes oppressed in the midst of an enterprise by a sense of his unfitness to carry it through.
12. Analyzes his own motives, feelings, likes, dislikes, etc.
13. Often feels that something he has said or done has hurt someone's feelings or made enemies.
14. Compares his abilities and achievements with those of other people.
15. Is dissatisfied with his progress and achievements up to the present time.
16. Is easily embarrassed.
17. Is given to remorse and regrets.
18. Lives in the future to a considerable extent.
19. Is embarrassed by the memory of scenes and blunders long after they have happened.
20. Hesitates to put his abilities to the test.

The symptoms of the inferiority complex cannot be fully described in a check-list of this type. It is difficult to separate inferiority complexes from feelings of self-consciousness, emotional instability in general, chronic emotional depressions, and

other personality problems. The symptoms of these problems and of the inferiority complex overlap, and many of the causes and reactions which are found among persons who become depressed or readily emotionally effusive are common to the person whose main symptom is a feeling of inadequacy. The frustrating conditions express themselves in terms of the unique fighting or surrender habits which the individual develops. Let us examine in more detail some of the different symptoms that usually accompany feelings of inferiority and their classification.

Withdrawal behavior. 1. Self-consciousness. We shall discuss this in detail later in this chapter.

2. Timidity. General timidity and fear of attempting difficult and unfamiliar tasks is another accompaniment of the inferiority complex. The individual is afraid of failure. He doesn't want to try a task or to *compete* with others because he is sure that he will fail. Failure is more unpleasant to him than to most people. He very often plunges into non-competitive activities and does well, but when he feels that he has to compete with anyone he shrinks from the situation.

3. Daydreaming. When one feels inferior and the means of overcoming this inferiority seem blocked one often turns to daydreams. Daydreams of this type consist of images of future *success*.

Some daydreams, of course, are of the *persecutory* type. The dreamers see themselves in the role of the martyr. Their satisfaction is gained in the consolation that their loved ones, enemies, or future generations will realize how they have suffered and thereupon proclaim them great personages. This has been discussed as a reaction to frustration in Chapter 5.

4. Irritability. Many persons have a sour, cynical, or irritable attitude as a result of their failure to attain the success or attention they desire now or desired earlier in life. They become critical of others; they are non-cooperative; they are bitter toward the successful; they complain about their own hard luck or feel that they have not been given a chance. This group sometimes shows envy of the possessions or the attributes of others. Their attitude of surrender, substantiated by a good cause for their surrender, protects them from fighting to overcome their inferiority. This behavior is often accompanied by sensitiveness and "touchiness." If we should discuss areas in

which this individual feels inferior he might be reluctant to talk about the matter. He may even think that we are referring to his inferiority when we wish merely to discuss the field.

Aggressive symptoms. The symptoms we have given above are those which indicate that the individual who shows them feels inferior to others and has a disinclination to overcome this inferiority. He is "whipped," so to speak. Not all persons with feelings of inferiority give evidence of them through retirement. Many become very aggressive. Frequently a person who experiences an inferiority complex will try to overcome it. His manner of compensating for his inferiority is rarely a planned attack. Instead it is usually an impulsive, somewhat emotional struggle to protect his ego or achieve recognition. Below are a few of the aggressive symptoms of inferiority feelings (5).

1. Extreme self-assertiveness. All of us are acquainted with the arrogant individual. This person makes his presence known, and usually in an objectionable manner. He may do this by speaking in a loud voice, wearing peculiar clothes, demanding his rights in every situation, or criticizing others caustically (1). Tattooed men, for example, were found to be less stable than those with no tattoo marks on their bodies (6). Whatever this individual does, he does with considerable flourish. He usually assumes a superior attitude, is overbearing, and is somewhat of a bully. He is a grandstand player. He may act with great confidence, but he usually shows in some way that he is ill at ease in holding this superior position. It is a front which requires effort to maintain. He may not show the disorganization of some of the individuals discussed in the preceding chapter under "Directing Unstable Behavior."

2. Bad temper and emotional explosion. Should you tease a person who feels inferior, should you refer to his inferiority in a light way, he is likely to explode. He may become quite emotional and irritable, and he may feel greatly hurt by your remarks. He may turn upon you and deliver himself of an excoriating criticism of your activities or personality. He may bring to light incidents in the past that he has held as evidence against you.

3. Perfectionistic behavior. A perfectionist is one who has very high standards in many realms. He feels that his behavior must be perfect. He is unwilling to compromise with his stand-

ards, which are frequently unreasonable, so he performs many everyday activities over and over again. He will not permit himself to make the slightest error. This individual may expect high grades in all courses. He may expect to be a success not only scholastically, but also in dramatics, athletics, social activity, and practical affairs. He is not satisfied with his average looks, average social esteem, average grades, or average popularity. *He must be perfect* in all or most endeavors or he is dissatisfied. He loves flattery; in fact he over-reacts when he is complimented.

4. Compensatory activity. Perfectionism sometimes leads to superior accomplishment. This is particularly true if it finds its major assertion through the talents of the individual. The individual who feels inferior *must* succeed. He works many hours in order that his achievements may be perfect. His compensations may be in any channel. They may be of a social type, but usually they are not. He may become an extremely genial and helpful person. He may become a champion for the underdog, may enter the field of art, music, science, or commerce and achieve above-average success as a result of his hard work. He may enter the field of athletics and with his high motivation win fame. In every case, however, this person puts forth an unusual amount of effort in his attempt to be successful. If it happens that the effort is exerted in a field in which the individual has real abilities, the results are very satisfactory and in some cases extraordinary.

Many great men owe a portion of their achievement to the fact that they experienced marked feelings of inferiority when they were younger. Many persons with outstanding accomplishments owe the skills of their trade and the knowledge which has helped them achieve recognition to perfectionistic habits which grew from feelings of inferiority in youth. It is through compensation that the feeling of inferiority often becomes one of the greatest assets the individual possesses.

Not all rabid compensation that leads to success is wholesome. There are many neurotic people who through domination and excessive drive have bent circumstances and the will of others to fit their purposes and to satisfy their urge for power. Recent history gives us many examples. Sometimes we do not have to go far afield to find a little dictator who has run roughshod over lives of others in order to amass a reputation or fortune for

himself. Such a person is rarely well balanced or happy, but is satisfying his own neurotic motivation.

Abnormal or delinquent behavior. Just as the individual may become loud and bullying in his attempt to gain recognition, so he may turn to *anti-social* activities. Childhood thefts have been traced on occasions to the desire on the part of the child to be superior. The child may steal money in order that he may buy candy for the other boys and win their approval. He may steal to show them that he is a real boy and can do daring things. He may steal a bicycle, for example, in order to possess such a symbol of prestige. Sometimes the adolescent desires superiority so strongly that he may violate rules and break laws to achieve it. Disobedience and insubordination are found among persons who feel inferior. Pathological lying may be an attempt to gain superiority. Extreme jealousy may be the result of a believed or actual preference by the parent for another child in the family. When this asocial behavior is continued and the individual's personality seems disorganized as a result, when he does not respond to treatment and does not profit by experience, he is considered psychopathic.

Inferiority conflicts may lead to the *hysterical* behavior to which other conflicts lead. The individual may gain recognition through illness. He may project his mental difficulties into physical symptoms. In extreme cases he may even build up *delusions*, think that others are persecuting him, and organize an elaborate system of thinking in order to defend himself from the persecution. He may believe that he possesses some greatness, or that he is an adopted child and his real parents were famous. Frenzied compensation that grows from a piercing feeling of inferiority may take any of these undesirable asocial forms.

Cases illustrating inferiority symptoms.

A 20-year-old college student had been called a sissy in high school and had failed to rate with some of the other boys. As a result he built himself a trapeze in his back yard, acquired some gymnasium weights, and spent a half-hour every day building up his body until he had developed massive shoulders.

A sophomore co-ed had realized in high school that she was not so pretty as the average girl. At that time she made a systematic effort to be pleasant. She was very kind to the other girls and helpful to the boys. She groomed very well. She was very con-

scious of styles and selected materials to blend with her hair, eyes, and complexion. At the present time she is considered a college leader, and she possesses a charming personality as a result of her efforts to compensate.

A 21-year-old college student was born and reared in the slums. He carries the mark of his early days with him in his speech. In his attempt to better his social status he has suffered a number of rebuffs. He realizes he is not accepted so readily in social gatherings as other students. As a result he has a "chip-on-the-shoulder" attitude. He continually tries to put others at a disadvantage and to point to his own accomplishments. At every meeting he rises and gives his opinion.

A pretty, capable, extremely modest, and self-effacing young girl tells the counselor confidentially that she feels inferior. She recalls that her step-mother resented every minute of attention her father gave her. She was criticized constantly as a small child. She took this attitude of inferiority to school. She cringed and shook every time a teacher raised her voice. In spite of the fact that she receives good grades in school, is well liked by the few who know her, and is pretty, she still thinks herself very inadequate. She does not appreciate her physical charm or intellectual ability.

Summary. From an explanation of the symptoms and a review of some of the cases above it is clear that previous experience leads to these attitudes of inferiority and that the individual may, on the one hand, react to these attitudes by withdrawing, surrendering, and regarding himself as incapable of meeting a responsibility or, on the other hand, he may become aggressive, flighty, bumptious, and in some cases hard-working in the field of some talent. Now let us trace some of the causes of the feeling of inferiority.

Causes of feelings of inferiority. Individuals develop feelings of inadequacy, unworthiness, and inferiority as the result of patterns of circumstances and influence rather than single events. It might be well at this time for the reader to review Chapter 6 to see the numerous influences that may operate to produce shame, chagrin, and unfavorable comparisons with others.

A persistent feeling of *difference* often causes a feeling of inferiority. If one belongs to a minority religion or race, or has some physical characteristic which distinguishes one in a neutral or negative manner from others, feelings of inferiority result. An

excessively lenient parent may rob a child of the experiences he needs. A nagging, *overcritical*, or rejecting, perfectionistic parent, teacher, or relative may sow the seeds for future feelings of inferiority.

The focus of inferiority may be one of many negligible aspects of the individual's *physique* or personality. Almost all children in our culture believe themselves physically inferior in some respect (7). Frequently the adolescent will focus his attention upon some aspect of his body or behavior, brood over it, become emotional about it, associate it with many unpleasant experiences, and finally develop a complex in relation to it. The individual may believe his or her ears are too big, neck too long, mouth too wide; that his or her teeth are crooked, eyes peculiar, profile bad; that he or she has too large a nose, a receding chin, red hair, freckles, acne, shortness or tallness of stature, large hips, large or small sex organs, large mammary glands, hair that is too curly or too straight. Each of these physical causes has resulted in anguish in individual instances (8).

Among the *social* causes are: lack of a car; vocation of parents; reputation of parents; language and cultural level of parents; scandal in family; lack of social qualities in some members of the family; place of residence; amount of spending money; condition of clothes; habits and attributes enforced upon the child by the parents regarding, for example, first name, use of cosmetics, use of beverages, late hours, dating, a modern type of dress (9-14).

Other specific social factors are: membership of family in certain groups, such as Communist party, Christian Science church, Jewish religion, Italian, Swedish, or Polish racial groups, marriage of any member of the family to one of these groups, membership or non-membership in labor union, or the like.

It is obvious that at adolescence, when the individual becomes very conscious of social standards, inferiorities are more apt to develop than at any other period. At this time believed inferiorities may shape the whole behavior of the individual. It is interesting that the person who *feels* inferior need not actually *be* inferior in terms of objective indices, such as measures of physical, mental, social, or economic conditions (15, 16). Seldom is the *minority* group of an inferior character at all (17). It may merely be different in its behavior. Members of the majority

group assume that any variation is wrong. Therefore they implicitly or explicitly persecute the minority group. Often this persecution is an emotional outlet for the majority group. This same majority group may in another situation be the minority group and take on all the disadvantageous qualities. For example, the Roman Catholic may feel inferior if there are only one or two members of his faith in a group of three or four hundred Protestant students. On the other hand, a Protestant student may feel inferior in a Catholic university. Likewise an "A" student in a fraternity in which grades are not considered important may feel out of his element, whereas a "D" student will feel very ill at ease in a class of Phi Beta Kappas. This is an extremely important factor which cannot be emphasized too greatly. Most persons who suffer from feelings of inferiority assume that the characteristic which makes them feel inferior and which has caused them unpleasantness is undesirable in and of itself.

Our strongly competitive attitude certainly does not help. Children are often encouraged to compete in fields in which they are inferior in constitution and background. The new movement in education which individualizes the teaching and guidance of the child so that he may find the activities that afford him greater success and satisfaction should do much to prevent the stereotyping which has occurred in the past. Certain communities are more culpable than others in encouraging the "keeping up with the Joneses" attitude in setting fictitious cultural ideals. Our American democracy and present interfaith religious movements emphasize the principle of the acceptance of people of all patterns and background, and if our community cultures were true to these ideals they would reward interesting, colorful differences in behavior, physique, and background rather than stigmatize them.

A mother with a definite class-consciousness may imbue her daughter with the idea that she is *superior* to everyone else in a town of 1500 inhabitants. She may forbid her daughter to date the boys in that town. She may send her away to school and keep her close within the home during the two or three months she is not at school. The daughter will feel a mental conflict when she is eventually introduced to other persons in this town. This conflict will be accentuated if other persons react unpleasantly to her. If she has to spend much time at home or if she has at-

tended school in this town and has been prohibited from associating with her schoolmates after school hours, it is not difficult to see that she will develop a strong *feeling of inferiority* resulting, not from inferior qualities, but rather from an allegedly superior background. It is also interesting to note that, with this type of regime planned by the mother, the girl will actually become inferior in dealing with people. She may even carry the attitudes of superiority and aloofness from the people in her home town to other groups and appear inferior in those circles, because her attitudes will actually lead to inferiority in social adroitness.

Extent of specific causes. Accumulated case studies, together with statistical investigation of students with attitudes of inferiority, have definitely established that organic inferiority is not the most important cause of inferiority feelings in our American culture. In fact it would seem that this is one of the minor causes of the inferiority feeling. Among college students 32 per cent of the entire group report feelings of inferiority because of *social* factors, 4 per cent indicate that *financial* matters make them feel inferior, 6 per cent have inferiority feelings aroused by *intellectual* failures, and 3 per cent by *physical* defects. A total of 48 per cent of this group of college students reported feelings of inferiority (18).

If the students are encouraged to report more than one type of feeling of inferiority as well as inferiorities they experienced earlier in life, the percentage of those who feel inferior is higher. In fact, a study shows that less than 10 per cent of the students report that they do not know what it is to suffer from the gnawing feeling of inferiority. This investigation also showed that as students grow older they tend to suffer less from this attitude. Among the men of this group 60 per cent report that they at some time had experienced feelings of inferiority related to physical matters,* 60 per cent to social, 58 per cent to intellectual, and 37 per cent to moral matters. No doubt physical factors which cause inferiority had a vivid social coloring.

In the early writings in this field much emphasis was placed upon physical defects. Organic inferiority was believed to be the mother of the attitudes of the inferiority complex. To be sure, some inferiority attitudes grow from organic inferiority.

* This includes not only physical defects but any deviation from the majority, such as color of hair.

A study of college students who have minor defects shows that they have a slight tendency to feel more inferior than the normal students (19).

Classification of causes of inferiority feelings. All the specific factors which give rise to a feeling of inferiority may be classified in these groups:

1. Any type of *physical defect* or any physical factor different from the average which has been a source of embarrassment.
2. Real or imagined *disadvantages* due to race, family, or economic conditions.
3. Lack of social, professional, or economic *opportunities*.
4. Particular *experiences*, such as shock, disappointment, humiliation, and unfavorable comparisons.
5. *Defects, real or imagined*, in intelligence, appearance, moral character, and social attractiveness.
6. *Deviation* from local pattern in religion, custom, and conventions.

How causes operate to produce inferiority. It should be clear by this time that it is not the external cause itself that gives rise to the inferiority complex or conflict. It is, rather, the relationship of this cause to the *background* of the individual. If he has been reared by sensitive parents, or if he has been allowed to become sensitive over matters in his early history, he will react more strongly to minor matters at adolescence or in later life. Furthermore, if an individual feels that he has failed in an area of life which he considers very important, this failure will have a serious effect upon his personality.

The fact that Sam is of Jewish parentage will not greatly disturb him since he has been reared among Jews. His best friends are Jews, he strongly believes in his religion, and most of his ideals are Jewish ideals. He is proud of the fact that he is a Jew. He will fight all prejudices or ignore them. If, on the other hand, he had been reared in a predominantly Gentile community, had many times felt unique because he is a Jew, and had at times wished he were a Gentile, he might experience a conflict because of his origin and feel inferior because of it.

Feeling of inferiority is related to the disparity between one's *level of aspiration* and one's accomplishment. If one aspires to a certain goal and his daily behavior fails to attain this goal for him or makes him more realistic about his chances of attaining it, he feels inferior. If he has no aspiration for this goal, then

if he does fall short of it he does not feel inferior and is not frustrated. A cause which may plunge one youth into deep despair may not affect another at all. We can explain this on the basis of the goal or motive to which the individual is responding. Fiery red hair may not bother a good athlete whose goals and level of aspiration are high in terms of athletics and gymnasium contacts rather than in terms of his physiognomy. Laboratory techniques have been developed for studying discrepancies between aspirations and accomplishments. Attempts are being made to relate these to personality traits and background (20-23).

The individual's reaction to feelings of inferiority are in terms of his *past habits*. If he has been reared to be aggressive and to fight obstacles, and if he is frustrated in terms of his cherished goals or ideals, he will react to his inferiority in an aggressive manner (24). If, on the other hand, the early factors which impinge upon his life have tended to make him retire or surrender, his reaction to inferiority is that of withdrawal rather than aggressiveness. This is further complicated by the talents and *aptitudes* which the individual may possess. If he has few talents and if his major attempts to be aggressive have been in the areas in which his talents are low, he may become sour or unpleasantly aggressive. On the other hand, if he has many talents or has attempted to compensate along the line of his talents, his inferiority will lead to success and it will prove to be one of the outstanding motivational factors in his life. In brief, feelings of inferiority represent one *form of reaction to frustration* in our attempt to reach cherished goals.

Inferiority complexes as cultural conflicts. Many who feel inferior do so because they are experiencing a cultural conflict.

A college student may have adjusted excellently to a town of 200. He may have acquired all the prevalent habits and attitudes. When he arrives on the campus of a small college and finds himself one of a very few rural students he finds he does not "fit in" well.

A playboy collegian who receives his major income from bond coupons may feel at odds with a group of liberal, serious-minded newspapermen who have little sympathy for the wealthy absentee landlord or the non-productive consumer. He may find that his social badges carry little prestige with them.

In both of these cases the individual has acquired a culture (customs, mannerisms, etc.) which is respected by his old group and not by the new group into which he has moved.

Inferiorty complexes as mental sets. We have already brought out that the attitudes the individual learns early in life are important. It should be clear by this time also that the inferiority feeling is an attitude, it is a set, it is a way of thinking, and once it is aroused many minor matters which ordinarily would not affect the individual develop into major factors. If the child as he starts to junior high school has a set that he is inferior, he may become more sensitive about minor embarrassments, about his clothes, about his possibilities as an athlete, and other accomplishments. He has a set of caution, of withdrawal, or of aggressiveness as the case may be.

Example of an inferiority complex as a mental set. Let us trace from its very beginning one case which involves a feeling of inferiority.

A certain boy is an unwanted child. His birth was a highly unpleasant experience to both parents. He is regarded as an extra expense. Although some affection is given him, on the whole his parents resent his presence. Unfortunately, the child is not so good-looking as the other children of the family. His health is poor, he has cried more at night, and has been a greater inconvenience to his parents. He is punished frequently. The attitude of his parents toward him is unfavorable. He is the ugly duckling. He is "picked on" not only by his parents but by the other children as well. This causes him to be very retiring. He thinks twice before he acts. He is the little, "mousey" kind of individual who runs as soon as he hears a noise.

It so happens that he has a very pleasant smile which he uses rarely. His shyness is pleasing to many persons. He also has a good mind, but he is afraid to recite in school. He cried the first week he attended school. Throughout his life he has been fearful in meeting new situations. He always undervalues his talents. Unless he is pushed into an activity he doesn't begin. He never assumes responsibility. Most of his conscious experience is flight from a heavy hand or a harsh word. He associates this unpleasantness with his brothers and sisters, with his home, with his neighborhood and companions. His clothes, which are the "hand-me-downs" of the family, do not add to his self-esteem. His voice, posture, and mannerisms all suggest a person who is unsure of himself, a person who does not come up to par.

In spite of his inferior health and looks, ironically enough this

individual is the brightest one of his family. He is particularly bright in the field of mechanical aptitude. As a young child he collected all the junk he could find in his own yard and in neighboring yards. He sorted these tools and odds and ends into bins which he built in the shed. Before long he had acquired a saw and other simple tools. He tried his skill in carpentry and made several things for the family. His first hours of happiness were experienced in making objects from scrap lumber. The family praised him for this as they had never praised him for anything else. However, along with his successes was that ever-persistent fear, uncertainty, and inferiority which he carried with him throughout his school years. When he went to college on the money he earned the two years after graduating from high school, he carried with him the attitude of inferiority. He never quite came up to his level of capability except in work which he did alone.

This case illustrates excellently how a strong, emotional, unpleasant attitude will become associated with everyday activities and events. The individual will assume a posture and a manner consistent with his attitude. In fact he may even associate this unpleasant attitude with his own mirrored image. Furthermore, it is clear why such an individual will cling to some minor avenue of success. He will spend as much time as possible in this area of pleasantness. These accomplishments are oases on a desert of unpleasant consciousness. It is no wonder that very often these individuals report that the attitude of inferiority is an intrinsic part of their personalities which they feel they will never lose. They are convinced that they are inferior. They are positive that this inferiority is not something that they have acquired but that it is something they have always had. Many think it is innate.

A student with a physical defect in one of his legs, which causes him to walk with a limp, insists when the counselor talks with him that he is from inferior stock. His evidence for this point is that he has always failed; people have always disliked him; his work has never come up to par. A heavy, unpleasant attitude surrounds all his achievements, all the concepts he has of himself, and all his actions.

Alleviating feelings of inferiority. *Understanding of your feelings of inadequacy should bring perspective.* Like all other symptoms, feelings of inferiority are relieved when the individual sees himself in perspective. Ventilation of one's feelings by talking over his traits with an understanding confidant usually

brings relief and some perspective. With discussion we often come to accept the reality that *all people have feelings of inadequacy* at some time or other. We therefore come to feel that we are not too different.

Even if one avoids a counselor one should certainly feel free to write out his present attitudes toward himself and trace their origins. The pre-interview blank presented in the Appendix of this book might be used as a point of departure. This blank may be used to help the individual explore his present tendencies and the many factors in his past that have made him the sort of person he is today. A student might write this information on ordinary sheets of paper, using the blank as an outline. Or he may write his *autobiography* and a *review of his contemporary activities*, using the blank as a point of departure. Some students who are in each other's confidence have found it profitable to work out this information together and discuss the results.

Example of ventilation producing perspective. Sometimes, after a student has discussed or written freely about his own inadequacies and begins to feel better about them, he finds that he is more free emotionally to look around him and observe other lives not very unlike his own.

The following excerpts from a letter indicate what free discussion of oneself can do to release tensions and produce perspective.

"... This is Christmas Eve, a festive day, yet I feel like the loneliest of men, troubled, burdened, unable to see my way or to relax, unable to catch a spark of the atmosphere of happiness. It is a hellova feeling to experience. Sometimes I believe that all this isn't happening to me but to someone else. . . . Maybe I should get to the point. I just seem to get more wound up the more I try to determine what's bothering me . . . I need help, counseling, and guidance. . . . Right now, at this very moment, I want to close my eyes to the whole thing. I want to shut the door on reality. A person who wants to quit and give up as I do has to face himself eventually. The picture isn't very pleasant . . . I felt inferior to the boys that had the least . . . I let others dominate the scene and the conversation completely just as I do at home and everywhere. I suppose that is the outgrowth of my dependency on Mother. I came to accept the fact that she would always be there, that I would always have refuge in her but, as

a counselor told me, she won't always be here, I have my life to live and my way to make. Of course he is right . . .

"I really trumped up all these things in an effort to escape responsibility that was entirely foreign to me. Looking at these things in their true perspective, I accused school in the first place of causing me emotional disturbance. It wasn't. Then idleness, then school again. Every time I was unwilling to play a man's role in accepting the responsibility that others accepted readily. By the same token, the first part of this letter was a prop that allowed me to be lazy. I haven't ever really pitched into anything in my life. School couldn't really disturb me because I never have really worked hard at it. I usually did enough to get by. For that reason I have a tremendous potential on hand. As my sister once told me, if I ever get rid of my inertia I'll be hard to stop. I have a job but I spend too much time on it introspecting. I've got to get to the point where I can work, laugh, and joke and be good company for others, get along well with them, and do this kind of thinking on paper and in interviews as you have suggested. Now that I've gone into my case rather thoroughly, I must plan a course of action that will give me these responsibilities a few at a time so that I can gradually put away the crutches I've been in the habit of inventing.

"I feel a good deal better now, Doctor. I hope you won't mind my writing you often. It certainly helps."

Seeing trends in personality associated with inferiority feelings.

As you discuss or write concerning your feelings and their alleged causes, you may discover certain *trends* in your personality. You may find that you have centered your attention on details of your physique, some social aspect of your life, or upon your family background. Unpleasant or embarrassing experiences may have caused you to brood over the details. They may have become *isolated in your own thinking* and have produced this psychological myopia. In attending to your large ears, the skinny body, your relative "poverty," your family's minority status, your lack of athletic ability or pulchritude, you have selected one aspect from literally thousands of details about yourself and have assumed that it is of inordinate importance in your life and of an extremely negative character. You assume that this aspect has no desirable connotations. You may ignore the fact, for example, that large features are an integral part of a strong, masculine face and might be highly compatible with a forceful personality. You may realize that you would not disparage all persons who have large features just as you have dis-

pared yourself. Other items which are isolated and thought to be the cause of one's feeling of inadequacy are also viewed quite differently when considered in perspective. You may realize, if you are concerned about your family background, that many very successful and worthy individuals owe their drive to what you have been regarding as a poor family background.

Very often some aspect of personality which is regarded as negative is also thought to be unalterable and to leave a lasting stigma. This is illustrated by the disparity between the attitude toward themselves of many who wear glasses and the impressions they make on others. There are some people who in their teens feel that the wearing of glasses labels them and makes others judge them unfavorably. There are some students who will accept poor vision rather than wear glasses in public. It is interesting that in an experiment designed to ascertain attitudes toward persons who wear glasses, it was found that the persons wearing glasses were judged from their photographs to be more intelligent, more industrious, more honest, and more dependable than others (25).

As you discuss and think through those aspects of your life which make you feel inadequate, you may discover that these minor features of physique or behavior are merely the *scape-goats* and that your present negative attitude toward yourself may have grown from *circumstances which have been operative over a period of years*. You may find that in the past you have been *unfavorably compared* with a brother, sister, or cousin. You may have lived with a highly critical parent or relative. The lower economic status or reputation of your family may have made you feel below par. You may have been *trying to excel in a field in which you do not possess any special talent*. Because of failure in this particular field you may not see your potentialities in another. Your preoccupation with failure may have kept you from developing freely in an area in which you have ability. You may fail to accept some negative trait, an aspect of your physique, some event in your family background, or low aptitude in athletics, factors often known to influence development. You may not have been able to accept these factors as the events which are all a part of the complexities of life, as *realities which must be faced and dealt with effectively*. Inferiority feelings are attitudes that have been acquired originally

through the accretion of events and may be unlearned under favorable conditions. An individual may regard a negative trait as a calamity and stigma. As a consequence, he has rejected his entire personality, has become embittered, and thereby overlooks other avenues for growth.

Superstitions and misinformation about physique, sex, heredity, physiology, or mental functions may be influential in producing disturbing attitudes about oneself. You may not be comparing yourself with others of similar background, advantages, and disadvantages. You may be expecting unrealistic accomplishments.

Observation of others helps achieve perspective. Preoccupation with our own negative traits also often prevents our seeing *others who experience feelings of inferiority*, or who have some odd physical feature or other inadequacy. Poor perspective shows itself when we imagine ourselves to be inferior *merely because we are not superior or excellent*. Persons with unusually high aspirations may fail to hit the mark of perfection and be unhappy although they are average or well above average. An individual may be disturbed because he is average in one trait which *he* regards as extremely important. He may be quite acceptable or even superior in other traits which others consider as important as or more important than the one which is disturbing him. Discussion and free writing about oneself very often produces perspective, which allows one to see oneself as a total individual with some faults and short-comings but with *assets and potentials for adventurous development*.

The incident from Arthur's experience as given below indicates the effect of identifying oneself with someone of whom we have a favorable impression.

One day in early adolescence, while Arthur was buying a hat, he looked into the three-panel mirror and saw his profile for the first time. It was a new perspective and a shock to him. He saw his protruding nose, receding chin, and large Adam's apple. He recalled this image frequently thereafter and brooded over it. Throughout his high school years, he habitually held his hand at the side of his face so others could not see his profile. He thought that, if they saw how he looked in profile, they would reject him. (The counselor regarded Arthur as a boy of average or superior appearance. To be sure, there are others who have more attractive profiles, but the counselor could see no reason for Arthur's

concern. He encouraged Arthur to express his feelings freely about his physiognomy.)

Arthur would never have been able to talk about his facial features had it not been for an acquaintance he had made recently. This friend was tall, superior to Arthur in athletics, meticulously neat, had some very attractive clothes, and was well liked by the other fellows. He had social poise and ease and seemed to accept himself and to behave with confidence. Arthur was attracted to him in friendship principally because he felt that this boy had a profile very similar to his, yet in spite of it was quite well liked by others. This insight came to Arthur: Maybe a profile like mine is not a source of rejection and social failure; maybe it is only one aspect of one's personality. This insight arose mainly through knowing this other student. It also allowed him to ventilate the whole matter with the counselor.

One is obtaining self-understanding and perspective when one can accept himself as not too undesirable or as one of the group, and yet see the need for personal improvement and for implementing this need with normal efforts. This is the antithesis of regarding oneself as hopelessly inadequate and of feeling that drastic and immediate changes are needed. The latter attitude amounts to rejection of and hostility toward oneself.

The experiment suggested in Chapter 5 on page 176 is relevant here. It may be well to use the rating scale in the Appendix of this book and have your acquaintances rate you. You may find they regard you more highly than you regard yourself.

Understanding the motivation for inferiority feelings. Sometimes a youth will discover that those aspects of his behavior which irritate others and yet seem hard to control may be the results of his own feeling of insecurity and inadequacy. Such behavior is illustrated by tendencies to brag, to be conspicuously in the limelight, to be irritable, loud, domineering, and aggressive. He may realize that these symptoms of inferiority alienate him from his fellows. With this realization comes an understanding of the cause of this behavior that seems so impulsive. He may go so far as to discover that he can eradicate this behavior most effectively by attempting to gain inner security.

In raising questions about the basis for one's inferiority, it might be well to pose the following: To what extent is the unpleasantness and withdrawal which accompany the inferiority complex an example of self-punishment? Is one giving himself

punishment which he feels he needs because of previous wrongdoings? One might ask himself if his feeling of inadequacy is satisfying in any way. Does it protect him from making contacts? Does it prevent him from making efforts to improve himself? Does it protect him from the unpleasantness that might occur in making social contacts or in being aggressive? Inferiority feelings are unpleasant, but are they protecting him from something that may seem more unpleasant—social aggression and initiative? Can it be that he accepts his concepts and feelings of inferiority because they protect him from failure or from competition which will clearly delineate the extent of his inadequacy? To what extent is a given inferiority complex an attempt to shield the ego, to prevent more disturbing anxiety?

Accomplishment in an "important" endeavor will assist in removing feelings of inferiority. If an objective evaluation of your personality reveals a real deficiency in some area and if you think that area important, set out immediately to *overcome this deficiency* as suggested above. The deficiency cannot possibly be so serious that it means failure in life. If you think it important, however, accomplishment along these lines will do much for your attitude.

If you feel inferior in respect to physical activities, would it be well to pursue systematically some athletic game, take lessons in it, get someone who is superior to teach you, or learn by yourself through trial and error, as suggested in Chapter 8?

If you believe your deficiency is in your natural appearance, improve it as much as you can by habits of neatness, grooming, selection of attractive colors, and the like. Remember that *good looks are largely a matter of grooming*, dressing, and good social skills, as shown in Chapter 10. Too often those of mediocre looks assume mediocre habits of care. You might ask yourself what is the relative importance of innate physical traits. Are those you like best the handsomest by nature? Start a project of meticulous grooming, of washing, dyeing, pressing, and polishing, as suggested in Chapter 10. You may notice immediately the reactions of your friends to this and your own feeling of well-being.

There are few deficiencies that the average human being cannot overcome with systematic, daily effort if he does not expect the impossible of himself. If he at no time frankly faces his

deficiency and does not convert his worry into a program of work, naturally he will be depressed. One other positive method of overcoming a feeling of inferiority is to help those who have a real need which we can satisfy.

It may be that accomplishment in *some other related field* in which success is more probable will have greater value. It is important that the person who feels inferior find some avenue into which to direct his energy as soon as he has discovered the realm of his assets. Children of withdrawn personalities developed initiative when allowed to play freely alone at camp, later in small groups, and finally in large ones (26). Sometimes responsibilities in group organizations give the individual a chance to excel. We can always harness our energies and receive recognition if we attack community problems or if we join organizations which have goals of service to others. The best way to forget oneself is to *help others* to meet their difficulties.

There are persons who have felt inferior and have *associated themselves with groups or movements* and have obtained strength from this affiliation. As a result they have made a major contribution to their organization. Others have started new groups or movements and have gained confidence through their successes. Belonging to the group has allowed them to identify themselves with the strength and magnitude of the group. This is the antithesis of brooding over some inadequacy and turning inward to examine it. It is the opposite of being conscious of oneself. It consists, instead, in losing oneself in an activity outside oneself and thereby finding oneself and growing. It is a fortunate individual who finds a source of activity outside himself and substitutes it for introspection and self-examination, who becomes concerned with problems other than his own, particularly a social organization, rather than with his own physique, dress, behavior, and background. Individuals have looked back upon this earlier stage in their development with the question: How could I have been so deeply concerned with myself for so long? Why didn't I find earlier these interests, adventures, and needs that are bigger than my own petty problems?

Herbert T., as a freshman in college, was extremely self-conscious—so much so that he blushed scarlet whenever he was embarrassed. He never ventured to answer questions, even though he knew the answers, was terrified whenever called upon in class,

and would state that he did not know the answer rather than attempt it. He had always been a shy child, and his family's manner of living had accentuated his shyness. They were retiring as a group and protected him and his sister. Herbert always received above-average grades and was an excellent, conscientious worker. He had participated to a moderate degree in sports and had the appearance and mannerisms of a regular fellow.

At the end of his freshman year, he secured a job in the largest theater in the college town. For this job he had to be well groomed and wear a uniform. The job was an entirely new experience to Herbert because his life in a small town of a thousand inhabitants had afforded him no experience with large groups of people, especially strangers. His job required him to assume the ascendant role, since he had to speak to patrons to learn their wishes regarding seating and then seat them. At first he felt very awkward, but the night-after-night repetition of social contact, of ascendancy, produced some results. At first this behavior remained tied up with the job and did not transfer to other situations, but his attitude toward himself and his confidence gradually improved throughout college, largely because of this role he had learned to play.

Upon completing his university course, he was inducted into a professional branch of the Army, became an officer, and again slipped into a uniform with all its accompanying flourishes. After three years in this role, he was quite different in outer behavior from the freshman he had been. He seemed to be much more ascendant and confident, capable of assuming responsibility and taking the initiative in a situation.

Leonard N. was a sophomore when he first consulted the counselor. He had marked feelings of inadequacy and some depression and guilt. He was the youngest of four boys who had been greatly overprotected by a doting mother. Although above average in practically all respects, Leonard was less well built, less popular, and less athletically inclined than two older brothers, both of whom were exceptional in leadership, social poise, and athletics. Leonard had spent more time than any of the other boys with their mother and was undoubtedly her favorite. She shielded him from much of the give-and-take of childhood, and he had never developed the toughness of some of the other boys. At puberty he had been with a group of boys who had engaged in sex play, and he felt extremely guilty about this. Although he had a very superior aptitude, his grades were mediocre. His outstanding symptoms were his feeling of inferiority, his inability to get down to work and produce results, and the unevenness of his behavior. At times he could put on a front of sociality and dominance, but this balloon was easily punctured and then he felt he was insincere and a fraud. He finally graduated with a major in English and worked in publicity for a while. As soon as he left home and

shifted for himself, compared himself and had contacts with the average population rather than with the highly selected group of boys in his fraternity, his perspective changed somewhat. Accomplishments on the job also boosted his morale. Frequently in college he said that the one obsession he had was that he would be a bum and never fit in with the demands of society. He felt that he would never stay with a job and accomplish what his brothers had. At that time he did not see clearly that he was trying to live the sort of life his brothers had lived, despite the fact that his aptitudes, interests, and whole personality pattern were different. Even the people he enjoyed were not those whom his brothers found interesting. He had failed to meet his brothers' standards but he had not failed in being the kind of person he could best be.

Over a ten-year period after college, he came more and more to accept himself as he really was. He compared himself less frequently with his brothers. He gave up the notion of being eminently successful in an extroverted career, encouraged his interests in the arts and literature, and developed deeper friendships with people of similar interests. He became an officer in the early days of service and was promoted rapidly. At the end of hostilities he had accomplished enough, had gained enough perspective about people. On visiting the same counselor he had consulted many times in college, he stated without realizing it, "When I get this uniform off I am going to be a bum. I know that I am not one of the best contemporary writers, but writing is what I want to do, and I have an opportunity to work as a free-lance writer. I know it means being a bum, but I am going to enjoy it." Here is an individual who did not change too much in basic traits, but his whole perspective and frame of reference had changed throughout the years. No doubt his guilt had lessened and his attitude toward himself had improved.

The individual who has learned to attend to events outside of himself rather than to his own needs and inadequacies is the antithesis of the person who on the way to work disregards the spring flowers, the architecture of the buildings he passes, the dress and mannerisms of the persons he meets. He colorlessly takes the same route and goes through the same motions each day of the year. He fails to introduce adventure into the daily routine. He does not go in imagination beyond that which strikes his eye.

One city dweller describes a hobby that makes going to and coming from work a pleasant adventure. He selects certain houses and persons and tries to imagine the life that goes on beyond the façade. He has become quite a student of human nature and architecture through this interesting hobby.

Too often do we under-rate our wider possibilities. Too often do we fail to call upon the capacities that are available to us. We function on a level far below our possibilities, or we try in a field for which we do not have great aptitude and overlook one in which development is possible. Now and then an ordinary person sees his potentialities, pulls himself together, realizes that it is usually single persons, rather than groups, who solve human problems and often accomplish what previously was thought to be impossible. Sometimes individuals with conviction demonstrate the great potentialities of persons to develop, to improve astonishingly their initial performance, and with time become expert in a given field. History is replete with persons who were regarded as ordinary human beings but who *used their ordinary capacities in an extraordinary manner*. Certainly most of us, if we realize daily our abilities as average human beings, could move toward a solution of our personal problems and make a contribution to society.

More specific suggestions for building attitudes were given in Chapter 8. Methods of improving personal and social traits are presented in Chapters 10 and 11. These suggestions should be reviewed before a specific program for changing attitudes is planned.

OVERCOMING SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Description of self-conscious reaction.

"I have a pronounced tendency to become self-conscious when I walk into a gathering of people, particularly if I think they are watching me. In extreme instances, I experience cold chills up and down my spine. If I have to talk to a group my knees tremble. The tremor in my hands does not allow me to read from a paper. My voice seems strange to me. It is impersonal, high-pitched, and strained. I am conscious of my facial movements.

"Since I have taken courses in psychology I can identify some of the physiological responses that occur. I realize that thermal sensations in the head, spinal region, or elsewhere are due to changes in blood circulation. I know that the sensations in the abdominal region are the cessation of the peristaltic movements. The increased heartbeat and breathing rate are easy to identify. I know that my increased energy is due to the adrenalin that is secreted in the blood stream. I know that I have more energy than I can control at the moment. This is why I tremble and feel awk-

ward. I realize that the blood volume becomes greater in the periphery or limbs of my body. I realize that at some times I am conscious of these changes and at other times of other changes. This difference is due no doubt to the intensity of the changes and the direction of my attention.

"I am aware that all these sensations and reactions are *natural events in fear*. I know that if I could react in an adaptive manner I could harness some of the energy and be less disturbed. There was a time when I was embarrassed by these reactions, ashamed to let others know that I lost control of myself, but now I have an entirely different attitude. I try to behave in a manner which will help me to adjust to the situation and ignore or smile inwardly at these drastic changes in my physiological processes. This emotion no longer confuses me as it once did. I know that many people in the audience have gone through the same experience and that they will respect me if I gain control of myself, and if I don't they will be sympathetic."

Symptoms of self-consciousness. In the above case a student has described the *subjective* and *objective* symptoms of self-consciousness. The subjective reactions are the feelings that one has under these circumstances. He is aware of the bodily changes that occur. The objective reactions are the bodily processes that are observable by others. As this student has said, we differ in respect to the processes that gain our attention when we become self-conscious. If the self-conscious individual is sensitive or feels inferior about any aspect of his body, that aspect is uppermost in his mind.

Reactions to self-consciousness. Persons differ also in the *extent of insight* they possess. Some know just what is happening and why it is happening. Others do not have this perspective and are overwhelmed by the experience of self-consciousness. Furthermore, there is a difference in the *reaction* persons make to self-consciousness. Some are paralyzed with fear and others are overactive and confused.

Who are self-conscious? Casual observation will convince you that certain persons are more acutely and more frequently self-conscious than others. The shy, introverted individual seems to be more self-conscious than the active, social extrovert. The person who has high standards and is trying to guide his behavior in terms of these standards is also more self-conscious than others. Anyone who is learning a new skill or reacting to

a new situation is likely to be self-conscious. Certainly all of us are self-conscious some of the time. Many persons believe, while they are experiencing self-consciousness, that they alone are bothered by this attitude. At some ages, particularly at adolescence, self-consciousness occurs more frequently.

One little book which is devoted to this subject emphasizes that many of our great leaders of the past were self-conscious (27). The list includes such men as Shelley, Schubert, Faraday, Pestalozzi, and Newton. This author says that self-consciousness, from one viewpoint, may be regarded as a badge of mental aristocracy. Most individuals tend to lose their self-consciousness with middle age, or as they habituate themselves to the typical events of their lives.

Those who do not recover from extreme self-consciousness by the time they have reached middle age should seek professional advice. Similarly, those who must retire from normal social life because of the painfulness which attends meeting others would be aided by psychiatric or psychological sessions (28).

Causes of self-consciousness. Feelings of inferiority and sensitiveness about certain characteristics predispose one to self-consciousness. Events that are new, strange, and difficult usually produce self-consciousness, as we have previously indicated.

We spoke in a previous section of one falling below one's *level of aspiration*. Some students aspire toward perfection in many activities. As average human beings, they fall short of some goals. While they are carrying on the activity in which they feel they are inferior they are acutely self-conscious.

Suggestions for overcoming self-consciousness. Below is a list of suggestions that have been made for the alleviation of self-consciousness (27). They were given to students in a class in Applied Psychology who rated them from 1 to 10 on the basis of their own past experience. Accompanying each suggestion on the list is a rating. This rating is the average of the class, and it represents their opinion regarding the most effective and least effective of these 17 techniques.

1. Face the situation. Attend to it, not to yourself. Self-consciousness is usually a withdrawal attitude. Average, 8.3.

2. Believe in your message, your activity, your personality. Average, 7.5.

3. Achievement tends to eliminate self-consciousness because the individual realizes his success and feels he is looked up to by others. Average, 7.4.

4. Realize your auditor is probably thinking of himself and not of you. Average, 7.2.

5. Lack of adjustment is due to inertness and lack of activity. Adopt a spontaneous attitude. Go through motions. Take an aggressive attitude. Average, 6.9.

6. Self-consciousness may and does occur in everyone under some circumstances. Average, 6.8.

7. Self-consciousness goes hand in hand with the inferiority complex. Find the cause of the feeling of inferiority; remove it or see its significance. See that it comes from the past (it usually does). Average, 6.1.

8. Use special devices to produce successful experiences with others. These vary with individuals. They are acts which make individuals feel at ease. Average, 6.1.

9. Realize self-consciousness is not suddenly eliminated. Average, 5.9.

10. Note flaws in others—cases in which others are self-conscious. Average, 5.9.

11. Realize that self-consciousness is not a disease or an ailment intrinsic to personality, but only an attitude, an introverted one, an attitude of looking inward instead of outward, an attitude of looking at oneself. Average, 5.79.

12. Habitual acts, such as smoking, buttoning one's coat, and opening one's pocketbook sometimes help. Average, 5.7.

13. Realize that self-consciousness begins to wane with age. It is normal in the teens and disappears with maturity. It is a temporary phase. Average, 5.5.

14. Realize that self-consciousness is a discrepancy between ambition and achievement. You think your interlocutor is evaluating you and your shortcomings. Average, 5.4.

15. Stimulants are sometimes helpful in that they make the individual active and remove inhibitions. Average, 5.3.

16. Self-consciousness is due to lack of sympathy, lack of faith in others. It is a certain aloofness from the world, an anticipation of hostility. Average, 5.

17. It is a sign of mental aristocracy. Average, 4.2.

Nature of self-consciousness. Self-consciousness is a good name for this disturbance. The individual is absorbed in himself, so much so that he cannot direct the events which are occurring around him. His ideas are distorted, not only in regard to others' attitudes toward him, but also in regard to the seriousness of his own inferiority.

Patterns of behavior are broken by self-consciousness. When

actions become habitual they run along smoothly, without conscious direction. They are automatic. Consciousness of them is confusing. Deliberate thought about an act which would ordinarily be automatic tends to disturb its smoothness. For example, while in the process of writing a long word, suddenly stop in the middle and deliberate upon the spelling of the rest. While running down the steps, deliberate about the running process, but be sure to have your hand near the rail when you do it. You will notice the habit, when allowed to function automatically, is self-sufficient. Consciousness of the intricacies of any habitual act while it is in operation is disrupting.

Physique and self-consciousness. Most men and women differ in some degree from the physical ideal which is held up to them as approximating perfection at any given time or place. Not all men, for example, fit the ideal masculine physique or have typical masculine interests and attitudes (29).

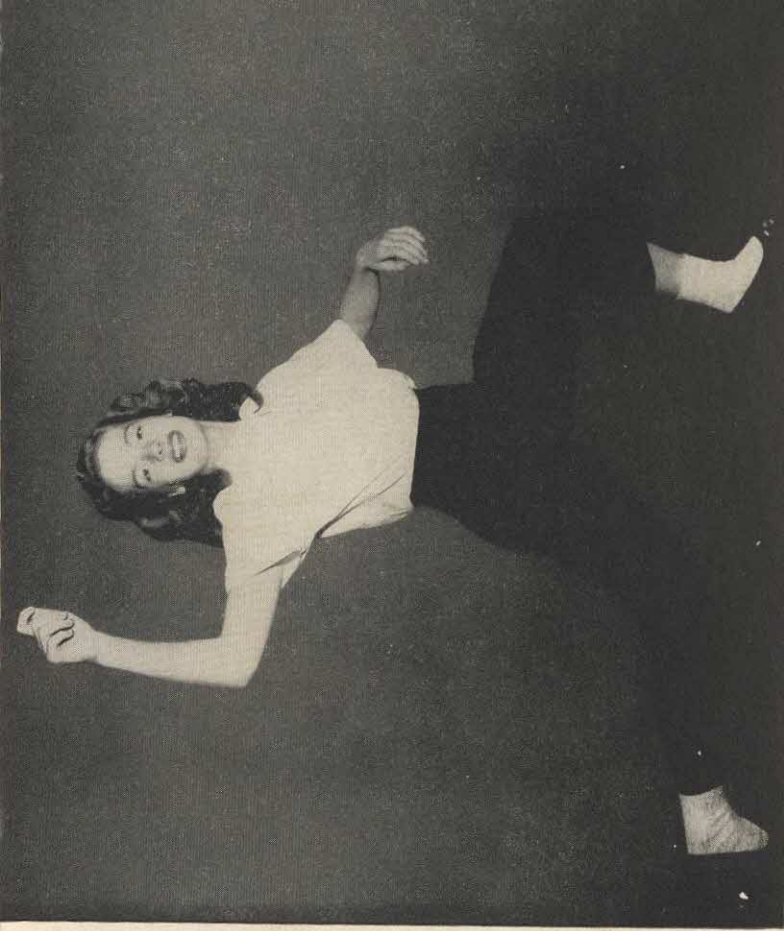
Tall men are sometimes described as prone to self-consciousness (30). One study shows, however, that they differ in their reactions to height (31). These differences no doubt are due to many factors in their background and experience. When tall men are interrogated concerning their reactions toward tallness, some mention self-consciousness growing from the kidding and nagging they have received, and their inability to use standard equipment with comfort in trains, buses, automobiles, and hotels. Others regard their height as an asset and as productive of respect from women. The suggestions given to tall men do not differ from many of the others mentioned in this section. The essence of the suggestions is to encourage tall men not to emphasize the differences between themselves and others, but to be frank about their deviation from the norm and use it as an asset whenever possible. Many learn to dress, dance, and walk in a manner to enhance their posture. They get people to laugh with them rather than at them. They tease back if necessary, and take lessons in any skill in which they feel awkward (31).

Stage fright an extreme example of self-consciousness. Many of the characteristics of the student who is subject to self-consciousness are accentuated in stage fright. All the fear reactions occur. It is a more complex experience because the individual *must* respond. Usually the spotlight is centered on him. He



Behavior varies greatly with the skills that one has acquired in a situation. Here are posed pictures illustrating that one might be quite self-conscious in a situation that is new and in which skills of graceful behavior have not been acquired. Above, the young man standing before the audience is dramatizing how he felt the first time he gave a speech. Below, he is genially telling a story to a similar audience. Differences can be seen in the tension around eye muscles, mouth, and hands.





At the left is a teen-age girl standing self-consciously. She knows people are watching her. The other picture shows her going through a cheer-leading routine which she has done many times and which she thoroughly enjoys. In one situation she is tense and awkward and experiencing negative feelings, and in the other she is happy—she enjoys participating in the act.

realizes this and knows that his responses fall short of what they might be, and he is chagrined.

The speaker who is in the grip of stage fright is awkward. He has difficulty facing his audience calmly. He trembles, blanches, blushes, or becomes tense. He usually is less effective than he could be since his attention is divided between what he is saying, his audience's reaction, and the ignominy of failing to meet his goal. He is unable to dominate the gathering in an amiable, calm, and creative manner. He is a distraught human being, frightened but unable to flee.

What the speaker does not realize. The typical audience may be described as receptive. Their presence demonstrates their interest in the speaker's message. They enjoy a smooth-running performance. If the speaker fails, they suffer along with him. They are sympathetic. They therefore prefer to see him succeed. Furthermore, the typical audience is a homogeneous group. If the speaker find the motives of this group and satisfies them, he can then proceed to deliver his message with the feeling that they are with him (32).

Suggestions for overcoming stage fright. The suggestions that we shall give here do not differ in the main from those given above. We shall merely apply them to the self-consciousness that occurs when one assumes the role of performer.

1. Talk it out freely with a teacher of speech. Insist that he let you "get it off your chest" first. Find the cause of the emotional disturbance. Is the audience a sea of upturned, hostile faces? Do you fear that you cannot finish your performance without a flaw? Do you feel inferior because of some aspect of your personality? Are you disturbed by your audience, your performance, or some aspect of your personality? Find the disturbing elements. Learn how and where they originated.

2. Your next task is to associate calm responses with the performer-before-an-audience situation. Supplant emotional excitement with them. This will require time and numerous experiences. Begin talking spontaneously at every opportunity. *Do not expect to do well at first.* Get as many opportunities as possible to perform before small groups. Select groups in which you feel at home, in which it is easy to speak. They may be groups of children, relatives, or older friends. Stay with them until you gain confidence, then move to those which seem more difficult. Speech-training courses help (33, 34). Remedy by adequate preparation all factors which may concern you during the speech, as poor grooming, pronunciation, uncertainty about facts, etc.

3. Use all the devices you find effective. Relaxation is an excellent aid to most people. (See page 654.)

One reason for your disturbance is the excess energy fear has produced in your system. You therefore tremble and are confused. It has been suggested that some of this excess energy be harnessed in some way both before and when you rise to perform. Some have suggested recalling reasons why you are considered competent to speak while you await your turn (35). Take papers out of your pocket and place them on the lectern. Take a drink of water. Move the flowers on the lectern. Button or unbutton your coat. Do something of this nature during the first few minutes. You will also give your audience a moment or two to look you over. Some have found that, if they assume an attitude of confidence as they walk on the stage, it helps. Others are aided by becoming absorbed in the task, by believing in their message or selecting a topic on which they feel strongly and have information.

4. Practice the techniques of successful orators to remove self-consciousness in public speaking. A few suggestions follow: Know your audience. Speak directly to them and be guided by their responses. Use vivid illustrations, anecdotes, diagrams, jokes, and other means of keeping their attention. These are important, particularly in the beginning. Have your message well organized. Do not try to teach them too much at one time. Elaborate on a *few* abstruse points. Most of your speech should consist of illustrations. Build up to a climax. End abruptly. Do not talk too long.

As you discover that these and other similar activities win your audience, confidence in yourself will grow (36-38).

Stuttering as related to self-consciousness. About 1 per cent of the population stutters. Stuttering varies from a marked, conspicuous retardation in speech to a mental disturbance of which the auditor is unaware. In the latter, the individual merely has a mental block as he is about to speak. It occurs for just a few seconds, and then he is able to go on with the conversation.

The speech mechanism of the stutterer is practically always normal. Studies of stutterers have shown them to differ from non-stutterers in having more stuttering ancestors, belonging more frequently to twinning families, and, according to some investigators, exhibiting more left-handedness and more differences in some physiological rhythms (39-42). Factors such as pampering and disturbed attitude toward parents have been mentioned also (43-45). The major factor at the basis of the problem of stuttering is usually an emotional one involving the whole personality (46-49).

Suggestions for the stutterer. Suggestions for the stutterer, particularly of the mild type, can best be understood by realizing that stuttering is related to self-consciousness. The stutterer will want to raise some questions similar to those raised in our discussion of inferiority. Does stuttering gain anything for you now or did it in the past? Does it restrict your activities, defend you from unpleasantness or anxiety? (50) Is it a form of self-punishment? In both stuttering and self-consciousness the individual is emotional and fearful of the social situation. In both cases, the emotion completes a vicious circle because the individual regards his behavior with embarrassment.

It is not our purpose to discuss comprehensively the causes of stuttering, as specialists do not themselves agree. We shall give some of the methods for alleviating the stutterer's distress since there is some agreement on them.

1. See a specialist who is known for his ability in this field. Many universities have speech, psychological, or psychiatric clinics which aim to help the student to improve his oral language.

2. The stutterer can help himself greatly by the attitude he builds. To be sure, the negative attitude that he often holds has been acquired over a long period of time and a new attitude cannot be established in a day or two. Usually the stutterer feels insecure, and stuttering is regarded as his most conspicuous trait. He would be more secure if he had outstanding accomplishments and interests so that he could think: "I am an individual with many characteristics, some of which are very desirable. Among my characteristics is the habit of stuttering."

3. Relaxation is very helpful to the stutterer. The stutterer will notice that while he is stuttering he is highly self-conscious, emotional, and tense. He should build the habit of relaxing the muscles of the arms, legs, throat, and other parts of the body when he is not in a stuttering situation. This is discussed below. The habit of relaxation should grow to be the dominant habit in a situation which might otherwise produce tension. Some relaxation can be achieved indirectly by acquiring attitudes which involve a sense of humor (51).

4. Any disturbing factor in his life should be understood. Stuttering is often regarded as a symptom of an underlying personality difficulty. Some stutterers are reacting to a strict father as they stutter before all persons in authority, or to a feeling of inferiority which is due to their family background. Others are responding to symbols of other events in their early life (52-55).

Relaxation an aid to adjustment. Most mental problems, such as fear, worry, self-consciousness, depression, and inferiority

feelings, cause tension. Those who are troubled by these problems become emotional and rigid. Very often this tension becomes a habit, and the individual becomes habitually high-strung. It is well, first, to *remove the cause of the problem before attempting to reduce the tension*. Once the conditions giving rise to the problem cease to operate, the habitual tension can be removed more easily. The following methods are suggested for relieving tension (56):

1. The individual must *learn* the habit of relaxing. This habit must be a substitute for the contrary habit of tensing. Once the habit has been acquired, it will not be difficult for one to think, "Relax!" and thereby arouse the relaxed behavior, just as when one plunges into the water one immediately arouses the habit of swimming.

2. Tense persons cannot relax at will, so they begin by forcing relaxation. In order to achieve this one must first *contract* the arm as completely as possible, then relax it completely. This must be done several times until the arm becomes entirely limp. The same should be done with the other arm, then with each leg successively. Finally, one should relax the throat and eye muscles. These can be tensed and then relaxed. The eye muscles are tensed by placing the fingers on the nose and fixating on them, then allowing the eyes to relax.

3. After all the skeletal muscles have been relaxed successively, try to relax them in patterns. The two arms can be contracted together and relaxed. Then the arms and legs, then the rest of the body. This exercise will take time. The individual should go through it several times a day. Then he should practice relaxing the entire body at different times throughout the day. You may care to plan a program of relaxation exercises throughout the day. Keep a record of the extent to which you practice relaxation each day. This is the only absolute method for setting up the habit.

When we are carrying on daily activities we frequently tense more of the body than is necessary. Such tension does not make our activities more effective. Rather, excessive tension detracts from nearly every skilled act. The best dancers are those who use only the necessary muscles. All of us have had the experience of dancing with "muscle-bound" people. They are tense and make dancing a workout rather than a delightful social relaxation. This also holds for swimming, tennis, basketball, and any other athletic games.

Most persons do not realize how tense they are. They are not

aware of the value of relaxation for them. To convince yourself of this, go through the relaxing exercises for the next five minutes, then attempt to relax while you read. You will notice that a certain amount of tension is necessary for you to remain alert; beyond that point tension can be excessive. Relaxation is particularly recommended to those who are self-conscious or worried, or who have other nervous habits.

Self-confidence. The trait of self-confidence is the opposite of anxiety, inferiority, self-consciousness, and emotional instability. The self-confident individual ventures into new territory with ease and pleasure. Just as the anxiety condition is built up over a period of years as the result of many fearful experiences, so self-confidence is built up as the result of a feeling of inner security and success in areas which the individual *considers important*. These areas may be in personal efficiency, academic success, social adjustment, leadership in social groups, or the respect and affection of the opposite sex. Methods of achieving success in these fields have been discussed in the chapters on these topics.

The confident individual is facing his fears and is building habits of success in their stead. He usually knows how he stands on important issues, has a personal philosophy of life, and is motivated. The importance of these attitudes have been discussed in Chapter 8. The confident individual has learned to expect progress if he plans and works hard. His experiences have taught him that he need not worry over his role in future events. With an attitude of this type he is quite often successful, and this success increases his previous confidence.

He who lacks self-confidence can profit greatly by the suggestions given previously. He should discover the origin of his greatest fears and the sources of insecurity, a wounded ego, and inferiority. He may strive for success first in those fields in which he has some talent. As he develops there he may extend his efforts elsewhere.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE ADJUSTED PERSONALITY

As a college student you desire friends, clothes, popularity, vocational success, a good school record, the mastery of certain scholarly pursuits, and supremacy for your ideals and the groups of your affiliation. You are *motivated*. But you have not attained success in all these realms. You are, to some extent, *thwarted*. Furthermore, some of your wishes and attitudes *conflict*. But you have not quit; you are constantly seeking new ways to satisfy these motives, to *readjust*. We have presented discussions of the general principles of conflict and adjustment as well as discussions and some suggestions for meeting problems in areas in which you are thwarted. After a brief summary of the generalizations about adjustment, we shall now turn to a discussion of the nature of the adjusted student, a wholesome society, and mental hygiene.

THE MEANING OF ADJUSTMENT

Generalizations about adjustment. In Chapter 1 we saw the adjustment process in essence as the building of habits and attitudes or the changing of environment to meet the thwarted or unsatisfied motives. That discussion pivoted on a simple act of adjustment as the basic process for the complex adjustment found in the many-sided daily life of the typical college student. What generalizations can we venture concerning the adjustment of the *entire personality*? (1-7)

Human adjustment is to symbols which readily conflict. First, most of our adjustments are to *symbols*: to causes, honors, wishes, ideals, social relationships. These symbols are laden with *emotion*. We rarely inspect *all* that a symbol means. How many of us could take an examination on the meaning of Ameri-

can Democracy, Italian Fascism, Russian Communism, or Presbyterian Christianity? Nevertheless, all of us *feel* definitely about them. We sometimes support two causes that are *incompatible*, as, for example, the Klansman who is convinced that he is a patriotic American, or the unethical businessman who believes he is a true Christian. Many of us have grown up without realizing that we hate some aspects of causes we espouse because we have never fully understood them. As we shall see shortly we are born not into a well-ordered society but into one filled with conflicts which we introject and must solve.

Adjustment is continual. Human beings never remain entirely adjusted. Biological and social needs are too persistent and ever-changing. With new inventions and technological progress our society changes. Furthermore, we are limited in time and abilities and cannot satisfy all the needs which arise. Adjustment is a *continuous* process. The dead man is the only completely adjusted individual. Moreover, complete adjustment might be undesirable. The individual who constantly remains in fair adjustment to his environment has been referred to as "bovine" (1, 2, 5). Plasticity of behavior amid continuity seems to be a more desirable condition.

Frequently, *transient maladjustment* is necessary in order to motivate the individual to acquire new traits so that he may develop. We showed in our discussion of inferiority feelings that handicaps often "make a man" by causing him to compensate desirably.

The homesick freshman is maladjusted. A return home would be the easiest way to adjustment. Certainly, to stay in school and fight his battle will continue the maladjustment for a time. By his senior year, however, this maladjustment will have earned a healthy growth for him.

Life is a continual struggle. With traits appropriate to the demands of the individual, and with a flexible personality which touches many phases of his environment, the struggle may be regarded as a satisfying and interesting game. Otherwise, it results in many psychic scars.

Definition of individual adjustment. The question now arises, "Who are the well-adjusted and who are the poorly adjusted individuals? When does one make a good adjustment?"

You are a well-adjusted individual if you can *meet your needs with the resources available in your environment*. Your needs are specifically determined by the cultural *milieu* (customs, ideals, and attitudes) in which you live. You may recognize and assume as part of your environment all or only a *fragment* of this culture.

For example, as a college fraternity man you may think, along with your brothers, that chapter prestige, dances, dates, popularity, clothes, and campus offices are important. You may, on the other hand, get along well with the fellows but not consider their attitudes important, and therefore not attempt to adjust to them. You may find one or two of the more mature, better-read members who think as you do in terms of the importance of liberal attitudes in these times, and from then on you may associate mainly with these men.

Whether you remain adjusted to your environment depends on how much you and it change. In evaluating your adjustment we must consider all your motives (urges, wishes, and tendencies) and all the habits and attitudes which you use to satisfy your organic, social, and personal demands. We must consider your *entire* personality. Furthermore, we must speculate about your *future* demands and your pliability in the development of new habits and attitudes. In addition, we must know whether your behavior is compatible with that of your fellows, whether your adjustment is *socially oriented*. A humanitarian factory owner cannot live happily in luxury when he sees the low wages he pays leading to dire human need and to crime.

Effective adjustment often consists in changing environment rather than in conforming to it. Many of the great personages in history as well as the more obscure leaders have adjusted to their inner environment, to the truth as they and fellow thinkers saw it, rather than to the *status quo* or to high authority (8). The question always arises, of course, of the rightness of one's own convictions when they differ from the group's. Is one a leader adjusting to facts or an eccentric, a paranoid, adjusting to one's own defenses and escapes? In science the laboratory and the experimental method can be used to validate facts. Time and experience are testers of truth. The test of reason and belief has been discussed more fully in Chapter 3. Adjustment through changing an environment, by developing rather than by con-

forming, is a difficult but from many standpoints a higher level of adjustment.

From this viewpoint an individual may be *adjusted at one time* of life and not at another; he may be adjusted to *one aspect of life* and not to another. Many poorly adjusted adolescents may have been regarded as well-adjusted children. Some poor students are good athletes. In the cases of George N. and Henry T. in Chapter 4 we found respectively a student who was poorly adjusted in childhood and better adjusted in college and a student who is rather well adjusted to intellectual pursuits yet poorly adjusted in terms of competitive sports and extracurricular activities. In World War II there were frequent cases of combat fatigue in which the individual who had passed all the various screenings for emotional stability broke under continual battle pressure and, later, with proper treatment apparently recovered quite completely (9, 10). There were, however, cases of neurotics who had long and successful combat experience without any emotional break (11). Moreover, studies of two different groups of former problem children while in service showed that many made good adjustments (12, 13). Certainly not all well-adjusted adolescents will remain adjusted throughout life. Every change of party administration in Washington causes many politicians to be poorly adjusted. Some persons are temporarily maladjusted, and some remain maladjusted most of their lives.

Adjustment in the western world may be thought of as presenting at least four major aspects: adjustment to physiological urges, to work, to people, and to one's inner standards. We saw in one of the cases of college students, Ned J. in Chapter 6, an example of success in adjustment to school work and responsibilities but of failure in adjustment to the boys in his fraternity. Another student, Tom G., was very popular, yet he was nearly eliminated from school because of poor grades.

The mere fact that one has built traits, habits, and attitudes which clash with most social environments does not mean that he cannot be placed in another environment with resultant success or that he cannot gain new habits and attitudes. Jesus of Nazareth, Saul of Tarsus (St. Paul), Woodrow Wilson at the time of his death, Galileo when he published some of his results—all were out of adjustment to their environment or times. We now

regard all these men as having made major contributions to the development of our civilization.

It is well established that many persons we consider "crazy" would be accepted as normal in other cultures. Our epileptic, senile, psychotic, and hysterical persons could all find a cultural group some place in the world where they would be accepted and even honored (14). Many of these abnormals have attempted to adjust to two conflicting social groups and, from the standpoint of the prevailing culture, they are failures.

The odds are against the successful adjustment of the individual who has traits and habits that are incompatible with his needs and who remains in or transfers to the same general type of environment. The old traits, habits, and attitudes often persist into the new, similar situation unless there has been a complete change of orientation, as in the case below.

Alfred K. had a year and a half of college before he was drafted. He came to rush week as a freshman, had a glorious round of parties, assumed the attitude that college was a place to have a good time, and was not initiated the first semester because of low grades. He transferred to another school, with only transient change in attitude. He still regarded studies as a bore and contacts with others as of primary importance. His grades were barely high enough for him to remain in school. In short, this pre-war period was one in which he gained very little knowledge or maturity. His whole orientation was adolescent.

He returned to school after four years in the Army, two of which had been spent overseas. He had realized in this time the importance of science, geography, history, and other disciplines in the world of affairs as well as in combat. He was more serious and, although his major goal was to establish himself vocationally, he developed considerable social consciousness, a realization of the need for providing opportunities for educational, social, and economic development of all people. He regarded most of the boys who were just out of high school and very much like he had been previously as intolerable kids. He achieved a grade average which was quite admirable.

Continuous failure is another extremely frustrating condition. It destroys personal morale. Most inveterately maladjusted individuals *need guidance* in order to discover their inner trends and to build habits and attitudes when placed in a new situation.

The persistently maladjusted individual. *Neurotic and psychotic personalities.* People often regard the persistently malad-

justed individual as *intrinsically* incapable of adjustment. These persons are called neurotic or peculiar and in extreme cases psychotic. It is difficult to know what percentage of our population is neurotic. Much depends upon the degree of disturbance necessary for the label "neurotic" to be applied. Various more careful estimates run from 3 per cent "more or less disabled" to around 27 per cent (15).

Neurotic individuals vary greatly, are sane, sometimes "very successful" in business or creative ventures (16), but their emotional and social adjustment to life is difficult. One writer states that psychological patients in World War I served as long and at least as well as, and earned about as many decorations as, the average soldier (9). Persons with neuroses have anxieties, feelings of guilt, or are obsessed with ideas or impulses that dominate them. Life for them is a continual emotional struggle. They have many emotional conflicts and frustrations. After qualified professional treatment, however, the majority show good adjustment (17, 18).

Psychotic individuals suffer from a mental disorder of one type or another. They usually are hospitalized. Unlike the neurotic individuals, they often show surrender to or struggle against society rather than an intermittent attempt to adjust to it. They may, as in dementia praecox (schizophrenia), withdraw from society and exhibit behavior difficult to understand, such as mutism, silly talk and actions, belief that they are persecuted or are exalted personages; or they may become expansive, somewhat uncontrollably excited or very deeply depressed and suicidal, as in the manic-depressive psychosis.

The bases and course of emotional disturbances. We cannot be certain that some of these persons will not adjust later or that the emotional breaks are confined to the few who happen to be born with *constitutional weakness*. It is true that schizophrenia is found more frequently in families with previous histories of the disorder (19), but there are many from such families who survive the ravages of civilized life without severe emotional disturbance (20). The nature and the role of constitutional weakness in emotional disorders have not been determined. It is not known how much of the weakness is also due to early environmental frustration. A large number of psychiatrists regard mental disorder as due principally to *conflicts that in-*

volve the individual's self-esteem and ego and that make him feel unworthy (21). They can point to a study such as the one which compared 100 soldiers with psychiatric illness with 1000 successful combat soldiers. No differences were found between the two groups in heritage or background, yet the groups differed in the number of neurotic traits among the 100 men (22). Others insist that such breaks as were found at Dunkirk among only a certain percentage of soldiers, while the majority showed rapid spontaneous recovery, give evidence of constitutional predisposition to emotional disturbances (23). Most authorities would agree that the fewer episodes of mental and emotional disturbance in the individual's life or in the lives of the members of his family and the greater the evidence of stability, the better the prognosis for the future (24).

It has been shown through group statistics that wars, depressions, and unemployment do not lead to increases in the rate of hospitalization due to mental disease (25). Suicide rates even drop in war time (26). However, we must ask again if wars, depressions, and waves of unemployment which affect practically everyone, if not actually at least in imagination, can be as frustrating as failure during a period of prosperity, which reflects on the individual as a person (27). Such individual factors as shame, feeling of unworthiness as a person, and feeling cut off from others are most devastating in effect. In war, if group or individual morale is high, and if there is no conflict within the individual, it is astonishing what he can withstand. Furthermore, it is known that, when many who show rather far-reaching abnormal symptoms are given proper treatment, the symptoms disappear. This treatment consists in removing them from the precipitating influences, allowing them to rest, giving them professional care, and providing them with opportunities to reorganize their thinking, to gain security, and to get insight into their attitudes and behavior (28, 29). A follow-up of some psychotic personalities from World War I showed that about 50 per cent of them can be characterized as "well adjusted in community" or "making acceptable adjustment with assistance" (30). Another report on private patients indicates "recoveries" in 40 per cent of all cases (31). Percentages of improvement run even higher in some disorders and in cases which received some treatment (18).

The results of organizations of ex-patients of mental hospitals (32) and the accomplishments of Alcoholics Anonymous and individuals like Clifford Beers and A. T. Boisen demonstrate the importance of the human element in recovery. Clifford Beers wrote the book *A Mind that Found Itself* (33) and established the great international Mental Hygiene movement. A. T. Boisen wrote *The Exploration of the Inner World* (34) and has been actively studying mental disorder as a pastoral counselor since his recovery in a mental hospital. Case histories of anonymous ex-alcoholics tell of individuals who have spent years in the gutter and who have not only been able to recover and lead a normal life but have also been able to help others and to become outstanding members of their community (35). It is well to be realistic about mental disorders and realize that they have a biological aspect, but at no time is it necessary to take a cold, detached, and fatalistic attitude, to forget that the patient is first of all a person with self-regard and human attitudes and to underestimate the tremendous therapeutic force of inspiration and faith. The individual's attitude toward himself, toward other people, and his relationship to the universe and the Deity are highly important. As one writer said in discussing the history of Reverend Boisen:

"... his people were given the bleak information that recovery was not to be expected. Evidently Boisen was not informed of this bleak prognosis; for he proceeded to recover. However, at first he had trouble convincing his family that the unexpected had taken place so that he was obliged to remain at the hospital longer than would otherwise have been the case. It was during this period that his interest in his own breakdown and in the troubles of his fellow-patients was born. His efforts to learn something about his own case by talking with the physicians at the hospital proved futile: the doctors, according to Boisen, being advocates of the constitutional theory, deemed it unwise to discuss symptoms with the patients" (27).

The relative nature of normality. We cannot emphasize too strongly that what is normal at one time and at one place in the world is abnormal in another; that normality and abnormality are relative and there is no clear line of demarcation between the normal and the abnormal. One is normal if he meets the demands of the culture he has assimilated over a period of time.

He is abnormal if he fails to meet these demands. If he is abnormal either his inner orientation or the environment must be changed (36). For all practical purposes, adjustment in our culture means a change of self or perspective rather than a radical change of environment. Most environments are sufficiently complex to allow one to adjust to one aspect even if he is out of adjustment with another. A college student may not be adjusted to the most popular group on the campus, but he can certainly find a number of students with whom he may be congenial.

Whereas adjustment is relative, there are certain minimum standards which any given society makes absolute to some degree. A simple agrarian environment with little civilized encroachment may not stigmatize the low-grade moron who cannot adjust to a high-speed technical culture. Even a mildly psychotic or mentally diseased person may "get by" in this situation or in an overprotective home which assumes responsibility for him and solves his problems. But in modern industrial society the individual who falls short in efficiency or sociality because of mental illness or incompatible traits is conspicuous. Most of our institutions, like medicine, law, and education, adopt absolute standards. A person is regarded as sick or well, innocent or guilty, passing or failing, and, because of this administrative imperative, the differences between the extremes of the group are emphasized rather than the similarities between the borders.

This discussion does not deny the fact that the most abnormal individuals have either an inadequate mental development, a mental disease, or brain damage which causes behavior to assume an extreme form and, in some cases, to become so quantitatively different as to seem qualitatively distinct from their previous behavior or the behavior of most other people. Because, however, of the use of *ideal* standards of health and behavior rather than the *normal or statistical standards* (which define normal as that which predominates), abnormal behavior becomes even more conspicuous than it might be. Once labeled "abnormal," "criminal," "failure," an individual is regarded as distinctly different from the rest of the group. The group's prejudices, fears, and defenses are marshaled against him. This is a form of "scapegoating" which does not help the abnormal individual, who needs understanding and affection more than anyone.

Concomitants of mental health in our culture. He who is physically healthy exhibits certain signs of health which we all recognize and which the physician can name. A physically fit man has good color, clear, firm skin, optimum weight for height, vitality, erect posture, and vigorous gait. He has normal blood pressure, temperature, and blood sugar content. His chest, heart, and blood conditions are satisfactory.

What are the characteristics of a mentally fit or well-adjusted individual? What general signs point to good mental health? The answer to these questions in a specific form is not easily given, mainly because it is extremely difficult to ascertain what conditions are *productive* of mental health and what conditions are *by-products* or effects of a healthy mind. It is our purpose at this point merely to indicate some of the important concomitants and signs which indicate that an individual enjoys good mental health; they are the result of comparisons of well-adjusted and poorly adjusted individuals (37, 38). All these generalizations must be interpreted in terms of the above discussion of the complex and relative nature of adjustment. It might be well at this point to reread the cases of well and poorly adjusted students in Chapter I and on pages 181 to 185 in Chapter 6.

All the characteristics below may be subsumed under one major criterion: the well-adjusted individual experiences relative *inner security*. His life is so ordered that *anxiety is reduced to the minimum*. The secure individual, then, shows the following characteristics.

Happiness. An outstanding characteristic of mental health is happiness. The healthy man enjoys life. His inner experiences have an essentially pleasant tone over a period of time. To the psychologist, chronic unhappiness usually indicates maladjustment. It is an index at least of a temporarily unhealthy mind. To use an analogy, it is like a fever, which indicates inner pathology. It is a symptom. The poorly adjusted individual struggles with conflicts. He fails to reach goals. He is disturbed. Most of his activities have an unpleasant background.

Studies show that the happier people are those who are concerned with matters outside themselves rather than with their own problems (39); that the happiest period of life for most is when they are working hard bringing up children (40); and that

health, faith, cheerful attitude, money, friends, pleasant family relations, and doing things for others are listed in that order as assets in later life (41).

Happy is the man who can satisfy the basic motives of life, whose bed feels good to him after physical work or play, who looks forward to his meals, enjoys his work no matter how obscure, who appreciates the minor changes and adventures in his life—a moonlit night, strains of music, a beautiful tree in a neatly clipped lawn, burning leaves, sunrises, or even a new route home from work. Particularly happy is the man who *experiences genuine love*, respect, friendships, and adventures *unmarred by the strictures of fear, envy, guilt, self-pity, or self-adulation* (42), who feels secure as he aspires to the goals he can reach. He does not punish or injure himself by inordinate feelings of guilt, depressions, or dangerous, impulsive behavior. Such an individual is living *simply* and *realistically* and, as we shall show, attending to the present. His happiness is a by-product of the satisfaction of these motives and is not achieved through pursuit of thrills.

Motivation. The mentally healthful and happy are interested in life in its many expressions. They enter into daily events with zest. Life has purpose. A youth who is in good mental health attacks the problems he meets; they are challenges, a part of the game of life, and they make life worth while and interesting. The healthy enjoy work as well as play and alternate between them.

Zest is a part of the natural make-up of the human being. Children are zestful when they are physically well. Prolonged boredom or depressions are experiences which result from unsatisfactory circumstances. Under optimal conditions adults retain this vivaciousness, this interest in life, this striving which some believe is the fundamental property of mind.

Writers in this field have pointed out that some unadjusted individuals will frequently show such strong motivation in a single direction that they will become distinguished in that one field of endeavor (16, 43). This means much to society, but these strongly motivated genuises are often very unhappy themselves and other aspects of their daily lives lack zest. Their field of accomplishment is an escape from their maladjustment. A good generalization regarding the most desirable condition of

motivation in the lives of human beings is: *The man who is motivated, striving, and zestful in a number of compatible directions within the extent of his capacities and interests reaches optimal adjustment.*

We have discussed in detail the methods of avoiding conflicts between motives in Chapter 5. Under "Personal Philosophy of Life" in Chapter 8, we have seen how the individual may integrate his motives.

Sociality. In our culture the man who has a healthy mind is the man who is adjusted to some of his fellows, who enjoys some human contacts. The extremely asocial individual is easily detected. Even the man in the street calls such an individual "queer" or "not even human," because he well realizes that human nature grows from and thrives on social contacts and dies in isolation.

The cases of well-balanced youths described in Chapter 1 indicate the extent to which such individuals are socialized. They enjoy people, like social games and gatherings, are motivated by the praise, condemnation, ills, sympathy, and counsel of their fellows (37, 38, 44). We human beings are deeply dependent upon each other for our food, clothing, and protection. From birth all our habit patterns are so organized around people that inability to adjust to people is a serious handicap. The situations we have learned to value most highly are friendships, social successes, honors, recognitions, and social skills. Being a part of a group that is "our own" has much security value. A sense of rejection by the group is exceedingly disturbing, and if prolonged it may have disastrous consequences (45, 46).

There are those adjusted persons who are not extremely social. They are, however, adjusted to *some* congenial group composed of others like themselves. They may even be opposed to some of the typical activity of the average man. Nevertheless, they may understand the more typical man and appreciate his follies. Though critical of mankind as a whole, they may seek to better his lot. They are humanitarian-minded even though they may seem unsocial. The major aspects of social adjustment were discussed in Chapters 10 and 11.

Unity and balance. Mental unity is the product of a healthy mind. The serene life is a relatively unified, integrated, smooth-flowing one. Behavior is *integrated*, and thoughts are orderly.

The well-adjusted youths described above have many interests, many hobbies, many achievements, but none of the traits is grossly incompatible with the others or abnormally strong (37, 38). Few of these activities dominate the life of the well-adjusted individual at the critical expense of others. He is not an athlete to the extent that he fails in scholarship, or a scholar at the sacrifice of the human being.

The well-adjusted has standards, plans, a system of habits and attitudes which he respects and modifies only as a natural development. His mental acts are synthesized—the result of previous experiences and environmental forces. This person is usually not an extreme introvert or extrovert, not overbearingly aggressive or obsequiously submissive, not excitingly quick or irritatingly slow. One does not find him very suggestible, easily “taken in,” or exhaustingly stubborn in the face of logic. He is essentially balanced and unified. He is not torn between incentives; his acts, in the main, lead toward a common goal. He does not possess neurotic traits which defend him from his anxieties and help him to escape his real self. He makes friends with those aspects of his personality he might have despised. He accepts his negative traits as a natural development.

Although some adjusted persons may not be balanced in certain *specific* traits, other traits in their personality minimize this imbalance. A very reclusive introvert may write with insight into human nature. When known well this person may be delightful company. His total personality overshadows imperfections.

The opposite of unity and balance is found in the inhibited, puzzled, thwarted youth who “doesn’t know where he stands.” He would like to be an athlete, but he is too mediocre. He wants to be the campus Adonis, but he is lanky and homely. He is *himself*, but he does not want to be himself. He hates and disowns certain parts of his personality. He is a Hamlet, torn between “to be or not to be.”

To be sure, even the well-adjusted have conflicts which disturb their equilibrium, but they face their conflicts and attempt to deal with them (38). Balance means poise. The balanced individual meets his problems and relaxes when they are solved. He maintains this balance through the release of tensions. He

plays periodically. He seeks to control his life so that it sails on a relatively even keel.

We have previously considered more fully the means of achieving unity and emotional stability (Chapter 14). A philosophy of life integrates and unifies the individual. We have defined it and discussed its development in Chapter 8.

Orientation in the present real world. The happy, motivated, sociable, integrated individual lives in the present. He is oriented in the *real* world in which he lives. Studies bear this out (37). He is realistic and responds to the world as it *is* rather than as it might have been. He is *objective*, does not react to situations with his feelings or take personally little events. He can see occurrences as events in life rather than fearful or depressing experiences involving him. A psychiatrist engaged in personnel research in a large New York department store found that salespersons who are of low cost to the company differ from high-cost employees who are at odds with customers, fellow workers, and superiors. The first type shows initiative, interest in the job, and extroversion or interest in people. These employees are active, aggressive, alert, convincing, ambitious, responsive, pleasant, and well integrated. They have a *good attitude toward life and themselves* and are *vitaly interested in whatever work they undertake*. The others who do not bring the company so great a profit are introverted, underactive, ambitionless, unresponsive, and unstable. These employees *day-dream considerably* and are apt to have serious personality disorders. Such disorders are practically absent from the low-cost sales group.

Of the most inefficient drivers of trucks, studied by the same psychiatrist, 70 per cent have personality problems, that is, abnormal emotional changes, are impulsive, indulge in daydreams, have faulty attitudes, and display inappropriate and unacceptable behavior (47). Possibly some of these maladjusted persons show these characteristics because their personalities are not compatible with the requirements of the positions they hold. They might show better orientation in a different type of environment.

A comparison of normal women with women hospitalized with neuroses shows that they are distinguished not in terms of a lifetime of differences in experiences, but rather in terms of

their *reactions to and attitudes regarding* these experiences. The women with neuroses, for example, do not report any greater number of childhood sex aggressions but give them *more significance*. These women show no differences in physical constitution, development, or medical history. The big difference in background, as we might expect from our study of development in Chapter 6, is the extent of conflict, instability, and friction in the home, and in their relationship to their parents. These factors brought about the insecurity and instability in early life (48).

Efficiency involves a characteristic usually attributed to the well-adjusted person—*attention to the present*. He has an *active attitude*. He is not “in a fog.” He is well oriented in time and space. He has perspective. If one aspect of his wide environment does not satisfy his needs, he turns to another rather than turning inward to brood. His greatest interest is present existence. The past and the future are important only as they are related to the present. This individual *faces reality*. He plans for the future so that he will have present serenity. He is oriented toward a vocation (Chapters 8 and 9). He is perfecting his work habits (Chapters 2, 3, and 4). The past supplies him with experience and wisdom. His daydreams are not a substitute for daily events but a supplement to them. The poorly adjusted student escapes to a dream world of improbable events. He defends himself from reality and its stings by various subjective fears and attitudes of self-inadequacy. Dreams can enrich our lives, but not when they build attitudes which are at odds with the real world.

There are those who have learned the habit of looking outward and enjoying the realities of everyday life better than daydreams. They do not need to see life events in the movies to enjoy them. They appreciate the details in the architecture, landscapes, and human behavior in their own neighborhood. Many times a college student remains oblivious to the beauties of his campus until he notices them through the clever shots of the year-book photographer. He will enjoy the details of structure, form, and human action as seen in a movie or described in a novel depicting college or small town life and miss them in the life which surrounds him. Try seeing the details around you as though you were looking at them for the first or last time, or as though they were a part of a movie or story plot. See the actions of

the people in your daily life as though they were on a movie set or part of fictional local color. You will then be enjoying the real world.

Adaptability. We can best summarize the above-mentioned characteristics of the mentally fit by saying that he is adaptable. He characteristically faces the situation as it is, rather than turning to his inner life as an escape or a defense. As he looks at the situation squarely and uses a trial-and-error approach, some solutions suggest themselves (49). None will be the ideal solution, but certain solutions will be better than others. He realizes that in real life *compromises must be made* or the alternative is neurotic behavior. He must not expect to find a perfect solution immediately but will accept the best possible way out of his dilemma (50). This seems very sensible and easy as you read it calmly in a book, but remember that our neurotic fears, defenses, and escapes are strong emotional reactions. They blind us to the situation as it is. The advice—face the situation as it is; seek solutions; select the best one—is not so easily carried out as it may seem. In order to follow this advice, certain ideal, non-realistic goals must be renounced. In some cases satisfaction of certain impelling biological urges must be delayed. In the interim we can turn to experiences less immediately satisfying but more gratifying in terms of our total life. The adaptable individual satisfies all his motives instead of being thrown into anxiety by the conflict and developing non-adjustive reactions like the neurotic animal. If we are to be adaptable, common sense and new appropriate solutions have to be substituted for fixed ways of behavior. The world changes, and we must change with it. The forward direction of life must be respected. Behavior that might have satisfied us as children cannot satisfy men. We must “put away childish things.” Fixations of immature behavior and regression to kid behavior will not solve the problem permanently. Similarly, escaping into daydreams or defending oneself rather than slowly facing one’s anxiety will not produce effective adjustment.

As one mature adult who was quite subjective in adolescence phrased it: “I have developed a rule which I apply to all worries today. I ask myself: ‘What is the problem? What can I do about it either now or at some date in the near future?’ If I obtain a positive answer, I do what it indicates and settle the matter. If there

is nothing I can do about it, then I firmly state to myself: 'There are many things in the world about which I can do nothing. This is one of them.' I thereupon turn my attention to other events, with the feeling that I have handled the matter adequately."

Sometimes adaptability is shown by getting assistance from someone else—a friend, a counselor, or a specialist. The neurotic alternative is an attitude that this experience, problem, or event is too terrible to deal with or to face. We must therefore deny it and escape from it. The well-adjusted individual faces it, says, "It is a part of life. It *has* occurred, and I must deal with it in the best possible way, however unpleasant that may be. It has happened to others before me; it has been solved before; I must solve it now." Usually, there is *strength in facing one's problems*. Many have attested to the courage obtained when facing problems rather than running away from them.

Self-responsibility implicit in adjustment. In a complex society one may adjust on various levels of maturity. There are persons who are secure and may remain so within a certain milieu all their lives and yet are not living at a very high level of maturity or responsibility. Several of the above characteristics such as adaptability and orientation assume that the individual described by them shows some responsibility and an active attitude in ordering his life. However, sometimes the responsibility and understanding of himself that one shows is minimal, and yet he adjusts adequately. The individuals who live in a simple society show all the characteristics mentioned above as long as they are living in that society. If they are moved into a more complex framework which requires more responsibility, more understanding of themselves and their world, they become mal-adjusted. It has been said that the well-adjusted individual *must accept responsibility for himself* (7), and surely this is true in view of the fact that a simple society may change drastically, requiring more knowledge, less repression of the unacceptable in oneself, and more complex choices. The highest form of adjustment, then, requires maturity, which involves responsibility.

THE EMOTIONALLY MATURE PERSONALITY

Characteristics of the mature individual. Call to mind the behavior of the children under 14 years of age whom you know.

Then, in contrast, run over in your mind the actions of some of your friends of both sexes who are well-adjusted, mature adults. What differences do you find? (3, 51-54)

The most obvious signs of maturity are anatomical and physiological. The adult is *physically full grown*. All the normal biological functions of the adult human being are present. If a man, he possesses a beard, a heavy voice, can procreate, presents superior physical strength. As he develops physically he will, if normal, also grow in intelligence and have adult ability.

Not all persons who are mature anatomically and physiologically are mature psychologically. The individual must possess other characteristics to be emotionally mature. The mature individual is independent. He is *emancipated from the home*. He is capable of being the father of his household. He no longer needs support from his own family. He is a wage earner. He is making contributions in the vocational world. He can arrive at his own conclusions and make his own decisions. He is not dependent upon the admonitions or security of his elders.

One of the psychological characteristics of maturity is *heterosexuality*. The mature individual regards his own sex as a means of companionship and the opposite sex as a source of companionship and of love. The highest development of heterosexuality is the selection of one member of the opposite sex as a life mate.

Maturity involves an *appreciation of the attitudes and behavior of others*. The self-centered person is not emotionally mature. He is like a child. His own needs and feelings are uppermost in his mind. His own pleasure is the basis for most of his decisions. The mature person, although he recognizes authority, does not feel self-conscious and inferior to every older or authoritative person he meets. He can meet other persons on an unemotional, somewhat equal basis. He learns to accept criticism, to examine it rather than to have a temper tantrum or a depression about it. He does not have to dominate a group or withdraw from it.

With an appreciation of others there comes a tendency to adopt the *attitudes and habits of other adults*. The emotionally mature person dresses, thinks, and behaves not too unlike the individuals of his own age and sex. He usually feels that he is

a secure part of a group although not dependent upon this group for all his ideas and actions. He has social outlets for his energy, plays games, follows hobbies. He is unlikely to be a lone wolf or an eccentric. If he differs from others he is tolerant of their behavior.

The emotionally mature individual is *capable of delaying his responses*. The child must have what he wants when he wants it. He is unwilling to substitute remote ends for immediate goals. He cannot inhibit behavior which will be disastrous to his later existence. He lacks endurance and fortitude. The mature person shows *controlled and directed emotionality*. He is not impulsive or highly emotional in most situations. He is, rather, composed, reflective, deliberate, and calm. He has developed a certain degree of mental toughness to life's problems and does not need to run for shelter as each difficulty confronts him.

But we cannot stop here. Not all persons who are heterosexual, sociable, and independent represent a high level of maturity in our complex civilization. This independence should go further. The best example of the mature person is one who not only supports himself but *controls his environment*. Instead of being subject to the forces of the world, he takes part in molding these forces. He does not accept everything on faith; he is not entirely dependent on events around him; events around him, in part, are dependent upon him. He recognizes his talents, and he sees his place in the world, sees future goals, and moves toward them (55). Neither is he dominated by strong, repressed forces within him. He is conscious of them and of all his limitations, accepts them, and deals with them.

Maturity brings with it a *point of view of life*. If this is adequately verbalized it deserves the title of a philosophy of life. It includes the individual's convictions on matters such as ethics, morals, politics, and the nature of the world and of man. Those persons judged most mature by recognized scholars and leaders are individuals capable of devoting themselves to an abstract ideal, such as the discovery of truth. If a man can allow an ideal to permeate his life so that selfish, petty motives are subordinate to it, he is indeed mature (56). We have devoted a section of Chapter 8 to a detailed discussion of a philosophy of life.

Many of the characteristics of the adjusted individual presume a certain degree of maturity. Assuredly the mature person is adaptable, oriented in the present world, motivated, and sociable. Whether he is happy and unified depends upon whether he is behaving at a level of maturity compatible with his abilities, experience, and personality traits. The college student who is described below illustrates this.

Frank U. is a 25-year-old veteran of World War II. He looks and acts more like a person of 20. He has superior intelligence and vocabulary, good work habits, and above-average grades. His attitude is submissive, despite a well-developed, average-size physique and a "regular fellow" appearance. As soon as he begins to talk, he gives the impression of being younger than he is.

Hard work and high intelligence won for him an officer's rank in the Army, even though he showed few evidences of social or executive leadership. Throughout the interviews he would say, "Yes, sir," in answering the counselor. He stated that he found it very difficult to differ with anyone of any authority.

His present behavior follows an orderly development. He comes from a family of the lower middle economic class and attended a strict religious school. His mother died before he started school, and he was subsequently shifted from relative to relative as he developed. His father was a laborer. Apparently the whole attitude of the family is one of submission to authority.

During the several years that he worked after completing high school, it never occurred to him that he could pursue college work. He was greatly surprised to learn that students of his economic class had of their own initiative come to college and earned their way, even before the war. He is strongly motivated. He has improved his vocabulary by sheer effort. He has performed every job assigned him well, within the limits of his orders.

The problems he faces at present are his tendency to worry over school work, tension, insomnia, fear of mistakes, and a general lack of confidence in himself. He is engaged to a girl who apparently has much more self-esteem. She has assumed responsibility for their relationship and their future. Although he feels that many of her decisions are right, he rebels inwardly at her making the decisions for them. After his experiences as an officer and with contemporaries in college, he realizes that he is deficient in initiative and leadership capacity. Furthermore, his whole constricted personality is frustrating to him and is producing anxiety. He wants to assume more responsibility, yet his background causes him to fear every new venture that is not supported by authority.

Here is a case of an individual who was fairly well adjusted on a simpler level of behavior until he became an officer in the

Army, realized his intellectual ability, but because of his insecure and authoritarian background was not prepared to adjust at the level of maturity that he saw in his contemporaries. The conferences with a counselor helped him to obtain some insight into the origins of his behavior and to see himself and his future role more clearly.

Suggestions for the attainment of maturity. Immaturity consists mainly in remaining emotionally at an earlier level of development, referred to as fixation. It may consist in returning to an earlier level or in regressing. The traits of responsibility, relative toughness to the problems of the world, and ability to meet disagreeable life problems with strength have not been developed. The individual behaves as though he wants someone to protect him. He either has not grown up emotionally or has returned to childhood because of the difficulties encountered on a more mature level. Frequently, the parents of immature individuals have rewarded the child for remaining child-like because they feared the adult life the child would have to meet. When women with neuroses were compared with normal women, the former were found to continue a childish relationship with their parents longer and were late in reaching independence (48). Similarly, college students with emotional problems showed less contact with both sexes, fewer play experiences with contemporaries, fewer memberships in clubs, less attendance at dances, and less independence than unselected (normal) students (37).

It should be stated that most college students want to grow up. They need only to see clearly what immaturity is like, why they are immature if they are, and to realize that maturity grows from assuming more and more responsibilities compatible with their abilities and interests rather than from expecting the world to adjust to them and protect them. With this in mind we are presenting suggestions which aid insight and the rearrangement of one's life (56).

1. Seek tactfully to get out of the clutches of possessive parents by giving the *parents other interests*.
2. *Go away* to school or to camp, or visit out of town.
3. *Earn money*, or arrange an allowance and budget it.
4. *Co-education* and dating help one to gain a heterosexual attitude.

5. Make your *appearance* fall somewhere within the pattern recognized by others of *your own age*.
6. *Affiliate* with and, if possible, live with groups, such as fraternities, clubs, and hobby organizations which provide an opportunity to acquire the habits and attitudes of the young adult.
7. Take the *initiative* in social events; help others.
8. Read *case studies* of others who are emotionally immature; see their traits and attempt to avoid them in your own behavior.
9. Watch others to learn *techniques of self-protection*—physical defense, repartee, non-committal replies.
10. Practice the art of *losing gracefully* and recognizing superiority when justified.
11. Learn the *skills valued by your group*—boxing, dancing, dating.
12. Daydream of *yourself in mature roles* in which you deal with events in mature rather than in childish roles of support, flattery, or service from others.
13. Assume as much *responsibility* and self-expression as possible, such as choosing clothes and room decoration.
14. Think of *yourself as one of millions* of humans rather than as the axis of the universe.
15. Recognize these *attitudes as immature*: jealousy, humiliation, superficiality, escape, indecision, superiority, and maudlin sentimentality.
16. Vow to *make your own decisions* and fight your own battles; refrain from asking special favors.
17. Make a chart on which each evidence of *self-control* is recorded.
18. Be willing to work for *future goals* rather than to demand present satisfaction.
19. Develop *tolerance* for alien customs and attitudes by associating with persons outside your social group.
20. Plan a *philosophy of life* and include the discovery of dominant ideals.
21. *Think through* your attitudes and standards.
22. Make an effort to acquire *mature interests*. Read better magazines and books and discuss matters that more scholarly persons enjoy.
23. Realize that great emphasis on such externalities as a bigger house, a finer car, the latest styles, and so on is immature.

Unbalanced maturity. Every student is acquainted with fellow students who seem mature in some respects and immature in others. Here is a good example:

Merl B. does not like to dance or date, has few friends, is greatly interested in music, literature, and philosophy, and is a good student. He has developed his own philosophy of life and is moti-

vated by commendable abstract principles. The typical college student does not like him. To his contemporaries he seems affected and supercilious. He has never passed through the stage during which he would have acquired their attitudes. He was never interested in the activities of the typical 10-year-old boy, such as athletics, sports, camping, nature lore, and collections. At no time in his life did he have the typical adolescent interests: girls, parties, dates, clothes, grooming, dancing, and luxuries. He has many of the interests of a 30-year-old man, but he is not at ease with members of his own age group. He is idealistic and socially minded in terms of major issues. He has not attained experience or skills sufficient to feel at ease with the older group either. Sex control is one of his problems. He is not a very happy person, although he would be the first to deny this.

Is this individual emotionally mature? In some respects he is mature. For years he has had the interests of an older individual. He was reading philosophy in high school. However, his growth has been *asymmetrical*. Either the typical boy or girl of Merl's age is highly superficial or Merl has totally neglected an important aspect of his development.

This individual cannot be considered an *emotionally* mature person, even though he has developed a high degree of skill in the arts and of familiarity with philosophy. In fact, he may never feel completely adjusted as an adult and to his fellows. On the other hand, he may develop social skills with older persons who have similar interests, join their group, and eventually over a period of years be adjusted superficially to a certain type of society.

An intellectual superstructure may be built over a swamp of unsatisfied childhood and adolescent wishes. The prodigy is to be encouraged in his artistic or scientific development. There should also exist, however, avenues through which he may satisfy strong human urges of a social nature. The prodigy has to live with his emotional life *and* in a world of people. These people may be a select society, but all of them are biological and social beings first and prodigies later.

Levels of maturity and adjustment. People of strong faith and simplicity are sometimes the envy of those who struggle with the problems of mankind. Many of them cannot, in view of their development, adjust effectively on any other basis. However, if all of us lived on this level of behavior, dictators

and medicine men would thrive and science and progress, which are founded upon man's questing, would fall into oblivion. Some must serve as checks on ruthlessness and deception.

The mature individual has responsibility for his choices and makes his decisions rather than uncritically accepting those of others. If the ideas of established authority seem inadequate, he turns to experiments and thought for a more valid solution. The individual, then, who is best adjusted has reached the highest level of maturity within his capacity. Those who accept authority unquestioningly and make few decisions experience security but sacrifice the freedom to think and to choose for themselves. The degree of responsibility an individual or group will assume, the security they desire, and the amount of freedom they expect to enjoy are basic to many of the more acute economic, political, and social problems of the day.

A WHOLESOME SOCIETY

The individual and society cannot be separated. The child is born into a social order; during the first hour of his life its mark is implanted on him. If he is born into an urban American social order, before he leaves the delivery room he has been cleaned or oiled. His social inheritance includes race, language, customs, religion, and attitudes which include patterned prejudices and hostility. Before the first year is over, he is being molded by this society's pressures as well as by his family's idiosyncrasies. If the culture or system of customs into which he is born is conflictory and unhealthy, he finds himself inevitably a part of the conflict. Furthermore, as you have discovered in preceding discussions, it is very difficult for an individual to break with the social structures which surround him. They become a part of the warp and woof of his individual make-up.

We cannot plan for individual adjustment without examining the social order. It is futile to try to adjust the individual to social conditions which are themselves unhealthy (57).

Changing conditions in society. If a society needs modification here and there, this modification must take place along with individual change. Otherwise mental hygiene becomes verbiage. Moreover, a part of the individual's adjustment involves dealing with society and assisting others in similar plight to

effect adjustment. Most of us cling to present mores and customs because they consist of well-established individual reaction patterns and they represent personal security. The longer they have been a part of our way of behaving, the stronger they are. Special privilege groups defend most vehemently the *status quo* which sustains them. They fight for it, even though it may mean conflict, unhappiness, or slow death to many other people. We and they support the present way of life when it runs counter to our strongest cultural ideals and produces thereby a deeply serious conflict (58). All the modes of adjustment mentioned in Chapter 5 are ammunition. We rationalize fixed thinking. We use scapegoats. There is displaced emotion. Proponents and programs of change are labeled impractical, Utopian, or communistic. Prejudice, ignorance, and violence, the foes of humanity, are recruited as defenses. The inexorable changes of time and the products of a free education gradually bring the conflict into the open or resolve it by bringing about social change.

Characteristics of an adjusted society. An ideal society, from a mental-hygiene standpoint, is one which will provide for the *development of mature, well-integrated or unified individuals* who can meet the demands of their motivation without unhealthy conflict. The previously mentioned characteristics of the well-adjusted individual (pages 668 to 675) then become the marks of a healthy society. A healthy society is one which permits its members *happiness*. It enhances *good relations* between men and harnesses hate so that man does not use it blindly against himself and his fellow men. It produces *sociality, motivation* within the limits of the personality, *adaptability, unity, and balance* of traits. Furthermore, it encourages *interest* in and preoccupation with the basic *realities* of the present world (7, 59). As we have stated previously, no thoughtful person advocates the abolition of all conflict. Those conflicts which can be resolved without being destructive to the individual are stimulating to him. The goal of those who wish a healthy society is the control of conflict, so that it may be effectively *assimilated* by the individual. The reduction of devastating conflict is an important goal, irrespective of whether personal disorganization is due to constitutional or environmental factors. In either case, conflict is an important factor.

From a negative standpoint, the mental hygienist is interested in promoting a society which will sharply reduce social ills. These are suicide, mental disease, crime, violence, wars, poverty, and the breakdown of basic institutions without adequate replacement.

Some basic conflicts intrinsic to our society. What are some of the conflicts into which a child is born in the Western world? To what extent are the mental conflicts we as individuals experience a result of clashes between incompatible standards in our society? To what extent are they due to circumstances, brought about by society, which prevent us from reaching our ideals? One outstanding psychiatric writer has called attention to three conflicts intrinsic to our Western civilized society.

1. It has been suggested that our advertisement-created desires for new commodities—cars, refrigerators, clothes, gadgets—conflict with our present abilities to buy them (60). Advertising and American movies are to an extent responsible for the dissatisfaction individuals feel with their appearance since both of these media, unlike modern art, do not depict people and the world as they really are but select exceptional models who are the extreme of beauty, symmetry, color blending, etc. These ideal models are incompatible with the many variations in physique, complexion, facial features, and dress found in realistic living and which are so interesting to the true artist.

2. There is the conflict between competitive success and brotherly love. Some individuals find themselves in conflict when they try to justify the businessman who makes a tidy profit through high prices, though the high prices will mean denial of an essential commodity to a large number of people. Veterans of World War II who were trying to get an education on the funds provided by the GI Bill felt the effects of this conflict when price controls were lifted. Some vacillated between justification of the resultant exploitation, because they might resort to it for personal gains in the future, and condemnation of it, because the high prices created so many frustrations in their attempts to make ends meet.

Individualism frequently conflicts with the welfare of the group as a whole, but we are taught to respect both. In other words, there is a conflict between competitiveness, which is taught to the child even before he enters school, and coopera-

tiveness. The child is taught to stand up for his rights and on the same day is told to share his toys with the neighbor child. In American social structure, even in the schools, much more emphasis seems to be placed upon competition than upon cooperation, yet many believe that the survival of human groups strongly depends upon cooperation.

3. There is the conflict between continual mouthings about the freedom of the individual and the daily experiences of limitations of that freedom. Anyone who has lived in the more backward sections of the American South knows how little real freedom the Negro enjoys. He is kept in his place by all kinds of threats including lynching. The North cannot be too pleased about its position. It is a rare suburb in which a professional Negro is permitted to buy property. The freedom for all to rise to any heights by sheer hard work and honesty has been questioned by many psychological authors (27, 61, 62). The Horatio Alger Success Delusion, as it has been called, is well inculcated by many parents despite the fact that it is rare for the people of some neighborhoods or communities to attain such success. Registrations in state universities before the passage of the GI Bill showed relatively few individuals from the slums or lower middle economic and educational groups (37). As one author suggests, ambition and hard work are not sufficient to guarantee economic security, not to mention outstanding success (27). Despite this fact, children are taught this delusion only to have it conflict later with reality.

As we live in Western society we assume other conflicts which are to be added to this list. Judaic Christian ideals frequently conflict with Western materialism. This probably is one of the deepest conflicts American children inherit. Every Sunday they are taught and recite lessons in non-aggression, brotherhood, self-effacement, importance of inner development, and purposiveness in the universe, yet some time before the day ends they have also been taught to fight for their rights, beat the other fellow to it, "the Lord helps him who helps himself," put up a good front, and other lessons of competitive aggression. Some aspects of the teachings of Christ seem to conflict and need to be rationalized by theologians. Christ's emphasis on the simple life, the unimportance of property, antagonism toward ritual which kills spirit, the supremacy of brotherhood whenever it

conflicts with any other allegiances, certainly seem incompatible with some modern practices of various sects. There are the existing elaborate cathedrals, the Jim-Crow practices among various sects, those congregations which promote class-consciousness among their members, and the gross materialism exhibited in the pomp and ceremony of many modern churches. There are many clergymen and religious groups, however, who are clearly conscious of these conflicts and are attempting to resolve them in favor of Christian ideals. Of all institutions, the church is outstanding for the examples shown by some of its leaders in their attempts to solve some of the problems of mental discord (63-66).

Social conditions inimical to wholesome development. Mental disease has been found to be of greater incidence in certain areas of cities—the same areas that produce crime. Usually these are the disorganized areas near the center of the city (67). Obviously, in a society in which so much prestige is placed upon clothes, cars, good jobs, and other evidences of material success, not all of the approximately 70 per cent of the population who earn less than what is considered a necessary minimum for decent living can derive comfort from the common nature of their plight (27). Severe conflicts will ensue among some of them. Low earnings usually mean poor housing, minimal education, poor health standards, and low morale.

Anthropologists who have studied various primitive cultures have reported that they find few neurotic signs in those cultures, which have fewer *repressive taboos* associated with strong drives (68, 69). Many of the psychological casualties in World War II have been attributed in part to the training of English-speaking people in repression of aggression and the disapproval of expression of fear. Serious guilt resulted when men so reared had to participate in warfare (70). A psychiatrist who compared cultures in mountain communities of varying degrees of isolation and complexity found neurotic symptoms increased with *complexity* of social organization (71). The extreme gratification of the ego in our society, which allows arrogant individualism, would be considered egomania in other societies, we are told (14). It must be remembered, in discussing these generalizations, that cultures cannot be transplanted from one society to another. Any suggestions about our own society are merely

hypotheses which must be tested before being accepted as established conclusions.

Emphasis on nationalism extolling the virtues of our way of life to the discredit of differing cultures conflicts violently with the serious need for internationalism. This emphasis is particularly inappropriate in a world that has been unified technologically by rapid communication and transportation (72-74). There are many conflicts among the motives of man, but often these conflicts are promoted by insular cultures. As individuals we strive for affection and for satisfaction of our basic biological urges like hunger and warmth. Therefore the conflict between the love of goods and the love of man is one that frequently appears.

As previously indicated, there is a natural conflict between society's emphasis on the *status quo* and the need for change dictated by new inventions and new skills. Sometimes this conflict is between youth and older generations. The fast American tempo of living and our escapes into sensational experience caused by our competitive culture and our urban frustrations conflict with the need for meditation, calm, and serenity advocated by health authorities and religionists (75).

In addition to these conflicts intrinsic to our society are those which are inevitable when our differing sub-cultures are at odds. There are the convictions of the small businessman, the farmer, organized labor, intellectuals, big business, the clergy, the old folks, and the young set—all disagreeing on some points. These *culture conflicts* are illustrated by the incompatibility, for example, of the ideas that woman's place is at the sink and the fact that some of the greatest careers have been those of women; the exaltation of efficiency and the opposing admonition to be less machine-like and more human; parents may emphasize thrift and friends may urge on one the small satisfactions of daily spending (76).

The question may be raised whether there is enough emphasis in our national and international culture on the integration of these various sub-cultures. The modern church, the U.N., and forum groups are all movements in that direction.

High morale in a wholesome society. One crucial index of a wholesome society is high morale, which reflects security. The attitudes that accompany morale are the antitheses of conflict,

discouragement, inertia, apathy, or surrender. Morale signifies zest, faith in the fundamental purposes of the group, belief in loyalty to the leaders. With high morale are found confidence in the group and oneself, perseverance, and a good spirit toward work and hardship (77). The attitude of the British after Dunkirk and during the darkest hours when they underwent hardships, frustration, and losses and showed faith in a cause which was their way of life is a present-day example of high morale (78).

Morale is always implemented by the knowledge that those around us have a similar attitude, that we and our fellows feel the same about things. The group can marshal its zest when there are *common strivings*. A leader who *knows* the way and can gain respect is essential. Faith in man and his eventual outcome has been listed as another valuable item (28, 77-79). Additional boosters of morale mentioned by Army manuals consist of the satisfaction of physical needs, of a sense that we are contributing to the common cause, are moving toward victory, and are "in the know," even though the news may not be good (80, 81). Recreation also has been found to assist in maintaining morale (78). In industry, being a part of the firm or a team (82), knowing that he has status, that he is as important as the profit, makes a measurable difference in the worker's production. Nothing lowers individual morale more than holding a job that carries a stigma, that does not tap one's abilities and interests, or that is supervised by someone who is not respected. Group morale falls when security with regard to job status and permanence is jeopardized (83-87). Morale as well as personal problems and social stability of the individual reflects itself in such behavior as absenteeism and punctuality (82, 88, 89).

In a democratic atmosphere the individual develops, with fewer restrictions, into a more creative person (90). Morale in a community or a nation is in no way different from that in an army or industry. In a free, ideal democracy achieving morale is more difficult in some respects than in a state in which there is a single party, a controlled press, low literacy, a ruling group, and a submissive population. A free state will encourage the development of more creative and individual attitudes and less stereotyped behavior. But there are common purposes amid the different personalities, and these must be emphasized without

jeopardizing too greatly individual development. In favor of the development of morale in a democracy is the opportunity for the individual to feel that he can participate in the group destiny, knowledge about the state of the nation, and the stronger assurance of civil liberties (91). This morale is endangered when theoretical freedoms of speech and worship and freedom from want and fear are not realized in actuality and when representatives in Congress represent pressure groups more than the welfare of the majority of the people. A study of differential civilian morale during war time indicated lower morale among students who prefer to be born in a "socially prominent family" or to "make a lot of money," students whose attitudes are superficial, selfish, materialistic, and lacking in inner conviction or spiritual depth (92).

Suggestions for a healthier society. The entire discussion above leads naturally to certain suggestions. To build a better society it is important (1) that *physical health* be improved and maintained. Very closely akin to this is the satisfaction of basic human wants—the need for food, shelter, clothing, status, and security. In short, it is an economic need. Therefore a wholesome society in our times requires (2) *economic and social conditions* that are conducive to personality integration. This means employment which will allow the individual to experience the dignity that is intrinsic to man. Conditions should be such that he may obtain a job which is compatible with his abilities and interests and which will give him status. If man is to have any society at all, to say nothing of a wholesome society, (3) the forces at work at present must be moving toward the *prevention and redirection of man's destructive tendencies*—war and violence (93). In 1945 the American psychologists issued a statement endorsed by 99 per cent of the profession who responded to a communication about it (74). In it appeared the assertion that war can be avoided by educating for peace in the coming generation. Furthermore, "the frustrations and conflicting interests which lie at the root of aggressive wars can be reduced and redirected by social engineering." "Men," continues this statement, "can realize their ambitions within the framework of human cooperation and can direct their aggressions against those natural obstacles that thwart them in the attainment of their goals."

In addition, "the white man must be freed of his concept of the 'white man's burden.' The English-speaking peoples are only a tenth of the world's population; those of white skin only a third . . . The time has come for a more equal participation of all branches of the human family in a plan for collective security." The statement continues: "Disrespect for the common man is characteristic of fascism and of all forms of tyranny. The man in the street does not claim to understand the complexities of economics and politics but he is clear as to the general directions in which he wishes to progress. His will can be studied (by adaptations of the public-opinion poll). His expressed aspirations should even now be a major guide to policy."

In Chapter 7 we pointed out that, through (4) *recreation, special interest and hobby groups*, one can discover himself and socialize his inner impulses. Provision for recreation and play becomes more important every year with the increase of leisure time created by machinery. Special writers have claimed that recreational facilities reduce juvenile delinquency (54, 94). It is quite well established that the well- and poorly adjusted differ at least in this factor, the well-adjusted having more social outlets of a recreational nature (37).

Any form of (5) *education* worthy of its true meaning is as individualized as possible within the framework of our present system. True education is an opportunity by which one may grow and become more creative. This means less parroting of knowledge, fewer drills, and more use of experiences to energize and socialize one's life. With this viewpoint we no longer emphasize comparisons of entirely different students through grades and other competitive means. There is a continual emphasis on the total individual rather than on segments of his personality, with a full realization that some students will excel in some subject matter or skills and be inferior in others. In college, then, knowledge will not be presented for the sake of knowledge alone but in a form that will have value for the student as a personality and as a citizen in an integrated world (3, 95-97).

To summarize, a societal structure which permits the optimal development of a socialized personality through the satisfaction of his basic motives and the prevention of irreconcilable conflicts is desirable. This culture is one which does not jeopardize

his self-esteem or integrity but promotes the conditions that allow him to *realize his intrinsic dignity*.

MENTAL HYGIENE PRECEPTS

Much progress has been made in the last several decades in the field of physical hygiene. School children have been made vividly conscious of ten or fifteen simple principles which help them to maintain their physical health.

Recently, there has been an attempt on the part of mental hygienists to do the same thing in imparting information about mental health. Generalizations have been placed in pamphlets and psychological textbooks so that students may reflect on them, pass them on to others, and use them in their own lives. It is obvious that mental health cannot be improved by health drills but by *an atmosphere, a way of life, personal morale, self-understanding, and creative adjustment*. Below is a list of precepts taken from several previously published sources which will be helpful if they arouse and strengthen previously discovered insights and plans of action (98-105). They have a factual basis (37) and summarize the general and specific suggestions made throughout this book, and they constitute an appropriate ending.

1. Keep yourself *physically fit* through hygienic habits of rest, exercise, diet, and cleanliness.
2. *Face your troubles*, worries, and fears; do what you can about them, then turn your attention to more pleasant things.
3. Have several absorbing *hobbies*, interests, social games, or sports in which you like to participate.
4. *Find desirable ways to express your disturbing impulses* and emotions rather than suppress them.
5. Strive to become a *balanced personality*; try to discover what causes you to go off on a tangent.
6. Develop a *sense of humor*; be willing to admit your own mistakes and laugh at yourself.
7. Have several major *goals* in the line of your abilities and enjoy working toward them.
8. Acquire real *friends* and companions who will share your fortunes and troubles.
9. Avoid strain; develop serenity; *relax* all muscles that are not necessary for the task at hand.
10. Build the habit of *enjoying the present* by drinking in the beauties of the world around you.
11. Be *courageous* in crises; don't run from them.

12. Grow daily by creating things yourself rather than being merely a spectator, dreamer, and non-producing consumer. There is fun in *striving*.

13. Don't be *overconscious* of your uniqueness. Realize that most of us are ordinary people.

14. Realize that *time heals* many wounds; be patient and hopeful.

15. *Seek* love, adventure, safety, and success—but be sure it is the kind that you can fully enjoy.

16. Develop your *philosophy*; know where you stand and adjust to the conditions you must meet.

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APPENDIX

PRE-INTERVIEW BLANK

The information requested below will aid in making subsequent interviews more profitable to you, in order that you may give a true picture of your personality. *Please be accurate and very frank.* If necessary use other side of the sheet and refer to each item by number and letter. Your confidence will be respected. *Do not sign.* Your initials will identify blanks.

A. Identification

1. Date _____
2. No. _____
3. Initials _____
4. Sex _____
5. Age _____
6. College _____
7. Class _____
8. Social fraternity or sorority _____
9. Home Address _____
10. Population of home town _____

B. Ability and achievement

1. Grades last semester: hours of A _____ B _____ C _____ D _____ F _____
2. Dropped _____ Delayed _____ Semester before last: hours of A _____ B _____ C _____ D _____ F _____
3. Scholastic rank in high school _____
4. Size of high school class _____
5. Transfers from other colleges or courses, eliminations, etc. _____
6. College Aptitude Percentile _____
7. Study habits: Average hours per day of study _____ Underline all statements which describe accurately your usual process of study: outlining, associating material with daily life, self-quizzing, daily habits of study, seeking quiet study place, actively trying to get general meaning of material, daydreaming, following a schedule. Other methods (2 lines).*
8. Underline all statements descriptive of your attitude toward your abilities and achievements: below average in college ability, do not apply myself, am actively trying to improve, realize I must make drastic efforts to improve, my abilities are a great encouragement to me. Other attitudes (2 lines).

C. Physical health

1. Describe general health by underlining all appropriate statements: have major physical defect, must watch health, perfect health, frequent colds and ailments, several minor chronic difficulties, feel tired most of the time, usually well and strong. Further statements (2 lines).
2. Height _____
3. Weight _____
4. Date of last physical examination _____
5. Wear glasses? _____
6. Hearing perfect? _____
7. Defect in any bodily _____

* Blank lines have been omitted from this copy of the pre-interview blank, but the space allotted to each topic in the original blank is indicated.

members? _____ 8. Underline statements describing attitude toward physique and health: worry, fear future, hardly think of health, feel inferior, dissatisfied with physique; others (2 lines).

D. *College activities* (Answer in terms of activities *while at college*.)

1. Extracurricular activities, name, amount of *participation* (extensive, average, minor), and offices held (4 lines). 2. Underline appropriate adjectives. Friendships: none, few, average, very many. Approximate number _____ Acquaintances: very few, several, average, very many. Approximate number _____ Remarks (2 lines). Give approximate number of hours per week for the following, estimating as accurately as possible: 3. Bull sessions _____ hr. 4. Dances _____ 5. Shows attended with others _____ 6. Conversations _____ hr. 7. Time unaccounted for or wasted _____ hr. 8. Athletics _____ hr. 9. No. of books read per month _____ 10. Dates per month _____ 11. Remarks or strong opinions toward any of the above activities (2 lines).

E. *Interests and plans*

1. Vocational objective (including plans made and your qualifications) (2 lines). 2. Your two most outstanding reasons for coming to college: prestige, means of better employment, enjoy studying, parents' desire, to have a good time, prepare for definite career, general culture; others: _____ 3. Outstanding hobbies and interests (include active and latent, vocational, avocational, educational and time spent on each) (4 lines). 4. Skills and accomplishments (public speaking, typing, debating, dramatics, dancing, selling, creative writing, etc.) (2 lines). 5. Your opinion of your greatest assets (underline): appearance, high intelligence, ability to make friends, reputation, outstanding physique, car, fraternity affiliations, athletic ability, special musical, artistic, or mechanical abilities, ingenuity, family, money, clothes; others (1 line). 6. Activities and events within this year to which you are looking forward with great pleasure (2 lines). 7. Strongly anticipated goals within next ten years (2 lines).

F. *Present living conditions* (Underline appropriate adjectives in each section.)

1. Roommate: studious, good-natured, popular, quiet, commanding respect, emphasizes social life, idealistic; other adjectives: _____ conceited, unclean, disturbing, lazy; more adjectives: _____ 2. Housing conditions: depressing, uncomfortable for study, inspiring; others _____ 3. Financial status: insufficient, sufficient, average, above average, car at school; others _____ 4. Working conditions (hours per week): interesting, depressing, fatiguing, instructive, emotionally disturbing, too consuming of time; others (2 lines).

- G. *Attitudes* (Rate the following attitudes *very frankly* on a scale from 0 to 10. 0 = lowest possible rating, 5 = average, 10 = highest, intermediate numbers are intermediate degrees.)

1. *Interest* in this counseling interview _____ 2. Your present degree of happiness _____ 3. Your present *mental integration* consisting of oneness of purposes, and consistency and stability of attitudes and desires _____ 4. Your present *adjustment* to the environment and other people (degree to which you "fit in" with them) _____ 5. Outlook for *future fulfillment* of your ambitions _____ 6. If there are abnormally high or low ratings given above explain them (referring to attitude by its number) (3 lines). 7. We are all sensitive about some matters. Underline any of the following factors concerning you and your life about which you are somewhat sensitive and which you dislike to discuss: physique, complexion, facial features, health, home town, posture, family economic or social status, family behavior, religion, athletic ability, scholarship, leadership, social functions, ambition, responsibilities, sex control, fears, temper, mistakes, self-control, unpopularity with same sex, unpopularity with opposite sex, unconventional attractions; others (2 lines).

- H. *Problems* (Personal view.)

For each existing personal problem, difficulty, source of worry, fear, aversion, etc., give: (1) its specific and detailed nature; (2) when it first arose; (3) your attitude and reactions to it; (4) how much you desire to overcome it; (5) methods used to date in dealing with problem; (6) how easy you expect overcoming it will be; (7) the percentage of college students you believe to be more troubled by this problem than you are. Number each problem (10 lines).

- I. *Personality traits*

(Underline all of the following which describe you *rather accurately*. Look at yourself as another person and be very frank.) Energetic, ambitious, overconscientious, self-confident, hard-working, restless, nervous, easily annoyed, quick-tempered, versatile, witty, easy-going, unemotional, good-natured, friendly, persistent, original, calm, appear unemotional, inhibited, absent-minded, shy, cautious, submissive, lazy, often procrastinate, avoid responsibilities, have initiative, seek responsibilities, aggressive, lack initiative, good teamworker, leader, follower, salesman type, sociable, individualist, cooperative, enjoy people, dislike people, too serious, sensitive, idealistic, cynical, hard-boiled, indifferent, reliable, moody, easily distracted, cheerful, playboy, dependable, forceful, stubborn, critical, weak-willed, imaginative, egocentric, methodical, quick, self-conscious, retiring, often lonely, easily discouraged, easily hurt, enjoy being alone, pessimistic, jealous, tactful, anxious, unhappy, capable, tolerant; others (1 line).

J. *History prior to college* (List concisely and frankly under the following topics all the factors in your life which made you the type of person you are today. Include factors from infancy to date, separating grade school and high school periods.)

1. Parents (include temperament, compatibility, education, occupation, age, attitude toward you, financial status) (7 lines).
2. Other members of family (include age, temperament, education, occupation, attitude toward you) (4 lines).
3. Health history (accidents, defects, major illness) (5 lines).
4. Recreation and athletic history (include games preferred, team membership, honor) (5 lines).
5. Sex history (include dates, dances, attitudes, experiences, practices; age beginning each) (6 lines).
6. Social life history (include early playmates, clubs, gangs, camps, offices held, warm friendships, attitude changes) (6 lines).
7. School history (include honors, best and poor subjects, embarrassments, attitude changes) (5 lines).
8. History of extraschool experiences (include travel, work, hobbies, successes) (5 lines).
9. History of inner life (include fears, dislikes, daydreams, strong attractions, night dreams) (7 lines).
10. Religious history (include church preference, early training, value of beliefs in your life, attitude changes, disillusionment or loss of ideals, failures in reaching ideals) (8 lines).
11. Summary (comment on most important factors in your development, whether mentioned above or not, producing happiness or sadness) (38 lines).*

RATING SCALE

Miss

1. Instructions: Mr. _____ is participating in an experiment in psychology. As a part of it, he is asked to get five *frank, sincere* ratings of several of his personality traits by those who know him. Will you favor him and us by following the instructions below, placing this in the attached envelope, and mailing it in a *Campus* Mail Box in one of the University buildings within 24 hours? No stamps are needed. You can be most helpful by being extremely *frank*. The student you rate in *no* case will see your rating. Sometimes the student is shown an average of five ratings, without identification of any of the five raters. What is your relationship to this individual? Relative _____, friend of long standing _____, close friend _____,

* We are sometimes interested in knowing how others respond to a blank which we have filled out. The responses of two groups of college students have been published. These results can be found in an article by the author entitled "Case History Norms of Unselected Students and Students with Emotional Problems," *J. Consult. Psychol.*, 1947, Vol. 11, pp. 258-269.

roommate _____, house mate _____, fiancé(e) _____,
 long acquaintance _____, short acquaintance _____;
 other relationships _____. Are you a male _____,
 female _____?

2. In rating avoid the tendency to be lenient. An individual may differ greatly in the following traits and rate high in terms of one and low in terms of another. Read each definition carefully and rate in terms of *it* rather than in terms of his total adjustment or his total personality. Place an "x" on each line at the *point* at which the subject seems to belong. Rate in terms of his relation to all other students for each trait. Use "Do not know" only if you have inadequate knowledge on which to rate the trait. It is well to observe the student in terms of the traits below before starting to rate him. Be conscientious so that you will be proud of your rating.

Efficiency

Consider how quickly and thoroughly he accepts his responsibilities and duties. Consider his ability to plan his work and carry it through in good shape on time to meet the demands of his superiors.

5%	20%	50% of students		20%	5%	Do not know ____
very poor	poor	below average	above average	good	excellent	

Emotional stability

Consider whether his desires and purposes are unified, if he is consistent, acts with ease and self-confidence, is emotionally controlled or has major conflicts between ideals and behavior, is irritated by or sensitive to many matters, has numerous fears and worries or peculiarities.

5%	20%	50% of students		20%	5%	Do not know ____
very poor	poor	below average	above average	good	excellent	

Social adjustment

Consider ability to get along well with people, whether he has many friends and acquaintances, belongs to clubs, enjoys social games, whether he irritates others or remains to himself.

5%	20%	50% of students		20%	5%	Do not know ____
very poor	poor	below average	above average	good	excellent	

Appearance

Consider impression made on others as to neatness, physical attractiveness, taste and appropriateness of dress, and care of person.

5%	20%	50% of students		20%	5%	Do not know ____
very poor	poor	below average	above average	good	excellent	

Leadership

Consider ability to be followed by others, to handle groups, to plan and engineer events, to accept and carry through responsibilities involving groups.

5%	20%	50% of students		20%	5%	Do not know ____
very poor	poor	below average	above average	good	excellent	

Integrity

Consider his honesty in living up to his representations, his idealism, the degree to which he achieves it, his willingness to fight for his principles against strong pressure.

5%	20%	50% of students		20%	5%	Do not know ____
very poor	poor	below average	above average	good	excellent	

Motivation

Consider whether he has definite attainable life aims and strong, concerted desires to realize them; consider how he plans present events in terms of these aims.

5%	20%	50% of students		20%	5%	Do not know ____
very poor	poor	below average	above average	good	excellent	

Personality traits

Underline all of the following which describe the student rather accurately. Be very frank.

Energetic, ambitious, overconscientious, self-confident, hard-working, restless, nervous, easily annoyed, quick-tempered, versatile, witty, easy-going, unemotional, good-natured, friendly, persistent, original, calm, appears unemotional, inhibited, absent-minded, shy, cautious, submissive, lazy, often procrastinates, avoids responsibilities, has initiative, seeks responsibilities, aggressive, lacks initiative, good teamworker, leader, follower, salesman type, sociable, individualist, cooperative, enjoys people, dislikes people, too serious, sensitive, idealistic, cynical, hard-boiled, indifferent, reliable,

moody, easily distracted, cheerful, playboy, dependable, forceful, stubborn, critical, weak-willed, imaginative, egocentric, methodical, quick, self-conscious, retiring, often lonely, easily discouraged, easily hurt, enjoys being alone, pessimistic, jealous, tactful, anxious, unhappy, capable, tolerant.

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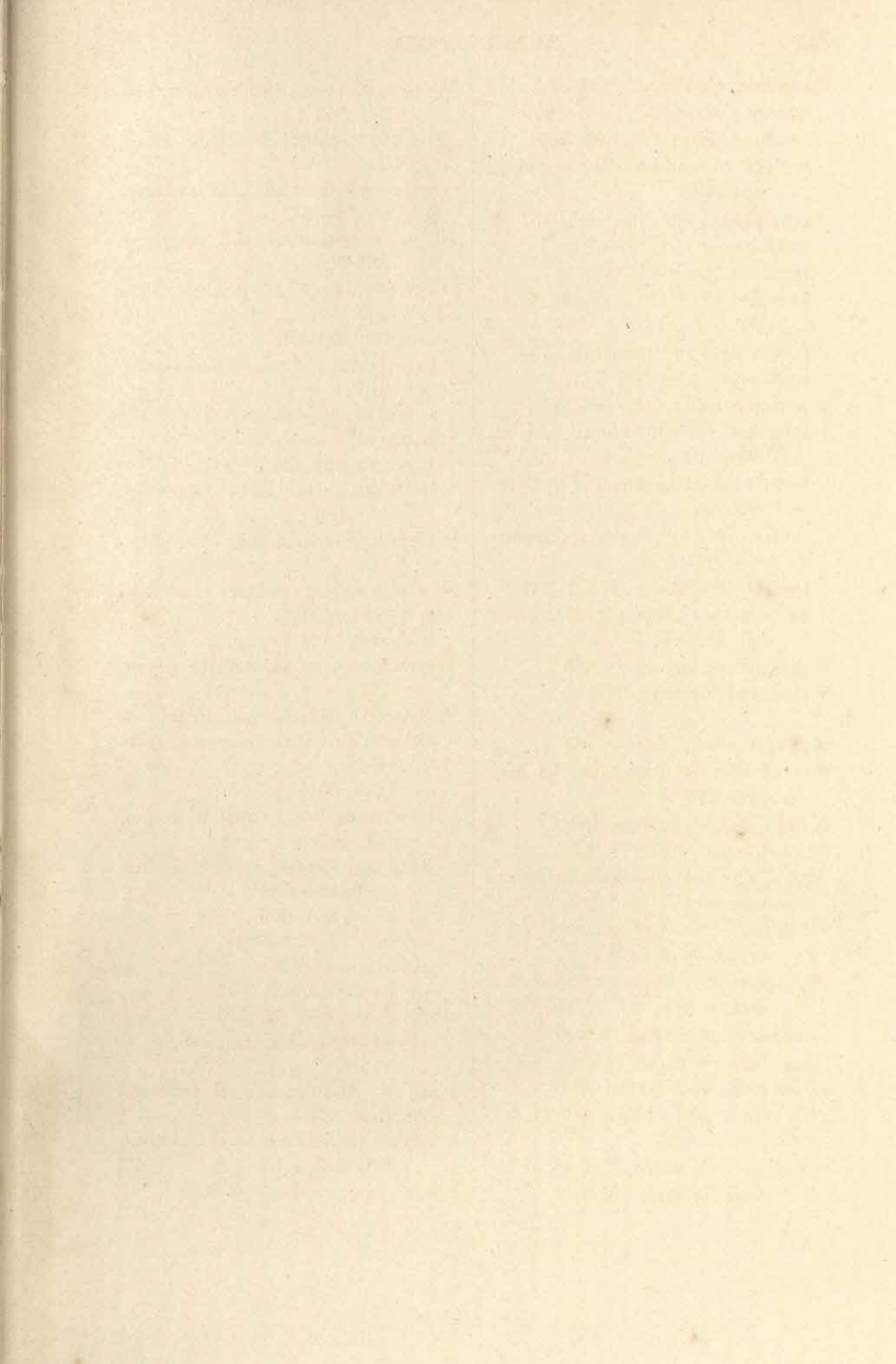
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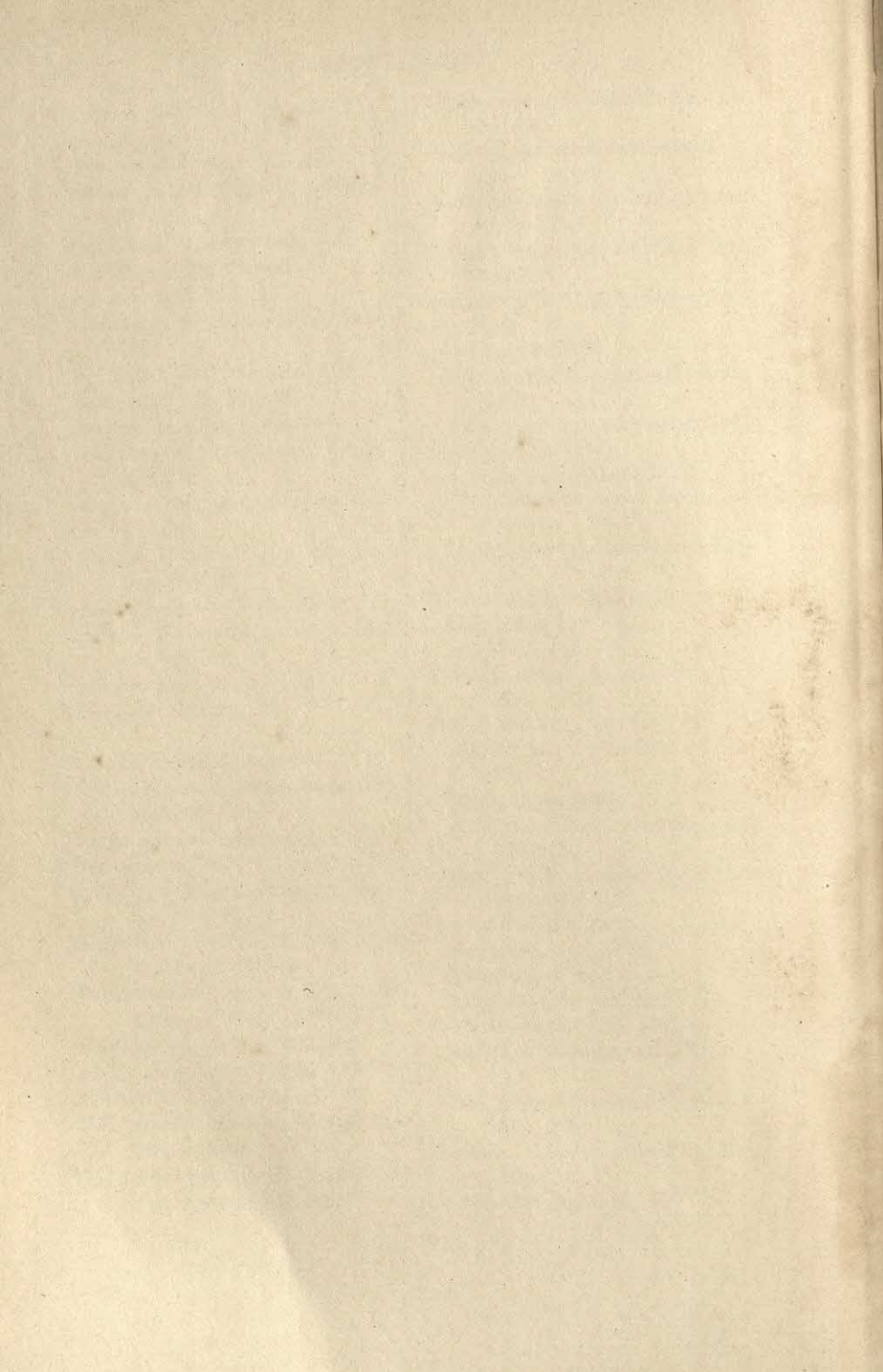
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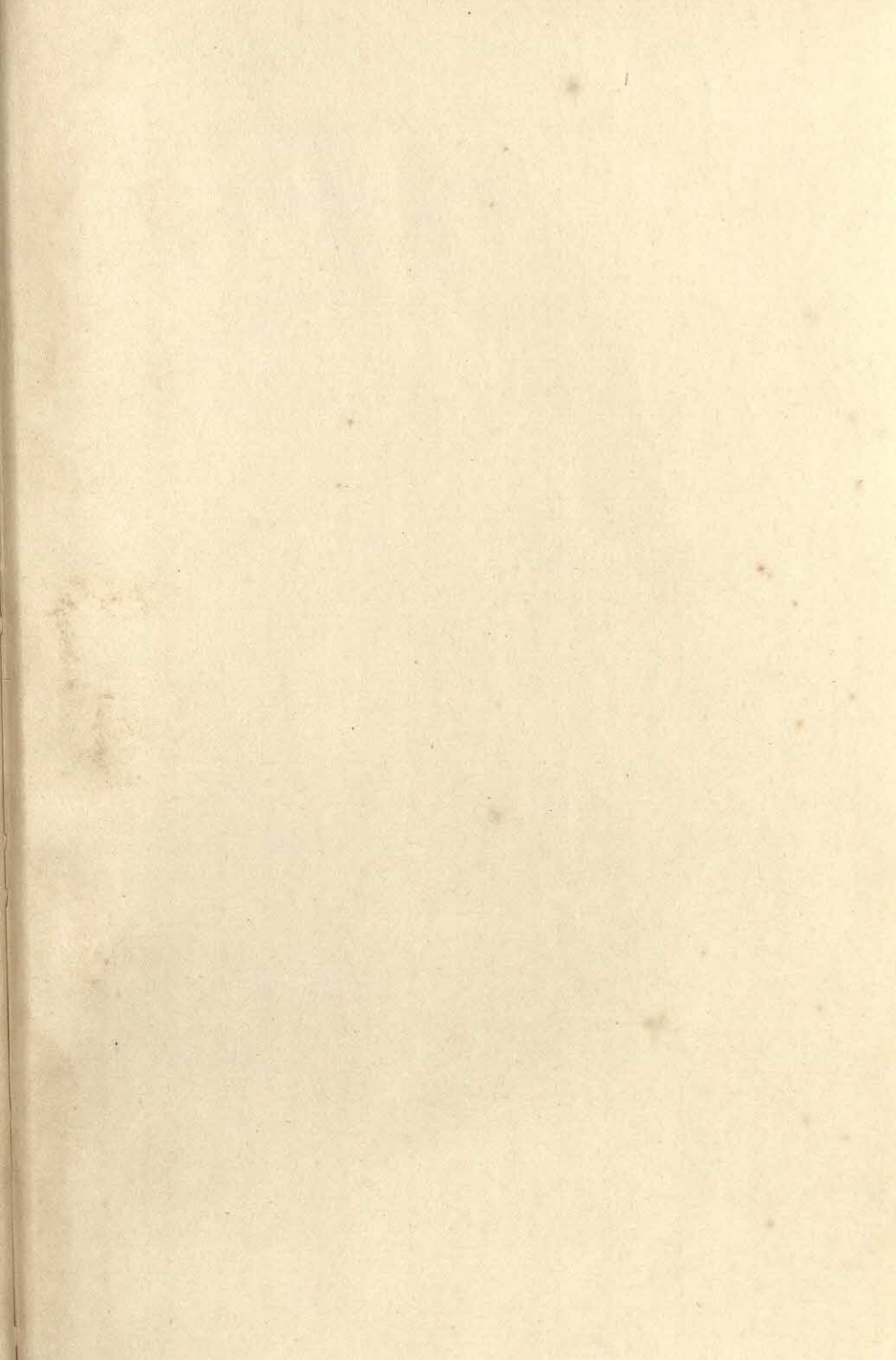
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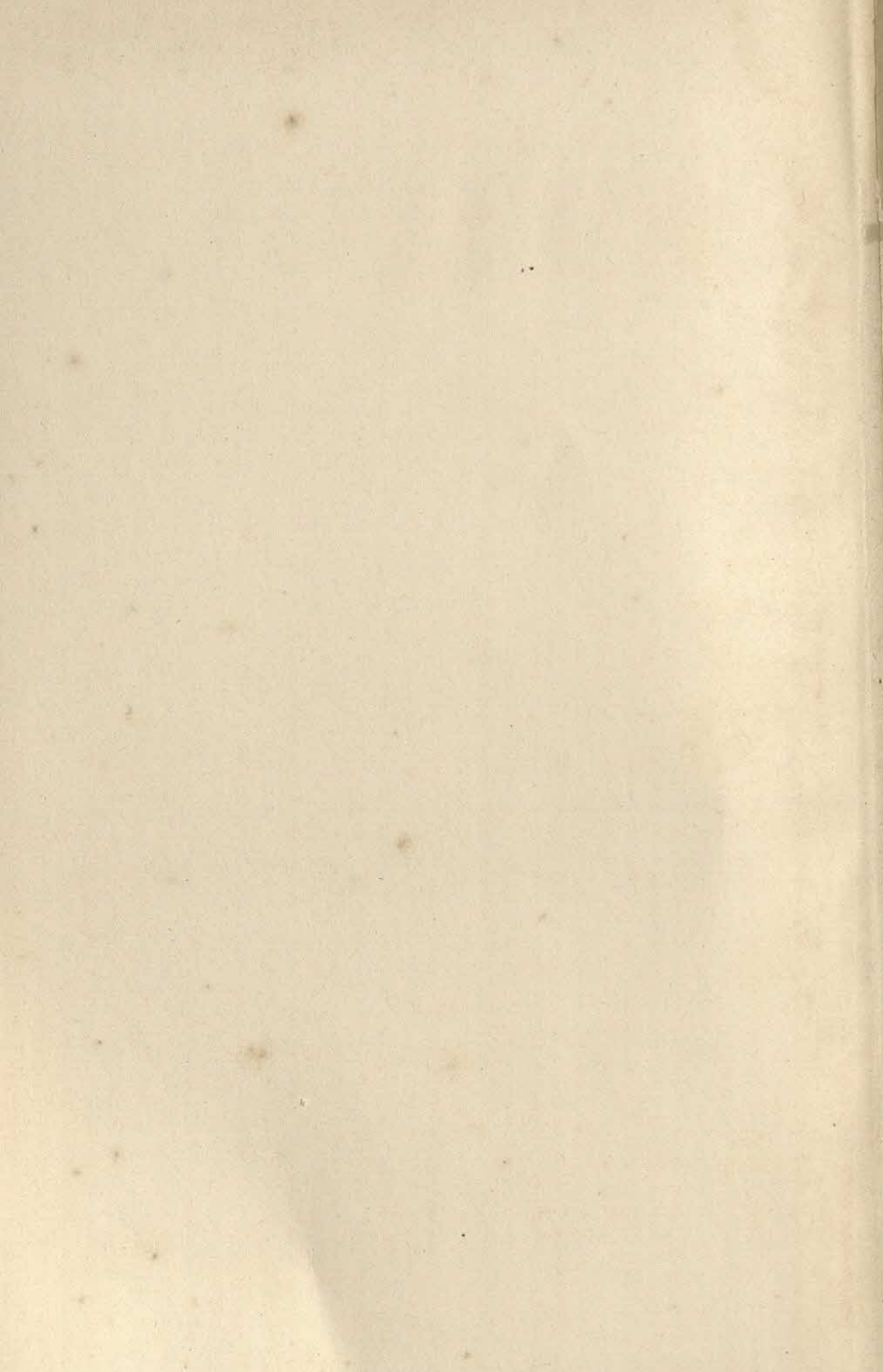
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